

# URARTIAN STUDIES DURING THE FOUNDATION OF MODERN NATION STATES: ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRADITIONS, IDEOLOGIES AND PERCEPTIONS\*

ALI ÇİFÇİ

## Abstract

This research evaluates the work on the archaeology and socio-economic aspects of the Urartian kingdom by Soviet, Turkish and Western scholars during the foundation-period of modern states. Because the former territories of the Urartian kingdom were divided between the present-day states of Turkey, Armenia and Iran, Urartian scholarship developed separately in all these areas until the last decade of the 20th century. Therefore, the different national cultures of these states influenced how these countries perceived Urartian archaeology. This paper, first of all, investigates the archaeological research on Urartian studies in Soviet Armenia, the Lake Van basin of Turkey and finally the Lake Urmia basin of Iran. It then moves on to present a new model for the administrative and socio-economic organisation of the kingdom, which places more emphasis on how diachronic changes and regional variations affected the development and organisation of the Urartian kingdom.

## Introduction

Archaeological research and interpretation can be influenced by many different factors such as culture, political events, nationalism and, most importantly, the social context in which archaeologists live and work.<sup>1</sup> The Iron Age kingdom of Urartu (9th–6th century BC) is such a unique case where different ‘archaeological traditions’ operate. These present us with an opportunity to study how the modern countries that exist on what once was the land of Urartu perceive and interpret its archaeology. The former Urartian territory is currently divided between the modern states of Turkey, Armenia, Iran, parts of northern Iraq, and the Nakhichevan exclave of Azerbaijan (Fig. 1). Thus Urartian scholarship, until the last decade of

\* I would like to thank Kemalettin Köroğlu, Alan Greaves and Atilla Batmaz for commenting on earlier drafts of this paper. I am also in debt to Harun Danişmaz for his help in the preparation of maps. I also would like to thank Erkan Konyar, Mehmet Işıklı, Mehmet Karaosmanoğlu, Kenan Işık and Rıfat Kuvanç for kindly allowing me to use some of the illustrations from their excavations/research. Further thanks are also due to the Editor-in-Chief and anonymous referees for their comments and suggestions. Any opinions, errors or shortcomings are my own.

<sup>1</sup> Trigger 1984; 2008; Kohl 1993; 1998; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Kohl and Tsatskheladze 1995.



20th century, developed along separate paths as a result of the different historical and political outlooks of these countries.

Although there is a general perception that archaeological investigation in eastern Anatolia is being overlooked because of the political turbulence following the Ottoman collapse in the aftermath of World War One, the number of archaeological excavations and surveys carried out either by foreign or Turkish teams throughout the region is quite similar to other parts of Turkey. These investigations may not be perfect, they are often isolated, or they do not cover the entire region of eastern Anatolia, but they have nevertheless a lengthy time-span reaching from the Neolithic to the early 20th century.<sup>2</sup> The Upper Euphrates basin of the region is one of the best archaeologically known parts of Turkey because of the construction of the Keban and Karakaya dams, and the resulting salvage excavations and surveys that were carried out from the late 1960s to the mid-1980s. Certain parts of the region are well investigated in regard to specific periods; for instance, the Lake Van basin for the Urartian kingdom, the Erzurum region for the Bronze Age, and the Ahlat area of the Bitlis province for the Seljuk. However, other parts of the region are inadequately researched, or have not received the attention of archaeologists due to security concerns (Hakkâri, Bitlis, Bingöl and Tunceli).

Urartian studies in Armenia, on the other hand, usually equate the Urartian kingdom with proto-Armenia<sup>3</sup> and consider Urartian civilisation as part of Armenian history.<sup>4</sup> There is a general tendency in Armenia to accept that the Armenians inherited a great deal from Urartian culture. Therefore, Urartian archaeology encouraged patriotic and nationalist sentiments as well as promoting the idea of the Armenian nation's continuity from the Urartian kingdom to the present day.<sup>5</sup> The archaeological finds from the site of Arinberd on the southern outskirts of Yerevan provide a good example of how the Urartian kingdom was viewed, and how it became the enduring symbol of national identity in Armenia. Archaeological excavations at this site uncovered a Urartian settlement<sup>6</sup> dated to the reign of the

<sup>2</sup> For example, Kılıç İ. Kökten's (1944) survey of Erzurum Plain and its environments, Hamit Z. Koşay's excavations of Karaz (Koşay and Turfan 1959), Pulur (Koşay and Vary 1964) and Güzelova (Koşay and Vary 1967); Aynur Özfirat and Catherina Marro's survey of the Lake Van basin (Marro and Özfirat 2003; 2004; 2005), Güner Sağır's ongoing survey of Armenian churches in Kars (Sağır 2011), Antonio Sagona's excavations at Sos Höyük (Sagona *et al.* 1996; Sagona and Ekmen 1997; 1998) and Büyükkale (Sagona *et al.* 1991; 1992; 1993), and Paul Zimansky and Elizabeth Stone's (Stone and Zimansky 2004) involvement in the Ayanis excavation of the outer town as well as Gülriz Kozbe and Mitchell Rothman's survey of Muş plain (Rothman and Kozbe 1997) show that archaeological research of the region covers various areas and periods.

<sup>3</sup> Diakanoff 1984; Chahin 2001; Russell 2005.

<sup>4</sup> See various entries in Khatchadourian 2008, 268–72; Avetistan and Bobokhyan 2009, 20.

<sup>5</sup> Kohl and Tsatskheladze 1995, 157–58.

<sup>6</sup> Oganesjan 1961; Hovhannissian 1973.

Uartian king Argišti, son of Išpuini, and it was named Erebuni, being equated with modern Yerevan. Shortly after its discovery in 1968, the Soviet Union celebrated the 2750th anniversary of the foundation of Yerevan in a series of year-long events. The site was restored and a monumental museum in the form of a Uartian temple was also built and adorned with archaeological remains from the site itself.<sup>7</sup>

The Uartian remains from the Lake Urmia region of Iran did not receive the attention of archaeologists until the 1960s, when the lake basin was surveyed by the German Institute of Archaeology in Tehran. However, archaeological research in this part of the Uartian territory came to a standstill following the Islamic revolution and the subsequent war with Iraq. The last Shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, had employed archaeology and ancient history to promote the glories of pre-Islamic Iran (especially those of the Sasanian and Achaemenid periods)<sup>8</sup> in order to legitimise his own sovereignty.<sup>9</sup> With the establishment of the new Islamic regime in Iran, most of the archaeological field work was concentrated on Islamic archaeology. As a result, like many other pre-Islamic civilisations in Iran, Uartian archaeology was virtually ignored, although there were a few exceptions (see below).

Archaeological and linguistic research into the Uartian kingdom can be categorised into three developmental stages: (1) the rediscovery phase (from the late 19th century to the early 20th century), (2) the foundation of modern states and the excavation of major sites, (3) the post-Soviet era of international collaboration. The rediscovery of Urartu dates back to Friedrich Schulz, who was working in eastern Anatolia on a four-year mission to investigate the ancient remains in Asiatic Turkey and Iran for the Société Asiatique of France in 1826.<sup>10</sup> However, it was not until the late 19th century that archaeologists conducted excavations at sites such as Toprakkale in the Van basin (Fig. 2).<sup>11</sup> There were further archaeological excavations at the site of Van Kalesi early in the 20th century undertaken by Russian (Fig. 3) and American archaeologists.<sup>12</sup> This early first phase of Uartian

<sup>7</sup> Smith 2012, 68–71.

<sup>8</sup> Abdi 2001, 67; Amanat 2004, 377.

<sup>9</sup> Mohammad Reza Shah even held celebrations (in 1971, at Persepolis) to mark the foundation of the Persian monarchy by Cyrus the Great (Abdi 2001).

<sup>10</sup> Following his arrival in the Lake Van basin Schulz prepared a catalogue of cuneiform inscriptions from the Van Kalesi and other nearby sites. Although his death on Hakkâri Mountain brought a sudden end to his work, his research reached Paris and was published posthumously in 1840 (Potts 2017; Zimansky 1998, 286–87; Salvini 2006, 16–17).

<sup>11</sup> The site of Toprakkale was first excavated by the British Museum in 1880, and later in 1898 by a German team (Lehmann-Haupt 1931). The archaeological materials that were recovered were sent to the British Museum and Berlin's Vorderasiatisches Museum, respectively. At the British Museum some of the artefacts were displayed alongside Assyrian artefacts and were not published until the 1950s (Barnett 1950; 1954), those in Berlin not until the 1960s (Meyer 1967; 1968; Wartke 1990).

<sup>12</sup> At the Toprakkale further work was also carried out by the Russian Imperial Archaeological Society between 1911 and 1912 and then in 1916 (Marr and Orbelli 1922). There were also attempt





Fig. 2. The site of Toprakkale from the north-west and the modern city of Van at the background (courtesy of Kenan Işık and Rıfat Kuvanç).

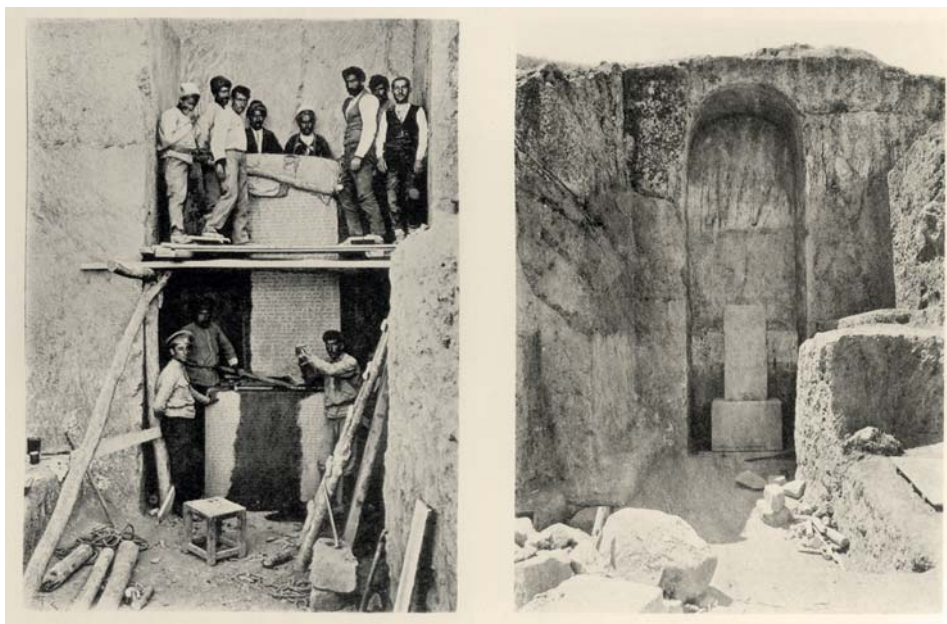


Fig. 3. Russian excavations at the Hazine Kapısı-Van Kalesi and the discovery of king Sarduri II's annals (*CTU A 9-3*) (after Marr and Orbeli 1922, pl. IX.1–2).

archaeology was concentrated in the Van basin (Toprakkale and Van Kalesi), and motivated by valuable and collectable artefacts that could be sent to the British Museum or to Berlin. It is clear that there was no attempt to understand the stratigraphy of any of these sites or to properly document the archaeological research being conducted. Nevertheless, this earlier phase of the rediscovery of Urartian archaeology generated some interest in Urartian civilisation and laid the foundation for the next phase, which was to develop into two separate lines of intellectual enquiry, one archaeological and one philological, in each state that formed on Urartian territory.

In this new era, some of the well-known sites, such as Karmir-Blur, Arinberd and Armavir in Soviet Armenia, and Çavuştepe, Adilcevaz and Toprakkale in the Van basin, were excavated (Fig. 4). During this period, the final Urartian territory to receive the attention of archaeologists was the Lake Urmia basin of Iran, where German archaeologists undertook survey of the region and conducted archaeological excavations at the site of Bastam. When assessing this period's archaeological work, it becomes apparent that there was no collaboration between any of these scholars involved in Urartian archaeology. This was particularly the case with Soviet archaeologists in Armenia and their Turkish counterparts in Turkey. These archaeological excavations focused mostly on citadels that were built by the Urartian rulers and were concerned with the documentation of inscriptions, artefacts and architectural remains.

However, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Armenian archaeologists came into direct contact with wider academic communities and Western books and periodicals became more widely available. Most importantly, the works of Soviet-era archaeologists from sites located in Armenia such as Karmir-Blur, Arinberd and Armavir became more accessible and, likewise, the work of Turkish and Western scholars also became easily available to Armenian colleagues. For example, apart from the books that Boris Piotrovsky (1967; 1969) wrote on Urartian history and art for the general public, translated into English, and Richard Barnett's translations of the Karmir-Blur reports which were published in the journal *Iraq*,<sup>13</sup> much of the work of Soviet archaeologists on Urartian archaeology remained inaccessible to Turkish scholars until the end of Soviet Union or shortly before its disintegration. Furthermore, during this era there was little interaction between Turkish, Soviet and Western scholars of Urartian archaeology. However, the collapse of the Soviet Union and foundation of the independent state of Armenia opened the door for

to excavate the Van Kalesi in the same year by the Russian team. Further work was also conducted at the Van Kalesi and at the Old City of Van in 1938 by Silvia and Kirsopp Lake (Lake and Lake 1940).

<sup>13</sup> Barnet 1959; Barnett and Watson 1952.

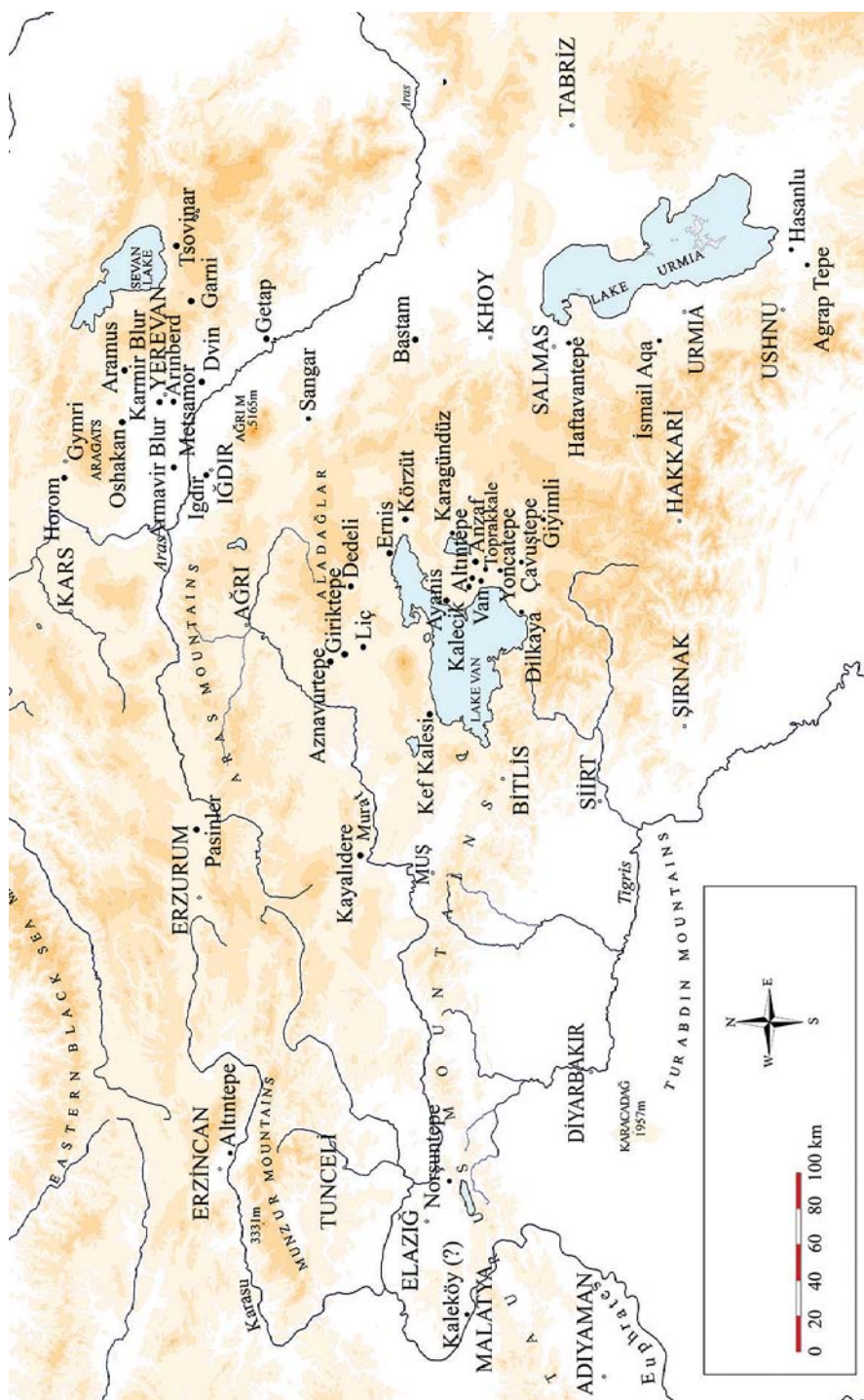


Fig. 4. Excavated Urartian sites (adapted from Köroğlu 2011, 14–15, map 1).



collaboration between Western and Armenian scholars. After independence from the Soviet Union, the American-Armenian Horom Expedition in 1990 was a turning point for Armenian archaeology, being led by Philip Kohl and Ruben Badalyan, with David Stronach and Stephan Kroll later joining the expedition.<sup>14</sup> This new project highlighted the benefits of collaboration between Western and Armenian archaeologists, and soon more international projects followed (such as ArAGATS and the Italian and Armenian joint project of Lake Sevan basin).<sup>15</sup>

Although several studies have dealt with the research history of the Urartian archaeology, they are mainly devoted to the chronological development of its archaeological history,<sup>16</sup> and there has not been research into how the modern states that exist today on former Urartian territories have perceived Urartian civilisation, and the ways that archaeological excavations or surveys in these territories were conducted. Therefore, I will re-examine archaeological research and traditions that operated in these present-day states, since these issues have important implications for the study of Urartian archaeology. I will also analyse the various theories regarding the socio-economic and administrative organisation of the kingdom that have been expressed by scholars of Urartian archaeology. This is followed by an assessment of the archaeological and textual evidence and a subsequent new model for the administrative and socio-economic organisation of the Urartian kingdom.<sup>17</sup>

### Archaeological Research in Soviet Armenia and Marxist Scholarship on Urartu

In Armenia, Urartian studies developed along two separate lines: archaeological and philological. Archaeological excavations in Armenia were conducted at some of the major Urartian sites and uncovered rich material culture that came to define Urartian archaeology for a long period of time (Karmir-Blur, Armavir and Arinberd, etc.). The first site to receive the attention of Soviet-era archaeologists was Karmir-Blur, which is located on the outskirts of Yerevan and was constructed by the Urartian king Rusa, son of Argišti, during the 7th century BC. Systematic excavations at Karmir-Blur began in 1939, led by Piotrovsky,<sup>18</sup> who was one of the most

<sup>14</sup> Badaljan *et al.* 1992; 1993.

<sup>15</sup> See Avetisyan and Bobokhyan (2012) for a summary of archaeological research conducted after the foundation of modern state of Armenia.

<sup>16</sup> Zimansky 1998; 2011.

<sup>17</sup> There are a number of series and periodicals that regularly publish research papers on Urartian civilisation: the *Anatolian Iron Ages* symposium series, *Anadolu Araştırmaları*, *Colloquium Anatolicum*, *Aramazd: Armenian Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*, *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* and *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan*, and the annual field reports in *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* and *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*.

<sup>18</sup> Piotrovsky 1950; 1952; 1955.



influential scholars of Urartian archaeology. The site was to become a training ground for the next generation of Soviet-era archaeologists in Transcaucasia, particularly those from Armenia, and continued to be so until 1971.<sup>19</sup> Archaeological excavations at the site uncovered a citadel and lower settlement which is about 10 ha in extent. Although various parts of the site are dedicated to warehouses and workshops, it was the large storage rooms that attracted the attention of Soviet scholars of the time, in particular, of the director of excavation who examined the role that these storage rooms had in social and political change.

Piotrovsky was educated at Leningrad State University by the influential Marxist ideologist Nicolai Marr,<sup>20</sup> who was a linguist by training.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, the influence of Marxist historical materialism is reflected in his publications like that of any other scholar of the time, in which he stressed the role of the economy as a driving force for social and political transformation.<sup>22</sup> According to Piotrovsky, the development of ancient economies such as Urartu, were 'evolutionary types'<sup>23</sup> which was deeply rooted in Marxism. Under the influence of Marxism, Piotrovsky was preoccupied with the Urartian government's part in the organisation, redistribution and storage of economic resources, as well as the use of slave labour.<sup>24</sup> His work at Karmir-Blur was translated into English, and published by Barnett, which meant that it reached a much wider audience than it would have done otherwise.<sup>25</sup>

Shortly after the excavations at Karmir-Blur, other sites located on the Ararat Plain were archaeologically investigated. One of these was Arinberd,<sup>26</sup> excavated by Konstantin Oganessian and the Armenian Academy of Sciences in the 1950s. As in the case of Karmir-Blur, excavations at Arinberd uncovered the remains of a palace, temples and various storage rooms. The investigations revealed that Erebuni was established by the Urartian king Argišti I in the 8th century BC. Shortly after its discovery, the name of Erebuni was equated with modern Yerevan and the finds from this site were seen in Armenia as the remains of the precursor of Yerevan, and the names and symbols of the Urartians were to dominate popular Armenian

<sup>19</sup> Yesayan 1982.

<sup>20</sup> Lindsay and Smith 2006, 170; Trigger 2008, 337–40.

<sup>21</sup> Another of Marr's students was Nicholas Adontz (1946, 215), who proposed that Urartian territory consisted of three different categories (1946, 208): the first category of land was directly governed from the capital Tušpa and comprised provinces; the second category was made up of conquered lands and dependent kingdoms; and the last category was composed of independent kingdoms under the authority and political influence of the Urartian kingdom.

<sup>22</sup> Smith 2009, 13–17.

<sup>23</sup> Smith 2009, 17.

<sup>24</sup> Piotrovsky 1941, 320; 1959, 85.

<sup>25</sup> Barnett and Watson 1952; Barnett 1959.

<sup>26</sup> Oganessian 1961; Hovhannissian 1973.

culture towards the end of the Soviet era.<sup>27</sup> Soviet-era archaeologists also undertook excavations at the site of Armavir,<sup>28</sup> which resulted in the discovery of the large Urartian citadel of Argıştihinili and the remains of the many houses located in the lower town.

In addition to these three major sites, excavations were also carried out at some of the lesser known Urartian sites in Armenia,<sup>29</sup> for instance Oshakan, Dvin, Garni, Tsovinar and Metsamor.<sup>30</sup> However, unlike Karmir-Blur, Arinberd and Armavir, the name of these sites or any of their archaeological material rarely appear in relevant publications, with the exception of Metsamor.<sup>31</sup> Although these small sites were dated to the Urartian period or were occupied during the Urartian period, they were not associated with any Urartian monarch, apart from the site of Tsovinar, which was constructed by the Urartian king Rusa I as the 'city of God Teišeba' (CTU A 10-2) in the Lake Sevan basin. One of the main reason for the lack of publication or research about such sites might have been the absence of rich artefacts or of inscriptions and architectural remains.

Although not much is known about these small settlements excavated in the Soviet era, the major sites such as Karmir-Blur, Arinberd and Armavir provide sufficient archaeological and written evidence about the Urartian presence in the Ararat Valley of Armenia. Most importantly, the discovery of large storage facilities from those major sites helped Soviet scholars to examine the Urartian kingdom's economy more closely. Subsequently, the Urartian state was viewed by Marxist scholars as an example of a centrally organised society. These sites also provided written documents that were examined by Marxist scholars such as Giorgi Melikishvili<sup>32</sup> and Igor Diakonoff,<sup>33</sup> who based their influential theoretical works on the socio-economic and political organisation of the Urartian kingdom within a Marxist theoretical framework.

Melikishvili<sup>34</sup> was the first to write about the socio-economic aspects of Urartian society; in his vision of Urartian society, the central bureaucracy dominated all levels of society and the monarchy/king actively engaged in the organisation of the production and redistribution of economic resources. The 'royal fortresses' founded

<sup>27</sup> Lindsay and Smith 2006, 173–74.

<sup>28</sup> Martirosyan 1974.

<sup>29</sup> See various entries in Zimansky 1998.

<sup>30</sup> The recent Armenian and Italian archaeological survey of Lake Sevan (Biscione *et al.* 2002) and the ArAGATS project led by Adam Smith (Smith *et al.* 2009; Smith and Thompson 2004) in Armenia have made big contributions to our understanding of the Urartian presence in Armenia.

<sup>31</sup> Khanzadyan *et al.* 1973.

<sup>32</sup> Melikishvili 1951; 1953.

<sup>33</sup> Diakonoff 1952; 1963; 1991a.

<sup>34</sup> Melikishvili 1951, 25–32; 1978, 39.

by the Urartian rulers were considered to be the centre of the royal (state) economy,<sup>35</sup> where Urartian kings organised economic resources and the redistribution and storage of surplus goods and slave labour. However, Melikishvili<sup>36</sup> did recognise that there was a private economy in Urartu, but emphasised the greater role played by the royal family and the Urartian aristocracy. In Melikishvili's opinion, feudalism was the most common feature of pre-capitalist societies, and he characterised the Urartian kingdom as feudal.<sup>37</sup> His interpretation of the Urartian economy was clearly derived from Marxism.<sup>38</sup> However, the idea of king's ownership of large estate and the scale and the use of slave labour was not accepted by everyone.<sup>39</sup>

Diakonoff<sup>40</sup> was very critical of Melikishvili's view of a 'royal economy' centred upon 'major citadels' built by the Urartian monarchy. He argued that the social structure of Urartian society would not allow the creation of large estates, where the palace had a firm grip on economic resources; rather<sup>41</sup> that Urartian communities consisted of a free population with their own governments, in the form of national assemblies and councils of elders, and with communal agriculture – even though he presented no evidence for the existence of such organisations. In his opinion, the creation of an irrigation system located in previously uncultivated land does not necessarily mean that the king owned the land and therefore such land could then be transferred to the commune. The land could have been owned by community members who lived in large families or patriarchal clans and who, in all probability, held large tracts of land.<sup>42</sup>

Instead, Diakonoff<sup>43</sup> came up with a new model for the socio-economic study of Urartian society. He argued that an inscription of the Urartian king Sarduri II, located at the Van Kalesi (CTUA 9-3 VII), reveals that Urartian society was divided into four social-economic categories: the socially privileged native Urartians, or upper class, who comprised the *Šurele*,<sup>44</sup> who managed the state economy; then the populations of conquered lands called *Hurâdinele*; next, were the *Urordele*, which was a peasant class that supplied the temples with labourers and agricultural products, and who were also probably liable for military and other public services;

<sup>35</sup> Melikishvili 1951, 25.

<sup>36</sup> Melikishvili 1951, 35.

<sup>37</sup> Melikishvili 1978.

<sup>38</sup> Khatchadourian 2008, 263–73; Trigger 2008, 207–43.

<sup>39</sup> Diakonoff 1952; 1963; Sorokin 1952; Zimansky 1985.

<sup>40</sup> Diakonoff 1963, 62.

<sup>41</sup> Diakonoff 1963, 60–65.

<sup>42</sup> Diakonoff 1963, 61.

<sup>43</sup> Diakonoff 1991a, 17.

<sup>44</sup> Diakonoff 1991a, 15, nos. 28, 30.

slaves, the last rank in this social order, called *Purâle*, were usually prisoners of war and acted mainly as servants and workers.

The text from Van Kalesi is part of king Sarduri's annals and mentions high numbers of troops, livestock, weapons and goods. It is not clear from the text if it is an inventory of the armed forces and state, or whether it represents the spoils of war, although there is no mention of an enemy force.<sup>45</sup> In any case, this class-based model of Urartian society was centred upon Diakonoff's own theory of ancient Near Eastern societies of the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC, where he divided ancient societies into several social classes. In this model, the 'upper class' did not participate in productive work and exploited the labour of others for its own benefit. However, as in the case of the Urartian *Šurele* class, they managed the state economy in the interests of the ruling class.<sup>46</sup> The 'middle class' comprised farmers and craftsmen, and, unlike the upper class, did not exploit the labour of others, although there were some exceptional cases where they used people for auxiliary labour.<sup>47</sup> Next, were the members of the 'lower class' who; they did not own property and were subject to economic exploitation. Although slaves were classified as a separate class in Urartian society by Diakonoff, as in the case of Mesopotamia, they formed part of the lower class. However, it should be noted that both Melikishvili and Diakonoff stated that war captives held by the Urartian rulers were turned into slaves, an idea that was also advocated by Piotrovsky.<sup>48</sup> Urartian written sources do indicate that some captives may indeed have been enslaved, but the majority of captives were relocated to various parts of the kingdom.<sup>49</sup> This model of Near Eastern society of the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC presented by Diakonoff is too general and does not take into account the different geography of certain regions and its role in shaping the socio-economic organisation of Near Eastern societies. Diakonoff's description of 3rd- and 2nd-millennium BC societies of the Near East as 'slave-owning' and class relation to the means of production and forms of exploitation indicates that he imputes Marxist concepts of class to Near Eastern societies as was also the case for Urartian society.

### Turkish Archaeology and Urartian Studies in the Lake Van Basin

To a large extent, the work of Turkish archaeologists in the Lake Van basin was stimulated by Charles Burney's survey of eastern Anatolia in 1956 and 1957, which reawoke academic interest in the region. It appears that, shortly after Burney's

<sup>45</sup> Çifçi 2017, 164–67.

<sup>46</sup> Diakonoff 1991b, 39.

<sup>47</sup> Diakonoff 1991b, 39–40.

<sup>48</sup> Piotrovsky 1941, 320; 1959, 85.

<sup>49</sup> Çifçi 2017, 263–68.



survey, there was an attempt to excavate the site of Toprakkale by the British Institute at Ankara. In the summer of 1958 along with Burney and Barnett, who was the keeper of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities of the British Museum, Seton Lloyd, from the British Institute at Ankara, visited Toprakkale and in December of the same year submitted an application to the Turkish authorities to conduct archaeological research at the site.<sup>50</sup> In mid-February 1959 the Turkish authorities refused this application on the ground that Toprakkale was within a military garrison compound.<sup>51</sup> However, it is interesting to note that shortly afterwards Afif Erzen and Emin Bilgiç proposed a joint project of the universities of Istanbul and Ankara to carry out archaeological excavation in Toprakkale, with a report dated 20th April 1959. In addition, on 24th April 1959, Ekrem Akurgal also asked for permission to excavate in Toprakkale. The Turkish government granted an excavation permit to Erzen and Bilgiç in June of the same year, while Akurgal's application was not accepted due to the fact that he was excavating another site in Anatolia.

Toprakkale was known to the academic community long before Burney's survey of the region: some artefacts began to appear on the art market in the mid-19th century and later the site was partly excavated by the British Museum (in 1880) and then by a German team (in 1898). Thus, it appears that the reasons behind the refusal of the British application by the Turkish authorities was to allow Turkish archaeologists to conduct research there and, by doing so, to acquire valuable artefacts. At the same time Tahsin Özgüç started excavating the site of Altuntepe in 1959 (Fig. 5), near Erzincan.<sup>52</sup> Altuntepe was also well known prior to the Burney's survey, due to the accidental discoveries of elite tombs in 1938 and 1956.

After receiving permission from the authorities, Afif Erzen led a joint project of the universities of Istanbul and Ankara<sup>53</sup> with the aim of investigating the site of Toprakkale as well as conducting archaeological research in eastern Anatolia. On his arrival, Erzen first worked at Toprakkale, before moving on to a long-term project at Çavuştepe in the Gürpınar Valley. Excavation at Çavuştepe<sup>54</sup> lasted from 1961 to 1988 and served as a training ground for the next generation of Turkish

<sup>50</sup> Sekmen 1990, 67–68; Sevin 2003, 7–8.

<sup>51</sup> Sekmen 1990, 67–68.

<sup>52</sup> Özgüç 1966; 1969.

<sup>53</sup> Both Ankara and Istanbul universities arrived at the Lake Van basin together, with the aim of conducting archaeological research in the region. But the two worked in different areas of the basin. The former carried out archaeological excavations at its north and north-west at sites such as Anzavurtepe, Kef Kalesi and Giriktepe, whereas the latter confined itself to the east and south-east, excavating the likes of Toprakkale, Van Kalesi and Çavuştepe. Although Istanbul University continue to work in the region, Ankara University has not participated in later archaeological explorations.

<sup>54</sup> Erzen 1988.



Fig. 5. Urartian citadel of Altintepe and the Erzincan Plain (courtesy of Mehmet Karaosmanoğlu).

Urartian scholars; it also had a huge impact on Urartian scholars working in the Van basin. In the following years, archaeologists who worked with Erzen and his teams excavated some of the major Urartian sites in the Van basin such as Van Kalesi (Fig. 6),<sup>55</sup> Toprakkale,<sup>56</sup> Kef Kalesi,<sup>57</sup> Anzavurtepe,<sup>58</sup> Giriktepe,<sup>59</sup> Aşağı and Yukarı Anzaf,<sup>60</sup> Yoncatepe,<sup>61</sup> Giyimli (Hirkanis), Ernis/Evditepe, Dilkaya,<sup>62</sup> Karagündüz,<sup>63</sup> Altintepe/Van and Ayanis.<sup>64</sup> However, with the exception of Altintepe, Karagündüz and the recently investigated site of Ayanis (Fig. 7),<sup>65</sup> the other sites were either

<sup>55</sup> Tarhan and Sevin 1990; 1991.

<sup>56</sup> Erzen 1977; 1979.

<sup>57</sup> Bilgiç and Ögün 1964; 1965.

<sup>58</sup> Balkan 1960.

<sup>59</sup> Balkan 1964.

<sup>60</sup> Belli 1999.

<sup>61</sup> Belli and Konyar 2001a; 2001b.

<sup>62</sup> Çilingiroğlu 1991; 1992.

<sup>63</sup> Sevin and Kavaklı 1996.

<sup>64</sup> Çilingiroğlu and Salvini 2001.

<sup>65</sup> Although Ege University, in particular the works of Altan Çilingiroğlu, might be considered as a separate school representing a different approach to Urartian studies in Turkey with the multi-disciplinary approach to the publication of Ayanis excavation report (Çilingiroğlu and Salvini 2001) as well as the Anatolian Iron Ages series published under Çilingiroğlu's direction, it is beyond the scope of this paper to deal with every individual.



Fig. 6. A view of Van Kalesi from west (courtesy of Erkan Konyar).



Fig. 7. Aerial view of Ayanis (courtesy of Mehmet Işıklı).

poorly excavated or were published only as brief reports. It should also be noted that the excavations at Toprakkale and Van Kalesi were conducted without any attempt to understand the stratification of the sites, and although many fine artefacts were recovered from them, no clear picture of their occupation histories resulted, and botanical and faunal remains were generally ignored.

Erzen, like his counterpart Piotrovsky in Soviet Armenia, played a significant role, and influenced the next generation of Turkish archaeologists with his German educational background. What is apparent from this period, and indeed is still deeply embodied in Turkish archaeology, is the descriptive nature of excavation or survey reports and the categorisation of artefacts not only from the Van region but also from the other parts of Anatolia. This cultural-historical archaeological approach of the 'Turkish School' seems to have been influenced by German classification methods.<sup>66</sup> After abandoning Kossina's ethnic paradigm,<sup>67</sup> which had been used to justify the aggressive expansionism of the National Socialist regime, German archaeology in the postwar era was oriented towards a more descriptive approach, with an emphasis on typology and chronology.<sup>68</sup> In the early days of the Turkish republic, a number of influential Turkish archaeologists were sent to Germany to be educated. Erzen along with Ekrem Akurgal and Sedat Alp, went there in 1933 and received his PhD at the University of Leipzig in 1940; he was subsequently employed by the University of Istanbul.<sup>69</sup> His education in Germany had an important impact on the methodological approaches of Turkish archaeologists. Erzen not only carried out archaeological excavations and surveys but also influenced the next generation of Turkish archaeologists studying Urartu, and founded the Istanbul University Historical and Archaeological Research Centre in Van in 1967. To this day almost all archaeological research in the basin has been carried out from this centre.<sup>70</sup>

However, the problem with eastern Anatolian archaeology is not the German methodological traditions, or Erzen's influence, or the inadequate research of certain periods and regions. It is how archaeological remains were interpreted or associated with certain civilisations or periods without properly considering the archaeological evidence. Among Turkish archaeologists in the Van region, there is a tendency to attribute most archaeological remains to the Urartian kingdom, without properly considering them. There is an assumption that most archaeological evidence from the region was either Urartian or mediaeval, dating to the time of the Ottomans. Whether this approach has its roots in national politics or is influenced by ethnic

<sup>66</sup> Atakuman 2008.

<sup>67</sup> Trigger 2008, 235–41.

<sup>68</sup> Härke 1989, 406–07.

<sup>69</sup> Tarhan 1996.

<sup>70</sup> After the failure of the 'Turkish History Thesis' and the 'Sun-Language Theory', which were used during the early days of the Turkish republic to prove that Turks had been living in Anatolia for thousands of years (Atakuman 2008), the concept of 'Anatolianism' was developed through the 1950s and 1960s (Kuban 2003). The Anatolianist approach, which is still widely embodied in Turkish archaeology, is defined with respect to historical and geographical factors, emphasises the importance of ancient Anatolian cultures and of synthesis on the arrival of Turks in Anatolia in AD 1071 and thence the modern Turkish state.



and cultural concerns is hard to determine. However, there have been attempts to reinterpret some of the archaeological remains recovered from excavations or surveys. For example, a recent study on the construction of water facilities in eastern Anatolia, where such remains were usually associated with the Urartian kingdom, suggests that some of those facilities might actually have been built by the Byzantines or Ottomans. Even if such facilities were constructed during the Urartian period, some might have been built through communal effort without monarchical involvement.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, a re-examination of rock-cut tombs and step rock-cut tunnels from eastern Anatolia suggests that some of the former might have been built during the Achaemenid period<sup>72</sup> and the latter during Hellenistic and Roman times.<sup>73</sup> Another example was the study of grooved pottery throughout eastern Anatolia, which indicates that it was used not just during the Early Iron Age, but continued in use until the end of the 7th century BC.<sup>74</sup> There are also efforts to re-date some of the archaeological sites in the Van basin. For example, Yoncatepe was originally considered to be an Early Iron Age citadel by the director of the excavation,<sup>75</sup> but a re-examination of the archaeological materials from it shows that it was in fact an Urartian-period settlement.<sup>76</sup>

Another matter is that most of the archaeological work undertaken by Turkish scholars in eastern Anatolia is not problem oriented – though at the outset the aim was, and usually is, to locate and describe the Urartian period remains. It should also be pointed out that these research projects are usually conducted as an individual enterprise rather than as a team effort. Again, and most importantly, these projects were focused on a single site, rather than a broad regional context. For example, most of the archaeological research conducted by Turkish archaeologists in the Van basin in the 1960s and 1970s was published in *Anadolu Araştırmaları* (with a few exceptions), and the research papers usually focused on individual sites without considering their overall regional context.

It should also be stated that archaeologists have historically focused their attentions on citadel-sites that were constructed by the monarchy, not only in eastern Anatolia but also in other parts of the Urartian territory; because these have yielded rich artefacts, inscriptions and architectural remains for their excavators. Also, the majority of these sites (such as Karmir Blur, Ayanis, Kef Kalesi and Bastam) date from the mid-7th century BC to the reign of Rusa, son of Argišti (with a few

<sup>71</sup> Çifçi 2017, 28–44; Çifçi and Greaves 2013.

<sup>72</sup> Köroğlu 2007.

<sup>73</sup> Köroğlu and Danişmaz 2018.

<sup>74</sup> Köroğlu and Konyar 2008.

<sup>75</sup> Belli and Konyar 2001a; 2001b.

<sup>76</sup> Köroğlu and Konyar 2008.

exceptions that date from earlier periods, such as Çavuştepe, Armavir, Arinberd, etc.). Therefore, most Urartian archaeological material comes from sites connected with royalty. To date, no true settlement-site similar to the höyüks found across Anatolia has been excavated in Urartu (with the exception of Van Kale Höyük),<sup>77</sup> though one hopes that this problem will be rectified in the future. Although lower settlement sites such as Bastam, Karmir-Blur, Arinberd and Armavir were excavated, archaeological material from them was still related to the monarchy. The excavations at the Karagündüz (35 km north-west of Van on the eastern shore of Lake Erçek) and Dilkaya settlements (on the southern shore of Lake Van) were conducted as a result of rising water levels from nearby lakes. The excavation results from both sites recovered a very badly damaged Urartian-period occupation level,<sup>78</sup> hence their contribution to Urartian studies was very limited. However, new excavations at the site of Van Kalesi Höyük (Fig. 8), which is located north of its royal citadel, look very promising in terms of archaeological remains relating to non-royal, ordinary Urartian people.<sup>79</sup>

Apart from the excavations and surveys of Urartian sites in eastern Anatolia, Turkish scholars also made attempts to analyse the socio-economic organisation of the Urartian kingdom. Scholars such as Oktay Belli<sup>80</sup> and M. Taner Tarhan,<sup>81</sup> who were influenced by Soviet Marxist scholars such as Melikishvili and Diakonoff, focused on the monarch's role in the organisation of economic resources and their redistribution. The Urartian kingdom was considered to be a highly centralised polity, governed by a strong and powerful king. As a symbol of the absolute authority of the monarch, everything was built 'in the name of the king', including all new cities, fortresses, temples, palaces, dams and canals.<sup>82</sup> These newly built centres were then connected by a complex network of roads to the central parts of the kingdom. Via these connections, the authority and control of the kingdom could be extended beyond the core of the realm.<sup>83</sup> In Tarhan's opinion, the state economy was centrally organised by the monarch and all forms of production were under strict state control.<sup>84</sup> In his vision of the Urartian state economy, the newly constructed centres throughout Urartian territory were responsible for the collection, safeguarding and redistribution of economic resources. The state was presented as a highly centralised

<sup>77</sup> Konyar 2011; Konyar *et al.* 2017.

<sup>78</sup> Sevin and Özfirat 2001, 142–43; Çilingiroğlu 1992, 472.

<sup>79</sup> Konyar 2011; Konyar *et al.* 2017.

<sup>80</sup> Belli 1978; 1982, 188–90.

<sup>81</sup> Tarhan 1983; 1986, 287.

<sup>82</sup> Belli 1982, 189.

<sup>83</sup> Tarhan 1986, 295.

<sup>84</sup> Tarhan 1986, 296.



Fig. 8. Van Kalesi Höyük excavation, view from south (courtesy of Erkan Konyar).

organisation from its foundation to its demise. However, in both scholars' version of the Urartian state, there was no room for regional variations or temporal changes to its organisation, although recent studies highlighted that there may have been changes to its administrative and socio-economic organisation (see below).<sup>85</sup>

### Urartian Archaeology of the Lake Urmia Basin of Iran and Western Scholarship of Urartu

Although Western scholarly interest (i.e. antiquarians and explorers) in Urartu began in the Van basin in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, its contribution to Urartian archaeology during the era of modern states was limited to the Lake Urmia basin of Iran. This was because most Western scholars of Urartu usually lacked direct access to either eastern Anatolia or Armenia during the second phase of Urartian archaeology. An exception to this was Charles Burney's survey of eastern Anatolia,<sup>86</sup> and his subsequent single-season excavation at Kayalidere.<sup>87</sup>

The archaeological studies of Western scholars in the Urmia basin coincided with the arrival of Turkish scholars in the Van basin of Turkey. Whether this was due to the pioneering work of Burney in eastern Anatolia, which restarted or revived

<sup>85</sup> Çifçi 2017.

<sup>86</sup> Burney 1957; Burney and Lawson 1960.

<sup>87</sup> Burney 1966.

the archaeological research in the region, is hard to say for certain, but archaeologists nonetheless shifted their focus to the Lake Urmia region of Iran. At the centre of this research was the German Institute of Archaeology in Tehran led by Wolfram Kleiss. With the help of Kroll, Kleiss, who was an architect, surveyed the north-west of Iran. His survey revealed the existence of numerous Urartian sites in north-western Iran and these were published annually in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*. He also excavated at Bastam, located at the western end of Qara Ziyaeddin Plain outside the Urmia basin, a 7th-century BC site that was founded by Rusa, son of Argišti. While Kleiss was occupied with his survey work in north-western Iran and his Bastam excavation, Robert Dyson jr was already excavating the site of Hasanlu, located in the Solduz Plain south of the Urmia basin. As in the case of Karmir-Blur and Çavuştepe, Bastam<sup>88</sup> and Hasanlu<sup>89</sup> were also to play a significant role not only for Urartian studies but also for many other ancient Near Eastern scholars. In addition to these two, archaeological excavations were also undertaken at the multi-period site of Haftavan,<sup>90</sup> as well as at Agrap Tepe<sup>91</sup> and Qaleh Ismael Agha.<sup>92</sup> Archaeological research in this part of Urartian territory unfortunately came to an end – with the exception of a German<sup>93</sup> and Italian-Iranian<sup>94</sup> surveys of East Azerbaijan province – following the 1979 Islamic revolution.<sup>95</sup> However, the absence of publications by Iranian scholars on the Urmia basin, and in particular its Urartian archaeology, is noteworthy.

As in the case of the other parts of the Urartian territory, archaeological research in the Urmia basin was concentrated on citadel sites founded by the monarchy. The vast majority of archaeological sites that were investigated by German archaeologists in the region were directly associated with the monarchy, in other words, they were constructed by the king. Therefore, none of the settlements where the Urartian population lived outside these citadels (with the exception of Bastam outer town) was a priority for archaeologists. Archaeological research, in particular that of German scholars in north-western Iran, were influenced by the cultural-historical tradition (see above). Although the research conducted by Kleiss and his team revealed numerous Urartian-period sites in north-western Iran, it was not problem oriented, and in most cases was concerned only with site description, lacking any

<sup>88</sup> Kleiss 1979; 1980; 1988.

<sup>89</sup> Dyson 1965; Dyson and Muscarella 1989.

<sup>90</sup> Burney 1970; 1972.

<sup>91</sup> Muscarella 1973.

<sup>92</sup> Silenzi 1984.

<sup>93</sup> Kleiss and Kroll 1992.

<sup>94</sup> Biscione and Khatib-Shahidi 2006.

<sup>95</sup> Although the Italian survey of Urmia region was conducted before the revolution (between 1976 and 1978), it was not published until 1984 (Pecorella and Salvini 1984).



theoretical discussion. This can be seen clearly in *Topographische Karte von Urartu*,<sup>96</sup> where the Urartian-period sites and the bibliography on them were listed without any further information – and, most importantly, there is no mention of the methodology of the book or what criteria were applied when considering archaeological remains as Urartian. However, one of the main issues with the archaeological research in the Urmia basin, which was also the case with much of the work in eastern Anatolia, was the way archaeological remains were interpreted or only associated with certain periods such as the Urartian; and it is now evident that some may well have been either Achaemenid or later. The Bastam excavation report, however, was well ahead of its time with its multi-disciplinary approach, which is very rare in Urartian studies, with the exception of the Ayanis excavations report.<sup>97</sup>

Although Western scholars were actively engaged with Urartian archaeology in the Urmia basin (in particular the German School), there was also research on the language and socio-economic organisation of the Urartian kingdom. Mirjo Salvini, Burney and Paul Zimansky (a member of the Bastam project) have written extensively on Urartian history and material culture. Salvini was deeply involved in the discovery and publication of numerous inscriptions as well as in the re-examination of those previously published. Recently, he published a four-volume work dealing with Urartian cuneiform inscriptions (*CTU*). Equally important was the work of Burney in eastern Turkey, who, as is mentioned above, travelled the central region of Urartu and identified many sites and inscriptions,<sup>98</sup> thereby reawakening academic interest in eastern Anatolia.<sup>99</sup>

Zimansky's work concentrated on the socio-economic structure of the Urartian state and is still one of the most influential and widely regarded studies of the kingdom. Zimansky was very critical of Soviet-era Marxist scholars for their portrayal of the Urartian kingdom as a centrally organised state and of the concept of 'centralisation'. He argued that eastern Anatolia's topography and climate, as well as the constant threat from the Assyrian army, were the most important factors that shaped the socio-economic organisation of the kingdom.<sup>100</sup> He introduced the concept of 'decentralisation' as a counter argument to Marxist scholars. Because of the persistent Assyrian military threat to its very existence and their ability to penetrate deep into its territory, the kingdom developed a decentralised system,

<sup>96</sup> Kleiss and Hauptmann 1976.

<sup>97</sup> Çilingiroğlu and Salvini 2001.

<sup>98</sup> Burney 1957; Burney and Lawson 1960.

<sup>99</sup> After his survey Burney excavated the site of Kayalidere for a single season in 1965 (Burney 1966).

<sup>100</sup> Zimansky 1985, 3.

where productive and distributive activities remained decentralised,<sup>101</sup> despite the existence of a powerful central bureaucracy at the heart of the kingdom.<sup>102</sup> A similar view was also expressed by Reinhard Bernbeck,<sup>103</sup> who suggested that the Urartian kingdom might have comprised loose alliances of smaller political units throughout its history.<sup>104</sup>

On the other hand, Adam Smith argued that the Ararat Plain might not fall into Zimansky's characterisation of a decentralised administrative system and suggested instead that the state institutions earlier in the 8th century BC were strictly controlled by a singular entity, as opposed to those of the 7th century BC when the state institutions were fragmented and lacked a coherent administrative structure.<sup>105</sup> The absence of written evidence dealing with administrative or bureaucratic activities from Tuşpa (Van Kalesi) and its existence from sites such as Karmir-Blur, Bastam and Toprakkale were at the heart of Zimansky's decentralised hypothesis. Excavations at the Van Kalesi were poorly conducted: the site was never investigated systematically, nor was a long-term project of archaeological research planned. Most importantly, the structures that remained from the Urartian period were mostly destroyed during the early 20th century. A new research project initiated by the University of Istanbul at both the nearby settlement and citadel itself<sup>106</sup> uncovered a cuneiform tablet and a *bullā*, suggesting that future excavation at the site may recover further textual evidence.<sup>107</sup> On the other hand, Smith uses only archaeological evidence from the Ararat Plain for his argument, which is not

<sup>101</sup> Zimansky 1985, 32.

<sup>102</sup> Zimansky used the known archaeological evidence from the Lake Urmia basin to test his hypothesis, in which he first defined the various types of sites, arranged them into groups, and then explored the relationship of the sites to each other and then to their natural surroundings. He then applied statistics and typologies to illustrate the distribution of sites on maps. The statistical method and approach used to interpret the archaeological evidence by Zimansky is within the framework of 'New Archaeology' or 'Processual Archaeology', which was a highly influential methodological and theoretical approach in post-war Anglo-American archaeology until the 1990s (Trigger 2008, 392–444; Johnson 1999, 21–34).

<sup>103</sup> Bernbeck 2003–04.

<sup>104</sup> Bernbeck argued that by controlling the production of metal artefacts – in particular bronze weaponry – the Urartian monarchy retained the loyalty of local leaders (Bernbeck 2003–04, 58–60). However, in my opinion the kingdom indeed might have consisted of smaller polities or chiefdoms during the 'early expansionist period' (see below), but the archaeological and textual evidence from the reign of Rusa son of Argišti contradict Bernbeck's arguments. There is overwhelming evidence for the use of clay tablets and *bullae* in the administrative hierarchy from the sites of the 7th century BC (Karmir-Blur, Ayanis and Bastam), which indicate that there may have been a central administrative system at least towards the end of the lifetime of the kingdom.

<sup>105</sup> Smith 2005, 249–52.

<sup>106</sup> Konyar 2011; Konyar *et al.* 2017.

<sup>107</sup> Işık 2014.

consistent with the rest of Urartian territory: Urartian-period sites were located on the flat plain, hence the topography of the area was not an obstacle for the organisation of space within sites. This is at the core of his hypothesis, which uses a measure of relative asymmetry for the organisation of space within the Urartian fortresses in the area. Since archaeological sites from the Van basin were not compatible with his thesis, Smith ignored recently excavated Urartian sites from Turkey. Most Urartian archaeological sites in eastern Anatolia are located on steep rocky heights or outcrops of hills; therefore, none of them supports his hypothesis. Smith's arguments contradict the archaeological and textual evidence for the reign of Rusa, son of Argišti, dating to the second quarter of the 7th century BC. Administrative documents from this period indicate that there may have been attempts to centralise both decision-making and production.<sup>108</sup> However, Zimansky recently altered his view of his decentralisation hypothesis for the 7th century BC.<sup>109</sup>

### Urartian Monarch and Economic Resources

As for the management of economic resources and the role of the state bureaucracy, the widespread view, as stated above, is that the kingdom was a centralised political organisation throughout its history and therefore played an active role in the regulation of the production and distribution of economic resources. However, it is the aim of this paper to argue that there may have been various changes to its administrative structure, to the management of economic resources or even some regional variations within the kingdom. Hence, it argues that there may have been three different phases of socio-economic and political development within the Urartian kingdom:<sup>110</sup> an (1) 'early expansionist', (2) a 'crisis' and, last of all, (3) a 'restructuring and reforming' period. Archaeological and textual evidence from this early phase of the kingdom indicates that there was neither a centralised nor decentralised system of governance. One of the main priorities of the Urartian monarchy during this period was to expand the newly formed kingdom's boundaries into eastern Anatolia, Transcaucasia and north-western Iran. Hence, the administration of newly seized regions may have been arranged according to the specific needs of certain regions rather than imposing a centralised structure from Tušpa. The name of the individual governors such as Titia (*CTU A 5-8*) and Zaiani (*CTU A 9-18*) appears in royal inscriptions of this period. Although it is hard to know why these two governors' names appear only during this period, it is reasonable to argue that the

<sup>108</sup> Çifçi 2017, 297–304.

<sup>109</sup> Zimansky 2012, 104.

<sup>110</sup> Çifçi 2017.

named individuals may have been appointed among the leaders of the newly incorporated tribes or polities along with the members of the royal family as provincial governors for the stability of the kingdom. One of the most important aspects of this early phase was the army's ability to expand the newly formed kingdom's boundaries, keeping together various tribes or polities under the monarch's control and also generating revenues in the form of booty and tribute.

It is also interesting to note the Urartian monarchy's use of religion as a unifying force by creating an official state pantheon that included a variety of local deities.<sup>111</sup> The god Haldi was elevated to the supreme position in the Urartian pantheon by the monarch and its cult was spread over to the newly conquered territories by constructing temples, open-air shrines, etc. However, there were also efforts to build sacred structures for local deities such as Iubša at the site of Arinberd in the Ararat Plain (*CTU A 8-21 A-B*), Irmušini at Çavuştepe in the Van basin (*CTU A 9-17*) and Šebitu in the Mahmud Abad in the Urmia basin of Iran (*CTU A 10-6*). The construction of cultic structures and the creation of an official state pantheon for various local deities, by Urartian monarchs, reflect the fragile nature of the newly formed kingdom and are also consistent with the state policy of keeping newly incorporated small tribes and polities under control.

During this expansionist period, the military campaigns of Urartian rulers also generated a vast amount of wealth through tribute and booty and much of it was invested in royal construction projects.<sup>112</sup> Table 1 compiles the agricultural activities and the water facilities of the Urartian rulers that were narrated in Urartian royal inscriptions (Table 1; Fig. 9). As the table indicates, the kingdom's involvement in economic production during this period focused on the Van basin and Ararat Plain. The table shows that the Urartian monarch was involved in the organisation of agricultural areas by constructing water facilities (canals, water reservoirs and fountains), developing uncultivated land for agricultural production, orchards and vineyards; major citadel storage facilities such as *'ari* and large pithoi were made to store the agricultural produce. The vast majority of these facilities were built during the 8th century BC when the kingdom's boundaries were expanded. However, it is interesting to note the absence of such facilities from certain regions such as Elazığ, Tunceli and Erzurum. Another similar observation can also be made in the Urmia region of Iran, with the exception of a fountain at the Ain-e Rum/Ushnaviyeh (*CTU A 5-59 A-B-C-D*), which we know was part of the kingdom early in the 8th century BC. The Assyrian king Sargon II's account of his eighth military campaign against Urartu, conducted in north-western Iran, provides a good description of the

<sup>111</sup> Çifçi 2018.

<sup>112</sup> Çifçi 2017, 255–73.



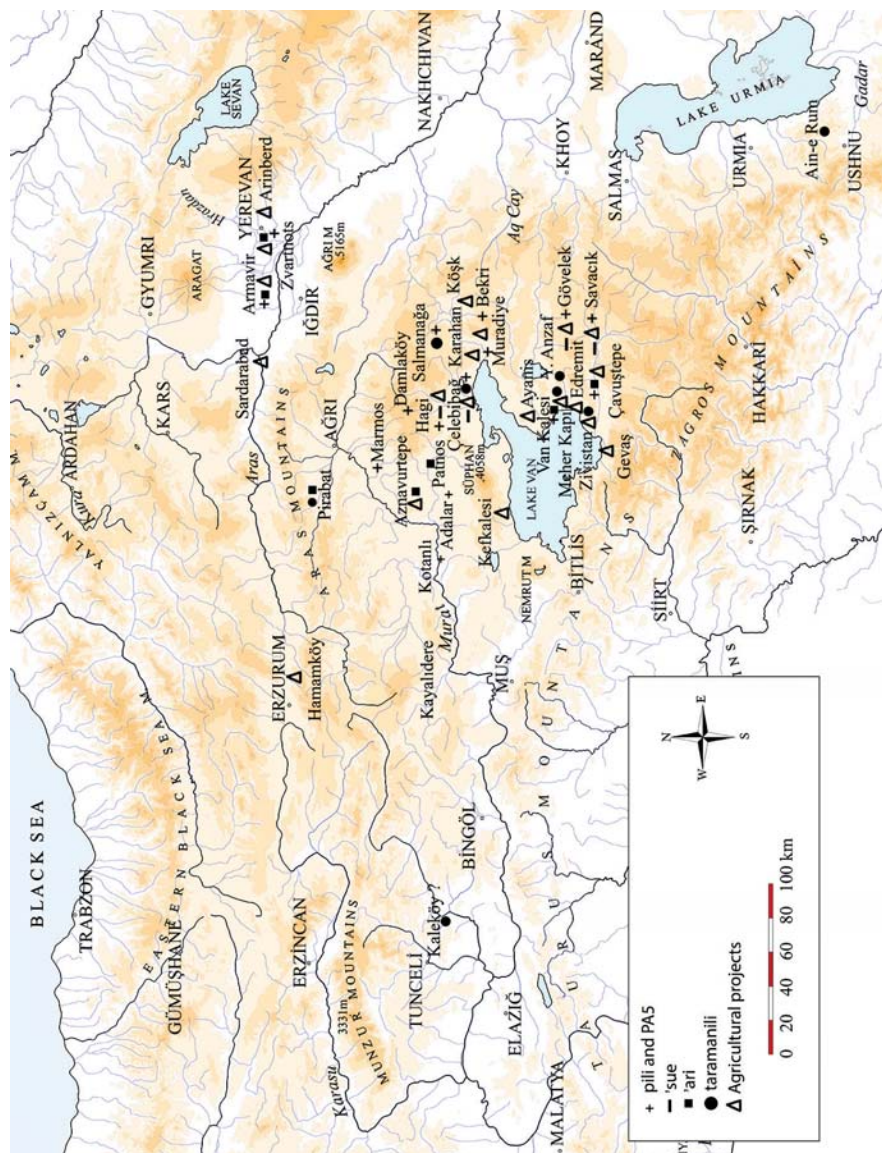


Fig. 9. The construction of agricultural related projects of the Urartian kings (adapted from Koroğlu 2011, 14–15, map 1). Agricultural projects mentioned in Urartian royal inscriptions, such as vineyards, orchards and grain fields, are marked.

water supply system built by Rusa and how Sargon destroyed it at the city of Ulḫu in Sangibute province, recorded in a letter to the god Aššur (*ARAB* II 160). It is hard to know whether the absence of investment by Urartian kings in these regions is real or if it is simply the chance survival and recovery of written evidence, but although the table was compiled from the textual evidence, there are no archaeological remains from these regions that indicate the involvement of the Urartian monarchy. Therefore, in light of this (absence of) evidence, it is reasonable to state that the monarch's involvement might have been limited to the heartland of the kingdom and the Ararat Valley in terms of agriculture (Figs. 9 and 10).

On the other hand, Urartian royal inscriptions mention various other building projects such as É.GAL (citadel), URU (city-settlement), and cultic structures (*susi*, *KÁ* and É.BÁRA) across different strategic parts of the kingdom's territory (as Table 2 and Fig. 10 illustrate). These projects usually took place in previously uninhabited, uncultivated or abandoned landscapes, which show how the Urartian monarch was engaged in state-building processes by improving the newly established kingdom's infrastructure. Tables 1 and 2 clearly illustrate big differences between the number and kind of construction projects undertaken by the Urartian rulers of the 8th and 7th centuries BC: in both numbers and kind the projects of the early expansionists period outnumber those of later Urartian rulers, indicative of the effort of the Urartian royal family to keep newly acquired regions under their control, and also the efforts made to spread the political legitimacy of the monarch. The construction of É.GAL first occurred in the Van basin in the late 9th and early 8th centuries BC and then expanded through much of the kingdom. The building of URU seems to be confined to the Van basin and the Ararat Valley. In contrast, the cultic structures, especially *susi* and *KÁ*, seem to have been built throughout the kingdom after the establishment of the state pantheon late in the 9th century. However, as can be seen from both Tables, most of these construction projects occurred around Lake Van, the Ararat Plain and in some parts of the Lake Urmia basin, but not in the whole Urartian territory. Textual evidence clearly indicates the monarch's efforts to improve the land and mentions the building of new citadels and cities as well as agricultural projects, which shows that the state was directly involved in construction activities during this early phase of the kingdom. This early expansionist period was brought to a close by a series of military defeats toward the second half of the 8th century BC.

The crisis period seems to have developed towards the end of the reign of Sarduri (II), son of Argišti, and then continued with Rusa (I), son of Sarduri, Rusa (II), son of Erimena, and Argišti (II), son of Rusa, ending at the beginning of the reign of Rusa (III), son of Argišti. There were some major military setbacks that caused economic, military and political weakness to the state, the first of

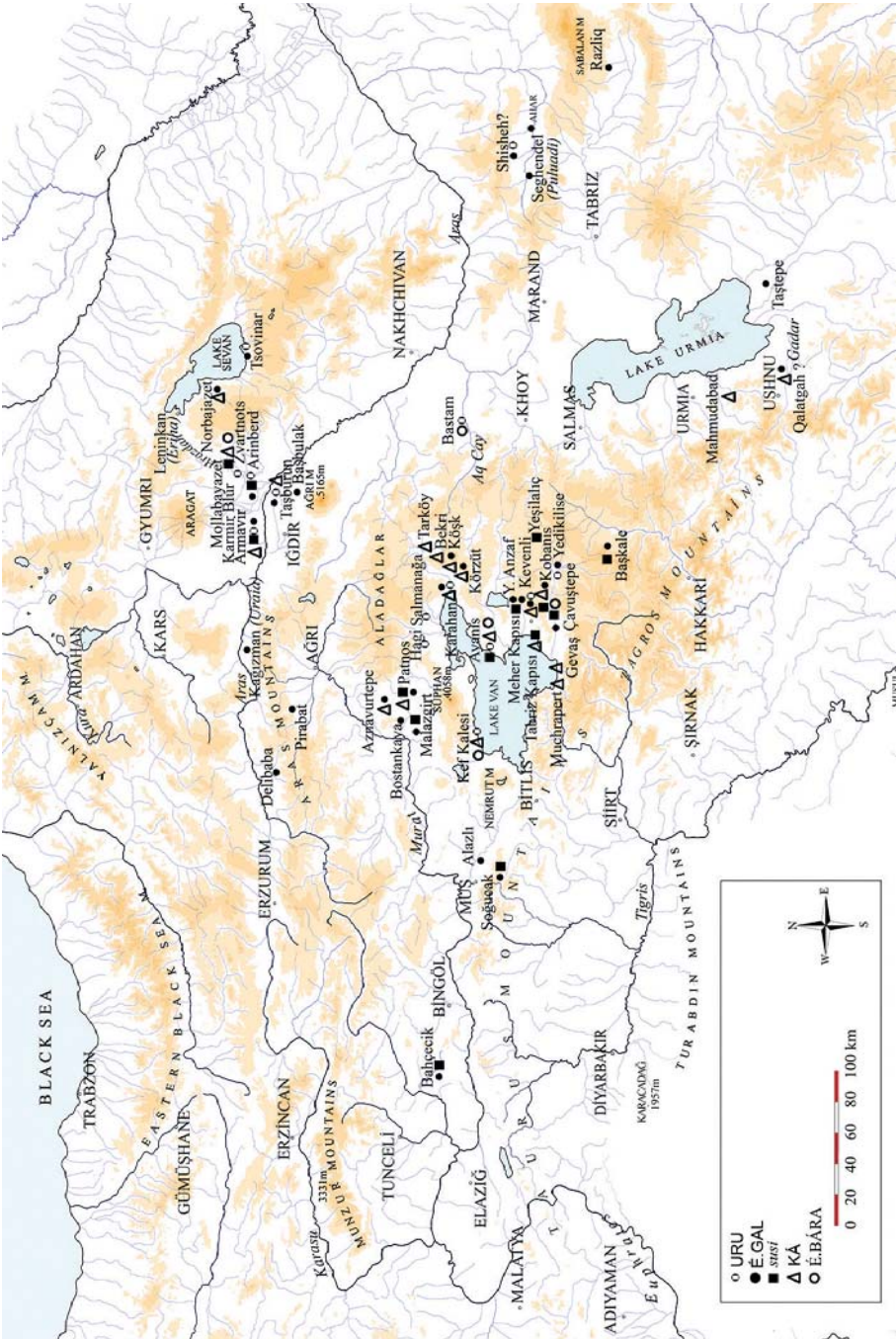


Fig. 10. The construction of citadels, settlements and religious structures of the Urartian kings (adapted from K ro lu 2011, 14–15, map 1).



which was at the hands of the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III, the next by the Assyrian king Sargon II in 714 BC, and shortly afterwards by the Cimmerians.

The Urartian state fought with the Assyrian kingdom for its survival throughout its lifetime: its expansion into the Lake Urmia region and south-westwards into Anatolia and its influence over the Neo-Hittite city-states (Qumaḫa, Gurgum, Miliṭia, Que, etc.) seem to have set both states against each other. Inevitably, a series of wars along their borders occurred in 743, 735 and, finally, 714 BC, which had a devastating effect on the socio-economic and administrative structure of the kingdom. The first major war fought between those two rivals occurred toward the end of the expansionist period in 743 BC, during the reign of Urartian king Sarduri II, who seems to have persuaded Neo-Hittite city-states such as Qumaḫa, Gurgum and Miliṭia to fight against the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III. The war ended Urartian dominance over south-eastern Anatolia and the Assyrian sources of the time claim that Tiglath-Pileser III pursued the Urartians into their heartland and besieged the city of Tušpa (*ARAB* I 769 and 785). However, it is usually considered that if the city of Tušpa was besieged it must have occurred in 735 BC when it was recorded in an eponym lists.<sup>113</sup> Beside laying siege to the city of Tušpa and plundering others during his military expedition, Tiglath-Pileser III also mentions the capture of some cities that were located along the southern border of the kingdom (*ARAB* I 785). On the second occasion, it appears that some of the Urartian cities along the Assyrian border were seized by the Assyrians. However, it is clear that on both occasions the Urartians were defeated by the Assyrians.

The next confrontation was to occur in the Lake Urmia region of Iran, another region that both states sought to keep under their own political and economic influence. On this occasion, the Assyrian king Sargon II defeated the Urartian army and their allies at Mt Uauš in 714 BC and then he began a mission to plunder Urartian territory in the Urmia basin of Iran, subsequently plundering six provinces,<sup>114</sup> one of which was in Mannea (Uišdis) (*ARAB* II 152 and 157), a recent addition to Urartian territory. However, the biggest setback for the Urartians was the sacking of the holy city of Muṣaṣir with its palace and Ḫaldi's main sanctuary storage rooms, narrated in great detail by Sargon II in a letter to the god Aššur. Shortly after Sargon II's incursion into Urartian territory, Assyrian documents of the time report the military defeat of the Urartian army by the Cimmerians.<sup>115</sup> In these reports there is mention of the killing of 11 governors and the capture of two more along with the commander-in-chief of the Urartian army (*SAA* I 30, 31 and 32; *SAA* V 90).

<sup>113</sup> Millard 1994, 59.

<sup>114</sup> Sargon II claims to plunder the provinces of Zaranda (*ARAB* II 158), Sangibute (*ARAB* II 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, and 164), Armarili (*ARAB* II 165), Aiadi (*ARAB* II 166) and Uesi (Uaias *ARAB* II 167).

<sup>115</sup> Mayer 1993, 170–73; Fuchs 2012, 155–57.

The same sources also narrate a revolt and the killing of a king (*SAA* V 90 and 93) in the city of Waisi (Urartian *Uiše*),<sup>116</sup> without revealing the identity of the victim.

It is clear that these military defeats, first along its south-western and southern borders, and then along its eastern borders, deprived the Urartian monarch of agricultural revenues and they may have been the cause of the deserting and plundering of settlements by some of the inhabitants of these regions. It should also be pointed out that all the Urartian textual evidence from the Urmia region was written prior to Sargon II's eighth military campaign into the region, with the exception of the royal inscriptions concerning the construction of Bastam (*CTU* A 12-5) on the Qara Ziyaeddin Plain, north of the basin. Hence, the sovereignty of the Urartians over the Urmia basin seems not to have been certain after Sargon II attacked, and even if the Urartians continued to hold the basin under their sovereignty, the textual evidence from the region states otherwise. As a result of these military setbacks, the state economy is likely to have been weakened, thus putting more pressure on the monarch's ability to govern. The internal struggles for power within the royal family and among the powerful provincial governors might have undermined the authority of the reigning king. Perhaps this is why the reigning kings of this crisis period came and went in short order. There was a sharp decline in the construction activities of the Urartian ruler during this crisis period, as Tables 1 and 2 show. In addition, during the early expansionist period, Urartian military campaigns usually generated revenues for the state economy in the form of booty and tribute.<sup>117</sup> Not being able to generate revenue is likely to have caused a shortage of agricultural products, diminishing revenues further, and thereby weakening the monarch's ability to govern the kingdom.

However, archaeological and textual material from the reign of Rusa (III), son of Argišti, indicate a more centralised administrative system, marked by the introduction of clay tablets (for example, *CTU* CT Ba-1, 2; *CTU* CT Kb-1, 2), cylinder seals<sup>118</sup> and *bullae* (*CTU* CB An-1, *CTU* CB Ay-1, *CTU* CB Ba-1, *CTU* CB Tk-1, etc.) in the state bureaucracy. It seems that Rusa III reorganised the kingdom – even though this was towards the end of its lifetime, the second quarter of the 7th century BC – thus its fortunes were revived. The military defeats that marked the crisis period might have laid the foundation for his reforms. A new royal construction programme was initiated by him that included the building of Ayanis (Rusaḫinili Eidurukai), Karmir-Blur (Teišebai URU), Kef Kalesi (Ḫaldiei URU <sup>KUR</sup>Ziuquni) and Bastam (Rusai URU.TUR), with their massive storage facilities

<sup>116</sup> Çifçi 2017, 40–41.

<sup>117</sup> Çifçi 2017, 255–73.

<sup>118</sup> Seal impressions with the royal name such as *'mru-sa-a KIŠIB m-ar-giš-te-lī-ni-i'* were uncovered from sites such as Ayanis, Bastam and Karmir-Blur (*CTU* Sig. 12-1, 2, 3, 4).



and lower towns or settlements. These new royal centres were much bigger than any of the sites built thitherto by any Urartian king. Unlike in the earlier expansionist period, when newly constructed sites were associated with the expansion of state boundaries, these sites were built on existing Urartian territory (Fig. 10). As was often the case in the earlier period, the agricultural areas around these new centres were also utilised by the Urartian monarchy (Table 1, Fig. 9).

For the first time, there are clay tablets which show the reorganisation of the administrative and provincial system. The contents of these letters show how provincial centres communicated with the monarch on various subjects. There were also a large number of clay *bullae* from the storage facilities of these centres – such as Ayanis<sup>119</sup> and Bastam<sup>120</sup> – which show that commodities and goods received in those centres were measured and recorded. However, it is not clear if Rusa's efforts to centralise decision-making and production was continued by his successors, since this process occurred towards the end of the life-span of the kingdom. Overall, it is clear that there was a central authority in action during the kingdom's last phase – an idea advocated first by Soviet scholars and then strongly supported by Turkish archaeologists for the whole duration of the kingdom.

Overall, while archaeological material from Urartian sites date predominantly to the final period of the kingdom, namely the mid-7th century BC, the majority of royal inscriptions mentioning economic resources date to the 8th century BC, with the exception of administrative texts from the reign of Rusa, son of Argišti. Therefore, any observations or conclusions based on these two different sets of data should be treated with caution.

## Conclusion

Despite the above archaeological and theoretical issues regarding Urartian studies, it is nevertheless thanks to this archaeological research that our knowledge of the Urartian civilisation has increased enormously over the last century. But this critical review of the history of excavation and research into Urartian civilisation clearly indicates that Urartian studies have not been systematic. Rather, there have been intermittent excavations and bursts of intense research in different parts of what was once Urartian territory, at different times. During the initial rediscovery phase of the Urartian kingdom, archaeological research was focused on the Lake Van basin, but in the next phase, which coincided with the foundation of modern states in the former Urartian territory, excavations and surveys spread over the other parts of the kingdom's territory.

<sup>119</sup> Salvini 2001.

<sup>120</sup> Salvini 1979.

Almost all of the excavations undertaken at Urartian-period sites have focused on the citadels constructed by the Urartian monarchy because, at such sites, inscriptions, artefacts, architecture (temple complexes, storage rooms etc.) and other remains were easy to recover. Hence, with few exceptions, there have been no excavations of the settlements where the majority of the Urartian population lived, or of the cemeteries where they were buried. It was only in the early 1990s that archaeologists began to start looking at these lesser-known aspects of Urartian society. It is also interesting to note that the vast majority of the excavated material comes from sites that date to the mid-7th century BC – Rusa, son of Argišti – from Karmir-Blur, Ayanis, Kef Kalesi, Bastam, etc. Although other sites were also excavated, such as Armavir, Arinberd, Çavuştepe and Altintepe, all dated to the earlier 8th century BC, these were not as rich as those of the 7th century BC in terms of archaeological remains. In addition, some of the archaeological remains from these earlier sites were dated to the later period. Furthermore, most of the archaeological material comes from sites built by the royal family or monarch and hence were associated with the ruling elite. There is not much known about the settlements where the ordinary population lived. Surely the Urartian state was not all about royal citadels and not all the population under its yoke resided within such sites or the outer towns that were founded by monarchs. Hence there is a need to excavate these settlements, especially in the Van basin where the kingdom was founded, subsequently spreading over to eastern Anatolia, the Urmia basin of Iran and the Ararat Valley of Armenia.

This study also illustrates how the early involvement of Soviet scholars in Urartian archaeology influenced the interpretations of the nature of the Urartian economy, in particular those of Turkish archaeologists such as Belli and Tarhan. While early Soviet scholars characterised the political organisation of the Urartian kingdom as ‘highly centralised’ and a ‘slave-owning state’, Western scholars stressed a much more decentralised organisation of the state institutions. Thus, studies that dealt with the socio-economic organisation of the Urartian kingdom were concerned with the idea that the kingdom’s institutions were either ‘centralised’ or ‘decentralised’. Therefore, how the political, religious and economic institutions of the kingdom were shaped, or most importantly, how the physical geography and climate of eastern Anatolia, north-western Iran and Armenia impacted on settlement pattern, land use and economic resources, was an under-examined aspect of Urartian studies. Any new field surveys or excavations should not only aim to locate and document Urartian-period archaeological remains, they must also focus on the historical landscape, as the landscape would have provided the economic resources and support for settlements, or in the case of Urartian state, limited such resources and thus shaped the life of the highland communities.

Table 1. The Construction of Agricultural Projects and Water facilities of the Urartian kings

King	Text (CTU)	<i>pili and PA<sub>5</sub></i>	<i>taramanili</i>	<i>şue</i>	Agricultural projects	<i>'ari</i>	Location
<b>Işpuni, son of Sarduri</b>							
	A 2-3 C <sup>121</sup>	-	Fountain	-	-	-	Zivistan/Van
	A 2-5	-	-	-	Vineyard/ Orchard	-	Zivistan/Van
	A 3-6	-	Fountain	-	-	-	Pirabat/Ağrı
	A 2-9 A-B	-	-	-	Vineyard/ Orchard	-	Karahan/Muradiye
	A 3-1	-	-	-	Vineyard/ Orchard	-	Meher Kapısı/Van
<b>Minua, son of Işpuni</b>							
	A 5-12 A-B-C-D; A 5-13; A 5-14 A-B-C-D; A 5-15 A-B-C-D-E	Canal	-	-	-	-	(Minua Canal) Van
	A 5A-1	-	-	-	Vineyard	-	Edremit/Van
	A 5-11 A-B	-	-	-	Vineyard/ Grain Field	-	Anzavurtepe/Patnos
	A 5-16	Canal	-	-	-	-	Bekri/Muradiye
	A 5-17	Canal	Fountain	-	-	-	Salmanağa/Erciş
	A 5-20	Canal	-	-	-	-	Adalar/Malzgirt
	A 5-21	Canal	-	-	-	-	Kotanlı/Malzgirt
	A 5-22	Canal	-	-	-	-	Marmos/Malzgirt
	A 5-23 <sup>122</sup>	Canal	-	-	-	-	Akdamar/Van
	A 5-24	Canal	-	-	-	-	Karahan/Muradiye
	A 5-28; A 5-29; A 5-30; A 5-31	-	-	-	Vineyard/ Orchard	-	Karahan/Muradiye
	A 5-33	-	-	-	Vineyard/ Orchard	-	Güzak/Köşk
	A 5-58 A-B-C	-	Fountain	-	-	-	Van Kalesi

<sup>121</sup> The presence of a *taramanili* is not certain.<sup>122</sup> The Akdamar inscription is not *in situ* and it may have come from the Gevaş area.

King	Text (CTU)	<i>pili and PA<sub>5</sub></i>	<i>taramanili</i>	<i>şue</i>	Agricultural projects	'ari	Location
	A 5-59 A-B-C-D	-	Fountain	-	-	-	Ain-e Rum/Ushnaviyeh
	A 5-62	-	Fountain	-	-	-	Yukarı Anzaf/Van
	A 5-66	-	-	-	-	Granary	Van Kalesi
<b>Argišti (I), son of Minua</b>							
	A 8-2 <sup>123</sup>	Canal	-	-	-	-	Surp Sabak/Van
	A 8-3 V <sup>124</sup>	Canal	-	-	-	-	Van Kalesi
	A 8-15; A 8-16 <sup>125</sup>	Canal	-	-	Vineyard/ Orchard	-	Armavir
	A 8-27; A 8-30	-	-	-	-	Granary	Van
	A 8-28 A-E	-	-	-	-	Granary	Arinberd
	A 8-29	-	-	-	-	Granary	Anzavurtepe
	A 8-31; A 8-32a	-	-	-	-	Granary	Unknown
	A 8-32	-	-	-	-	Granary	Hamanköy/Erzurum
	A 8-33; A 8-34; A 8-35	-	-	-	-	Granary	Pirabat/Eleşkirt
<b>Sarduri (II), son of Argišti</b>							
	A 9-9	Canal	-	-	-	-	Damlaköy/Patnos
	A 9-11	-	-	-	Vineyard	-	Karataş/Erciş
	A 9-12; A 9-16	-	-	-	Vineyard/ Orchard/ Grain Field	-	Armavir
	A 9-17	Canal	-	-	Vineyard/ Grain Field	-	Çavuştepe
	A 9-19	-	-	-	-	Granary	Armavir
	A 9-27; A 9-28; A 9-29; A 9-30; A 9-31; A 9-32; A 9-33; A 9-34; A 9-35	-	-	-	-	Granary	Çavuştepe

<sup>123</sup> The land of 'Aza in the Ararat Valley.

<sup>124</sup> Construction of a canal from the <sup>1b</sup>Dainalitini river (Zilan Deresi in Erciş).

<sup>125</sup> There is more than one canal (4 PA<sub>5</sub><sup>MES</sup>).

King	Text (CTU)	<i>pili and PA<sub>5</sub></i>	<i>taramanili</i>	<i>şue</i>	Agricultural projects	' <i>ari</i>	Location
	A 9-19; A 9-20; A 9-21; A 9-22 A-B; A 9-24; A 9-23	-	-	-	-	Granary	Arinberd
	A 9-25	-	-	-	-	Granary	Patnos
	A 9-26	-	-	-	-	Granary	Anzavurtepe
<b>Rusa (II), son of Erimena</b>							
	A 14-1	Canal	-	Water Reservoir	Vineyard/ Orchard/ Grain Field	-	Gövelek+Keşiş Gölü/Van
	A 14-2	Canal	-	Water Reservoir	Vineyard/ Grain Field	-	Savacık/Van
	A 14-5	-	-	-	-	Granary	Armavir
	A 14-6	-	-	-	-	Granary	Arinberd
<b>Argišti (II), son of Rusa</b>							
	A 11-1	Canal	-	Water Reservoir	Vineyard/ Orchard/ Grain Field	-	Çelebibag/Erciş
	A 11-2	Canal	-	Water Reservoir	Vineyard/ Orchard/ Grain Field	-	Hagi/Erciş
<b>Rusa (III)<sup>126</sup>, son of Argišti</b>							
	A 12-4 II	-	-	-	Vineyard/ Orchard/ Grain Field	-	Kef Kalesi
	A 12-8	Canal	-	-	Vineyard/ Orchard/ Grain Field	-	Zvartnos/Yerevan
	A 12-1 VI; A 12-9	-	-	-	Vineyard/ Orchard/ Grain	-	Ayanis

<sup>126</sup> The chronology of Urartian kings, in particular those of the kingship of Rusa son of Erimena and Rusa son of Argišti is a contentious issue among the Urartian scholars. Salvini (2012) favour the traditional chronology and argued that Rusa son of Argišti ruled before Erimena and his son, whereas Hellwag (2012), Seidl (2012) and Kroll (2012) suggest that Rusa son of Erimena reigned earlier than Rusa son of Argišti. The paper and tables followed the latter argument and arranged the table accordingly.



Table 2. The construction of É.GAL, URU, and Culic Structures of the Urartian kings

King	É.GAL	URU	Susi	KÁ	É.BÁRA	Location
<b>Išpuini, son of Sarduri</b>						
	A 2-6 A-C	-	-	-	-	Aşağı Anzaf
	A 2-9 A-B	A 2-9 A-B	-	A 2-9 A-B	-	Karahan
	-	-	-	A 3-1	-	Meher Kapısı
	-	-	A 3-2	-	-	Yeşilaliç
	-	-	-	A 3-3	-	Muchrapet/Van
	-	-	-	A 3-10	-	Qalatgah
	-	-	A 3-12 <sup>b</sup>	-	-	Patnos?
	-	-	A 4-1	A 4-1	-	Tabriz Kapısı/Van Kalesi
<b>Minua, son of Išpuini</b>						
	A 5-6 (b)	-	-	-	-	Alazlı/Muş
	A 5-10	-	-	-	-	Taştepe/Mianduaba
	A 5-35; A 5-56?	-	-	A 5-2 A <sup>c</sup>	-	Körzüit
	A 5-33; A 5-36	-	-	A 5-2 B-D <sup>c</sup> ; A 5-33	-	Güzak/Köşk
	-	-	-	A 5-2 C <sup>e</sup>	-	Tarköy/Muradiye
	-	-	-	A 5-2 E <sup>c</sup>	-	Bekri/Muradiye
	-	-	-	A 5-2 F <sup>e</sup>	-	Van Kalesi
	-	A 5-17	-	-	-	Salamağağ/Erciş
	A 5-11 A-B; A 5-37; A 5-38	-	-	A 5-11 A-B; A 5-37	-	Aznavurtepe
	A 5-25; A 5-39	-	-	A 5-25	-	Patnos
	A 5-26	-	-	-	-	Başbulak/Iğdır
	A 5-27	A 5-27?	-	A 5-27	-	Tsolakert/Taşburun

King	É.GAL	URU	Susi	KÁ	É.BÁRA	Location
	A 5-28; A 5-29; A 5-30; A 5-31	A 5-28; A 5-29; A 5-30; A 5-31	-	A 5-28; A 5-30	-	Karahan
	-	A 5-32	-	-	-	Yedikilise/Van
	A 5-34	A 5-34	-	A 5-44; A 5-45 A-B; A 5-46 A-B	-	Kevenli/Van
	A 5-40 A-B	-	-	-	-	Pirabat/Ağrı
	A 5-41 A-B	-	-	-	-	Delibaba/Pasinler
	A 5-42 A-C; A 5-43; A 5-62	-	A 5-42 A-C; A 5-43	-	-	Yukarı Anzaf
	A 5-47	-	A 5-47	A 5-47; A 5-48 <sup>a</sup>	-	Kobanis/Van
	-	-	-	A 5-50	-	Hasbey/Gevaş
	A 5-51	-	A 5-51	-	-	Malazgirt
	A 5-52	-	A 5-52	-	-	Başkale
	A 5-61	-	-	-	-	Qalatgah
	A 5-67	-	-	-	-	Bostankaya
Argišti (I), son of Minua						
	A 8-17 A-B; A 8-18 A 8-19; A 8-20	A 8-1; A 8-3 II	A 8-21 A-B	-	-	Arinberd
	A 8-16	A 8-2	-	-	-	Armavir
	A 8-22	-	A 8-22	-	-	Soğucak/Muş
	Sarduri (II), son of Argišti					
	A 9-3 III; A 9-3 IV <sup>a</sup>	-	-	-	-	Uraidi <sup>127</sup> and Pulhadi <sup>128</sup>
	A 9-3 IV	-	-	-	-	Eriahi (Leninkan)

<sup>127</sup> Foundation of an É.GAL in the city of <sup>URU</sup>Uraia in Uīteruḫi (Upper Aras region near Kağızman).  
<sup>128</sup> Construction of more than one É.GAL in the *Pulhadi* (30 km west of Ahar in north-western Iran).

King	É.GAL	URU	Susi	KÁ	É.BÁRA	Location
	-	-	A 9-16	A 9-15; A 9-16	-	Armavir
A 9-17		-	A 9-17	-	A 9-17	Çavuştepe
A 9-18		-	A 9-18	-	-	Bahçecik/Karakoçan
A 9-37		-	-	-	-	Mollabajazet/Sardarabat
<b>Rusa (I), son of Sarduri</b>						
A 10-1		-	-	A 10-1 <sup>a</sup>	-	Nor-Bayazet
A 10-2 <sup>a</sup>		A 10-2 <sup>a</sup>	-	-	-	Tsovinar
-		-	-	A 10-6	-	Mahmud Abad
<b>Argišti (II), son of Rusa</b>						
-		A 11-2 <sup>a</sup>	-	-	-	Hagi/Erciş
A 11-4		-	-	-	-	Razliq/Sarab
A 11-6?		A 11-6?	-	-	-	Shisheh/Ahar
<b>Rusa (III), son of Argišti</b>						
A 12-9		A 12-1V/III <sup>a</sup>	A 12-1	A 12-1	A 12-9	Ayanis
-		-	A 12-2 I	A 12-2 I	A 12-2 II	Karmir-Blur
-		A 12-4	-	-	A 12-4 II	Adilcevaz/Kef Kalesi
-		A 12-7	-	-	A 12-7	Bastam
-		A 12-8	-	-	-	Zvartnots/Ecmiadzin

Note: (?) indicates the presence of *É.GAL* and *URU* were not certain. (a) The construction of more than one *É.GAL*, *URU* and *KÁ* (b) Preserved in the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations in Ankara, probably from Patnos, (c) Duplicates of the same inscription, celebrating king Minua's victory against the kingdom of Etiuni.

## Bibliography

### Abbreviations

- AnAnt*     *Anatolia Antiqua*.  
*AnAr*     *Anadolu Araştırmaları*.  
*ARAB*     D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, 2 vols. (London 1989).  
*CTU*     M. Salvini, *Corpus dei Testi Urartei*, 4 vols. (Rome 2008–12).  
*KST*     *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*.  
*SAA I*     S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I: Letters from Assyria and the West* (Helsinki 1987).  
*SAA V*     G.B. Lanfranchi and S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part II: Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces* (Helsinki 1990).

- Abdi, K. 2001: 'Nationalism, Politics, and the Development of Archaeology in Iran'. *AJA* 105.1, 51–76.
- Adontz, N. 1946: *Histoire d'Arménie: Les origines du Xe siècle au VIe (av. J. C.)* (Paris).
- Amanat, A. 2004: 'Historiography VIII–IX. Pahlavi Period'. *EncIran* 12.3, 377–90.
- Atakuman, Ç. 2008: 'Cradle or crucible Anatolia and archaeology in the early years of the Turkish Republic (1923–1938)'. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 8.2, 214–35.
- Avetisyan, H. and Bobokhyan, A. 2009: *Archaeology of Urartu (Fortress-Settlements and Burial Complexes)* (Yerevan).
- . 2012: 'Archaeology of Armenia in regional context: Achievements and perspectives'. In Avetisyan, P. and Bobokhyan, A. (eds.), *Archaeology of Armenia in Regional Context* (Yerevan), 7–20.
- Badaljan, R.S., Edens, C., Kohl, P.L. and Tonikjan, A.V. 1992: 'Archaeological Investigations at Horom in the Shirak Plain of Northwestern Armenia, 1990'. *Iran* 30, 31–48.
- Badaljan, R.S., Edens, C., Gorny, R., Kohl, P.L., Stronach, D., Tonikjan, A.V., Hamayakjan, S., Mandrikjan, S. and Zardarjan, M. 1993: 'Preliminary Report on the 1992 Excavations at Horom, Armenia'. *Iran* 31, 1–24.
- Balkan, K. 1960: 'Patnos Yakınında Anzavurtepe'de Bulunan Urartu Tapınağı ve Kitabeleri'. *Anatolia* 5, 133–58.
- . 1964: 'Patnos'ta Keşfedilen Urartu Tapınağı ve Urartu Sarayı'. *Atatürk Konferansları* 1, 235–43.
- Barnett, R.D. 1950: 'The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale near Van'. *Iraq* 12.1, 1–43.
- . 1954: 'The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale, near Van: Addenda'. *Iraq* 16.1, 3–22.
- . 1959: 'Further Russian Excavations in Armenia (1949–1953)'. *Iraq* 21, 1–19.
- Barnett, R.D. and Watson, W. 1952: 'Russian Excavations in Armenia'. *Iraq* 14.2, 132–47.
- Belli, O. 1978: 'Urartu Sanatının Sosyo-Ekonomik Açından Eleştirisi Üzerine Bir Deneme'. *AnAr* 6, 45–95.
- . 1982: 'Urartular'. *Anadolu Uygarlıkları Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1 (Istanbul), 139–208.
- . 1999: *The Anzaf Fortresses and the Gods of Urartu* (Istanbul).
- Belli, O. and Konyar, E. 2001a: 'Excavations of Van-Yoncatepe Fortress and Necropolis (1997–1999)'. In Belli, O. (ed.), *Istanbul University's Contributions to Archaeology in Turkey (1932–2000)* (Istanbul), 150–56.
- . 2001b: 'Excavations at Van-Yoncatepe Fortress and Necropolis'. *Tel Aviv* 28.2, 169–212.
- Bernbeck, R. 2003–04: 'Organizational Aspects of Urartian Bronze Production'. *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān* 3.2, 43–63.
- Bilgiç, E. and Ögün, B. 1964: '1964 Adilcevaz Kef Kalesi Kazıları – Excavations at Kef Kalesi of Adilcevaz, 1964'. *Anatolia* 8, 65–120.
- . 1965: 'Second season of excavation at Kef Kalesi of Adilcevaz'. *Anatolia* 9, 1–20.

- Biscione, R., Hmayakyan, S. and Parmegiani, N. (eds.) 2002: *The North-Eastern Frontier Urartians and Non-Urartians in the Sevan Lake Basin 1: The Southern Shores* (Rome).
- Biscione, R. and Khatib-Shahidi, H. 2006: 'Iranian-Italian archaeological survey in Eastern Azerbaijan'. *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 48, 302–06.
- Burney, C.A. 1957: 'Urartian Fortresses and Towns in the Van Region'. *AS* 7, 37–53.
- . 1966: 'A First Season of Excavations on the Urartian Citadel of Kayalidere'. *AS* 16, 55–111.
- . 1970: 'Excavations at Haftavān Tepe 1968: First Preliminary Report'. *Iran* 8, 157–71.
- . 1972: 'Excavations at Haftavān Tepe 1969: Second Preliminary Report'. *Iran* 10, 127–42.
- Burney, C.A. and Lawson, G.R. 1960: 'Measured Plans of Urartian Fortresses'. *AS* 10, 177–96.
- Chahin, M. 2001: *The Kingdom of Armenia: A History* (London/New York).
- Çiğçi, A. 2017: *The Socio-Economic Organisation of the Urartian Kingdom* (Boston/Leiden).
- . 2018: 'Religion and Kingship Ideology: God Haldi and Urartian Monarch'. *AWE* 17, 119–41.
- Çiğçi, A. and Greaves, A.M. 2013: 'Urartian Irrigation Systems: A Critical Review'. *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 50, 191–214.
- Çilingiroğlu, A. 1991: 'The Early Iron Age at Dilkaya'. In Çilingiroğlu, A. and French, D.H. (eds.), *Anatolian Iron Ages 2* (Oxford), 29–38.
- . 1992: 'Van-Dilkaya Höyüğü Kazıları Kapanış'. *KST* 14.1, 469–91.
- Çilingiroğlu, A. and Salvini, M. (eds.) 2001: *Ayanis 1: Ten Years' Excavations at Rusahinili Eiduru-kai 1989–1998* (Rome).
- Diakonoff, I.M. 1952: 'K voprosu o sud'be plennykh v Assirii i Urartu'. *VDI* 1, 90–100.
- . 1963: 'Nekotorye dannye o sotsial'nom ustroistve Urartu'. *Problemy sotsial'no ekonomicheskoi istorii drevnego mira. Sb. Pamiaty akad. A.I. Tiumentseva* (Moscow), 55–65.
- . 1984: *The Pre-History of the Armenian People* (Delmar, NY).
- . 1991a: 'Sacrifices in the city of Teisebâ (UKN 448) – Lights on the Social History of Urartu'. *AMIran* 24, 13–21.
- . 1991b: 'General Outline of the First Period of the History of the Ancient World and the Problem of the Ways of Development'. In Diakonoff, I.M. (ed.), *Early Antiquity* (Chicago), 27–66.
- Dyson, R.H. 1965: 'Problems of Protohistoric Iran as seen from Hasanlu'. *JNES* 24.3, 193–217.
- Dyson, R.H. and Muscarella, O.W. 1989: 'Constructing the chronology and historical implications of Hasanlu IV'. *Iran* 27, 1–27.
- Erzen, A. 1977: 'Çavuştepe Yukarı Kale ve Toprakkale 1976 Dönemi Kazıları'. *AnAr* 4–5, 1–59.
- . 1979: 'Çavuştepe Yukarı Kale ve Toprakkale 1977 Çalışmaları'. *AnAr* 6, 1–15.
- . 1988: *Çavuştepe 1: Urartian Architectural Monuments of the 7th and 6th Centuries BC and a Necropolis of the Middle Ages* (Ankara).
- Fuchs, A. 2012: 'Urartu in der Zeit'. In Kroll *et al.* 2012, 135–61.
- Härke, H. 1989: 'The Unkel Symposia: The Beginnings of a Debate in West German Archaeology?'. *Current Anthropology* 30.3, 406–10.
- Hellwag, U. 2012: 'Der Niedergang Urartus'. In Kroll *et al.* 2012, 227–41.
- Hovhannissian, C. 1973: *Erebooni* (Yerevan).
- Işık, K. 2014: 'Van Kalesi Höyüğü Kazılarında Keşfedilen Urartu Yazılı Belgeleri'. *Colloquium Anatolicum* 13, 173–84.
- Johnson, M. 1999: *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction* (Oxford).
- Khanzadayan, E.V., Mkrtchyan, K.H. and Parsamyan, Ė.S. 1973: *Metsamor: Usumnasirut'yun 1965–1966 t't. pëghumneri tyalnerov / Archaeological Fieldwork at Metsamor 1965–1966* (Yerevan).
- Khatchadourian, L. 2008: 'Making Nations from the Ground up: Traditions of Classical Archaeology in the South Caucasus'. *AJA* 112.2, 247–78.
- Kleiss, W. (ed.) 1979: *Bastam 1: Ausgrabungen in den Urartäischen Anlagen 1972–1975* (Berlin).
- . 1980: 'Bastam, an Urartian citadel complex of the Seventh Century BC'. *AJA* 84, 299–304.
- . (ed.) 1988: *Bastam 2: Ausgrabungen in den Urartäischen Anlagen 1977–78* (Berlin).
- Kleiss, W. and Hauptmann, H. 1976: *Topographische Karte von Urartu (= AMIran 3)* (Berlin).
- Kleiss, W. and Kroll, S. 1992: 'Survey in Ost-Azarbaidjan 1991'. *AMIran* 25, 1–46.



- Kohl, P.L. 1993: 'Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology in Soviet Transcaucasia'. *Journal of European Archaeology* 1.2, 181–89.
- . 1998: 'Nationalism and Archaeology: On the Constructions of Nations and the Reconstructions of the Remote past'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27, 223–46.
- Kohl, P.L. and Fawcett, C. (eds.) 1995: *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology* (Cambridge).
- Kohl, P.L. and Tsetschladze, G.R. 1995: 'Nationalism, politics, and the practice of archaeology in the Caucasus'. In Kohl and Fawcett 1995, 149–76.
- Kökten, İ.K. 1944: 'Orta, Doğu ve Kuzey Anadolu'da Yapılan Tarih Öncesi Araştırmaları'. *Belleten* 8.32, 659–80.
- Konyar, E. 2011: 'Excavations at the Mound of Van Fortress/Tuspa'. *Colloquium Anatolicum* 10, 147–66.
- Konyar, E., Genç, B., Avcı, C. and Tan, A. 2017: 'The Van Tuşpa Excavations 2015–2016'. *AnAnt* 25, 127–42.
- Köröğlu, K. 2007: 'New observations on the origin of the single-roomed rock-cut tombs of eastern Anatolia'. In Alparslan, M., Doğan-Alparslan, M. and Peker, H. (eds.), *VITA: Belkis Dinçol ve Ali Dinçol'a Armağan / Festschrift in Honor of Belkis Dinçol and Ali Dinçol* (Istanbul), 445–56.
- . 2011: 'Urartu: Krallık ve Aşiretler – Urartu: The kingdom and Tribes'. In Köröğlu, K. and Konyar, E. (eds.), *Urartu: Doğu'da Değişim / Transformation in the East* (Istanbul), 12–51.
- Köröğlu, K. and Danışmaz, H. 2018: 'The Origin of Stepped Rock-Cut Tunnels in Eastern Anatolia'. *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 55, 107–24.
- Köröğlu, K. and Konyar, E. 2008: 'Comments on the Early/Middle Iron Age Chronology of Lake Van Basin'. In *A Re-Assessment of Iron Ages Chronology in Anatolia and Neighbouring Regions* = *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 45, 123–46.
- Koşay, H.Z. and Turfan, K. 1959: 'Erzurum-Karaz Kazısı Raporu'. *Belleten* 23.91, 349–413.
- Koşay, H.Z. and Vary, H. 1964: *Pulur Kazısı 1960. Mevsimi Çalışmaları Raporu. Die Ausgrabungen von Pulur. Bericht über die Kampagne von 1960* (Ankara).
- . 1967: *Güzelova Kazısı. Ausgrabungen von Güzelova* (Ankara).
- Kroll, S. 2012: 'Rusa Erimena in Archäologischem Kontext'. In Kroll *et al.* 2012, 183–86.
- Kroll, S., Gruber, C., Hellwag, U., Roaf, M. and Zimansky, P. (eds.) 2012: *Biainili-Urartu* (Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA).
- Kuban, Z. 2003: 'Arkeoloji ve İdeoloji'. In Erdur, O. and Duru, G. (eds.), *Arkeoloji: Niye? Nasıl? Ne İçin?* (Istanbul), 157–61.
- Lake, K. 1940: 'Vanda Yapılan Harfiyat, 1938'. *Türk Tarih Arkeoloji ve Etnografya Dergisi* 4, 179–91.
- Lehmann-Haupt, C.F. 1931: *Armenien Einst und Jetzt* (Berlin).
- Lindsay, I. and Smith, A.T. 2006: 'A History of Archaeology in the Republic of Armenia'. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 31.2, 165–84.
- Marr, N.J. and Orbeli, I.A. 1922: *Arkheologicheskaya Ekspeditsiya 1916 goda v Van. Raskopki dvukh nish na Vanskoi skale i nadpisi Sardura vtorogo iz raskopok zapadnoi nishi* (Petrograd).
- Marro, C. and Özfirat, A. 2003: 'Pre-classical Survey in Eastern Turkey. First Preliminary Report: the Ağrı Dağ (Mount Ararat) region'. *AnAnt* 11, 385–422.
- . 2004: 'Pre-classical Survey in Eastern Turkey. Second Preliminary Report: the Erciş region'. *AnAnt* 12, 227–65.
- . 2005: 'Pre-classical Survey in Eastern Turkey. Third Preliminary Report: Doğubayazıt and the Eastern shore of Lake Van'. *AnAnt* 13, 319–56.
- Martirosyan, A.A. 1974: *Argistichinili* (Yerevan).
- Mayer, W. 1993: 'Die chronologische Einordnung der Kimmerier-Briefe aus der Zeit Sargons II'. In Dietrich, M. and Loretz, O. (eds.), *Mesopotamica, Ugaritica, Biblica. Festschrift für Kurt Bergerhof zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres am 7. Mai 1992* (Neukirchen-Vluyn), 145–76.
- Melikishvili, G.A. 1951: 'Nekotorye voprosy sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoi istorii Nairi-Urartu'. *VDI* 4, 22–40.

- . 1953: 'K voprosu o tsarskikh khozyaistvakh i rabakh-plennikakh v Urartu'. *VDI* 1, 22–29.
- . 1978: 'Some aspects of the question of the socioeconomic structure of ancient Near Eastern Societies'. *Soviet Anthropology and Archaeology* 17.1, 25–72.
- Meyer, G.R. 1967: 'Zur Bronzestatuette VA 774 aus Toprak-Kale'. *Forschungen und Berichte* 8, 7–11.
- . 1968: 'Bemerkungen zu einigen urartäischen Bronzen aus Toprak-Kale'. In Graf, E. (ed.), *Festschün Werner Caskel zum siebsigsten Geburtstag, 5. Marz 1966* (Leiden), 212–23.
- Millard, A. 1994: *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire 910–612 BC* (Helsinki).
- Muscarella, O.W. 1973: 'Excavations at Agrab Tepe, Iran'. *MetMusJ* 8, 47–76.
- Oganesjan, K.L. 1961: *Arin-Berd 1: Architektura Èrebuni: Po materialam raskopok 1950–1959 gg.* (Yerevan).
- Özgüç, T. 1966: *Altın-tepe 1: Mimarlık Anıtları ve Duvar Resimleri* (Ankara).
- . 1969: *Altın-tepe 2: Mezarlar, Depo Binası ve Fildişi Eserler* (Ankara).
- Pecorella, P.E. and Salvini, M. (eds.) 1984: *Tra lo Zagros e l'Urmia: Ricerche storiche ed archeologiche nell'Azerbaigiano Iranico* (Rome).
- Piotrovsky, B.B. 1941: 'Urartu / The Van Kingdom'. In Struve, V.V. (ed.), *Istoriya Drevnego Vostoka* (Leningrad), 307–23.
- . 1950: *Karmir-Blur*, vol. 1 (Yerevan).
- . 1952: *Karmir-Blur*, vol. 2 (Yerevan).
- . 1955: *Karmir-Blur*, vol. 3 (Yerevan).
- . 1959: *Vanskoe Carstvo* (Moscow).
- . 1967: *Urartu the Kingdom of Van and its Art* (London).
- . 1969: *The Ancient Civilization of Urartu* (London).
- Potts, D.T. 2017: 'Achievement and Misfortune: On the Life and Death of Friedrich Eduard Schulz (1799–1829)'. *Journal Asiatique* 305.2, 249–70.
- Rothman, M.S. and Kozbe, G. 1997: 'Muş in the Early Bronze Age'. *AS* 47, 105–26.
- Russell, J.R. 2005: 'Early Armenian Civilization'. In Herzig, E. and Kurkchiyan, M. (eds.), *The Armenians: Past and Present in the Making of National Identity* (London/New York), 23–40.
- Sağır, G. 2011: 'Kars ili ve çevresinde yer alan Ortaçağ Ermeni Kiliseleri (Ani Örenyeri hariç) yüzey araştırması'. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 29.2, 11–34.
- Sagona, A.G. and Erkmen, M. 1997: 'Excavations at Sos Höyük, 1996: Third Preliminary Report'. *Anatolica* 23, 181–226.
- . 1998: 'Excavations at Sos Höyük, 1997: Fourth Preliminary Report'. *Anatolica* 24, 31–64.
- Sagona, A.G., Erkmen, M., Sagona, C. and Thomas, I. 1996: 'Excavations at Sos Höyük, 1995: Second Preliminary Report'. *AS* 46, 27–52.
- Sagona, A.G., Pemberton, E. and McPhee, I. 1991: 'Excavations at Büyüktepe Höyük, 1990: First Preliminary Report'. *AS* 41, 145–58.
- . 1992: 'Excavations at Büyüktepe Höyük, 1991: Second Preliminary Report'. *AS* 42, 29–46.
- . 1993: 'Excavations at Büyüktepe Höyük, 1992: Third Preliminary Report'. *AS* 43, 69–83.
- Salvini, M. 1979: 'Die urartäischen Tontafeln aus Bastam'. In Kleiss, W. (ed.), *Bastam 1: Ausgrabungen in den urartäischen Anlagen 1972–1975* (Berlin), 115–31.
- . 2001: 'Inscriptions on Clay'. In Çilingiroğlu and Salvini 2001, 279–319.
- . 2006: *Urartu Tarihi ve Kültürü* (Istanbul).
- . 2012: 'Das Corpus der Urartäischen Inschriften'. In Kroll et al. 2012, 111–34.
- Seidl, U. 2012: 'Rusa son of Erimena, Rusa son of Argisti and Rusahinili/Toprakkale'. In Kroll et al. 2012, 177–81.
- Sekmen, V. 1990: *Van ve Toprakkale'deki Araştırma ve Kazıların Tarihçesi* (Dissertation, Istanbul University).
- Sevin, V. 2003: 'Lehmann-Haupt'tan Afif Erzen'e: Urartu Araştırmaları, Tarih ve Arkeoloji'. *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 114, 3–10.
- Sevin, V. and Kavaklı, E. 1996: *Bir Erken Demir Çağ Nekropolü Van/Karagündüz* (Istanbul).

- Sevin, V. and Özfirat, A. 2001: 'Van-Karagündüz Excavations'. In Belli, O. (ed.), *Istanbul University's Contributions to Archaeology in Turkey (1932–2000)* (Istanbul), 140–44.
- Silenzi, D. 1984: 'Le Strutture di Qal'eh Ismail Aqa'. In Pecorella and Salvini 1984, 215–20.
- Smith, A.T. 2005: *The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities* (Berkley/London).
- . 2009: 'Traditions of Archaeological Research in Armenia'. In Smith *et al.* 2009, 9–20.
- . 2012: "Yerevan, my ancient Erebuni": archaeological repertoires, public assemblages, and the manufacture of a (post-)Soviet nation'. In Hartley, C.W., Yazıcıoğlu, G.B. and Smith, A.T. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Power and Politics in Eurasia Regimes and Revolutions* (Cambridge), 57–77.
- Smith, A.T., Badalyan, R.S. and Avetisyan, P. (eds.) 2009: *The Archaeology and Geography of Ancient Transcaucasian Societies 1: The Foundations of Research and Regional Survey in the Tsaghkahovit Plain, Armenia* (Chicago).
- Smith, A.T. and Thompson, T.T. 2004: 'Urartu and the Southern Caucasian Tradition'. In Sagona, A.G. (ed.), *A View from the Highlands: Archaeological Studies in Honour of Charles Burney* (Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA), 557–80.
- Sorokin, V.S. 1952: 'Arkheologicheskie dannye dlya kharakteristiki sotsial'no-ekonomicheskogo stroya Urartu'. *VDI* 2, 127–32.
- Stone, E.C. and Zimansky, P.E. 2004: 'Urartian City Planning at Ayanis'. In Sagona, A.G. (ed.), *A View from the Highlands: Archaeological Studies in Honour of Charles Burney* (Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA), 233–43.
- Tarhan, M.T. 1983: 'The Structure of the Urartian State'. *AnAr* 9, 295–310.
- . 1986: 'Urartu Devleti'nin Yapısal Karakteri'. *IX. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara), 285–301.
- . 1996: 'Sevgili Hocamız Prof. Dr. Afif Erzen'. *AnAr* 14, 1–19.
- Tarhan, M.T. and Sevin, V. 1990: 'Van Kalesi ve Eski Van Şehri Kazıları 1988'. *KST* 11.1, 355–75.
- . 1991: 'Van Kalesi ve Eski Van Şehri Kazıları, 1989'. *KST* 12.2, 429–56.
- Trigger, B.G. 1984: 'Alternative Archaeologies: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist'. *Man* 19.3, 355–70.
- . 2008: *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge).
- Wartke, R.-B. 1990: *Toprakkale. Untersuchungen zu den Metallobjekten im Vorderasiatischen Museum zu Berlin* (Berlin).
- Yesayan, S.A. 1982: *Karmir-Blur* (Yerevan).
- Zimansky, P.E. 1985: *Ecology and Empire: The Structure of the Urartian State* (Chicago).
- . 1998: *Ancient Ararat: A Handbook of Urartian Studies* (Delmar, NY).
- . 2011: 'Unutulan ve Tekrar Hayata Dönen Bir Krallık: Urartu Çalışmaları ve Literatürü / A Kingdom Revived from Oblivion: Urartian Studies and Literature'. In Köroğlu, K. and Konyar, E. (eds.), *Urartu Doğu'da Değişti / Transformation in the East* (Istanbul), 46–63.
- . 2012: 'Urartu as Empire: Cultural Integration in the Kingdom of Van'. In Kroll *et al.* 2012, 101–10.

Ancient History Department  
 Faculty of Arts and Sciences  
 Marmara University  
 34722 Göztepe/ Istanbul  
 Turkey  
 cifciali1@gmail.com

# THE LATE ARCHAIC HOUSE AT MONTE IATO: GREEK-STYLE ARCHITECTURE, RITUAL ABANDONMENT AND THE POLITICS OF INDIGENEITY IN WESTERN SICILY (500–460/50 BC)\*

ERICH KISTLER

## Abstract

The Late Archaic (LA) house on Monte Iato, built around 500 BC deep in the mountainous interior of western Sicily, was one of the largest non-sacral buildings of its day. With its walls constructed entirely of stone and mud bricks, its multiple storeys, its tiled roof and red and white painted floors and walls, it was the monumental manifesto of a technological sophisticated architecture. In the Archaic period, comparable monumental architecture can be found only in urban or religious centres of the Mediterranean world. However, in the case of the house on Monte Iato, the banqueting rooms on the upper floor were topographical connected with the ‘Aphrodite Temple’ and its altar via a processional way and a ramp. Apparently, the upper floor served as a banqueting house, as seen in *hestiatoria* in close proximity to a temple and altar in Greek sanctuaries. All of this is discussed in more detail in the first section of the following paper. In the second section I present archaeological evidence suggesting that the house was abandoned in a ritual act around 460/50 BC. In the third section, I will examine the interplay between Greek-style architecture, local power building and the politics of being a native, and argue why the monumental phase on Monte Iato ended after just 50 years by an extensive process of de-monumentalisation, resulting in an epochal shift.

\* Research on the LA house was funded by the Austrian Science Fund (P 22642-G19) and by the Swiss National Science Foundation (101512-105190). For enabling us to conduct the fieldwork, I am extremely grateful to the director and co-director of the Ietas Excavations of the University of Zurich, Christoph Reusser and Martin Mohr, as well as the former and current directors of the archaeological park of Monte Iato, Ferdinando Maurici, Enrico Caruso, Lucina Gandolfo and Francesca Spatafora. I also want to express my gratitude to Birgit Öhlinger, Christian Heitz, Stephan Ludwig, Thomas Dauth, Ruth Irovec, Benjamin Wimmer and Christoph Ulf for their help, insightful comments and suggestions during the completion of this manuscript. Finally, I am also grateful to the two anonymous referees of *AWE*. Last but not least, the description and documentation of the ceramic finds from the context of the house, to which reference is made in the following paper, is on open access, available via the inventory number at: <http://diglib.uibk.ac.at/ulbtirolfodok/content/titleinfo/2304070>.

## Introduction

Monte Iato lies in the heart of the mountainous hinterland of western Sicily, about 30 km south-west of Palermo (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Owing to the advantages of this central position in terms of transhumance and transport, Monte Iato was settled during the early 7th century BC at the latest. A dispersed settlement composed of small oval and/or rectangular dwellings and arranged in several compounds could be proven for the first half of the 6th century BC, whose inhabitants had hospitable contacts with Phoenicians and Greeks.<sup>2</sup> During the third quarter of the 6th century the 'Aphrodite Temple'<sup>3</sup> was erected.<sup>4</sup> Further cult buildings or feasting houses dating to the late 6th century and the early 5th century could be identified to the west and east of it. In combination with the Aphrodite Temple they mark an interregional cult centre, which also included the LA house.<sup>5</sup> This monumental building was constructed shortly before 500 BC.<sup>6</sup> It has an L-shaped layout, measuring 17.1 m from north to south and 27.3 m from east to west (Fig. 2).

The unusual layout comprises a two-storey main block with a corridor 20.8 m in length, which is located in front of three paratactically arranged rooms to the rear, measuring 5 m in width and 6 to 8 m in length. This core building has an adjoining single storey wing to the west consisting of three rooms and an open courtyard to the north, both of which could be accessed via corridor 1.<sup>7</sup> Overall, this mighty complex with its two-storey main block covered a useable area of more than 679 m<sup>2</sup>, making it one of the largest non-sacral buildings of its day.<sup>8</sup>

In the following study I will attempt to show in a first section that this remarkable building on the LA Monte Iato is the manifestation of a peculiar interplay between Greek architecture and local demands to consolidate a newly achieved power in a monumental way. Special attention is also paid to the religious-topographic interconnection of the LA house with the 'Aphrodite Temple' and the

<sup>1</sup> All illustrations, unless indicated otherwise, belong to the Institute of Archaeology, University of Innsbruck.

<sup>2</sup> Eastern Quarter: Isler 2009, 152, 158. Agora: Isler 2009, 153–57; Mohr 2012, 116–18. West of Peristyle house 2: Russenberger 2014a, 102–05. Below the LA house: Kistler *et al.* 2015, 142–49.

<sup>3</sup> This interpretation of the *oikos*-like building was believed to be confirmed with the discovery of an early Hellenistic krateriskos with a partially preserved inscription dedicating it to 'Aphr', which was inferred to be a reference to the Greek deity of the temple, Aphrodite (see Isler *et al.* 1984, 11–115).

<sup>4</sup> Isler 2009, 167–69.

<sup>5</sup> Kistler 2015, 202–09; Kistler and Mohr 2015, 394–98; Kistler *et al.* 2018, 253–57 and 260–63.

<sup>6</sup> Kistler 1997; Isler 2009, 280; Kistler *et al.* 2013, 233–37; 2014, 158–69.

<sup>7</sup> Kistler 1997; Isler 2009, 176–214; Kistler *et al.* 2013, 233–37; 2014, 158–69; Kistler 2015, 202–204.

<sup>8</sup> Mertens 2006, 213; Isler 2009, 178. For comparisons with the *megale oikia* in the Greek world, see Kiderlen 1995, 14–38.





Fig. 1. Monte Iato (Zürcher Ietas-Grabung).

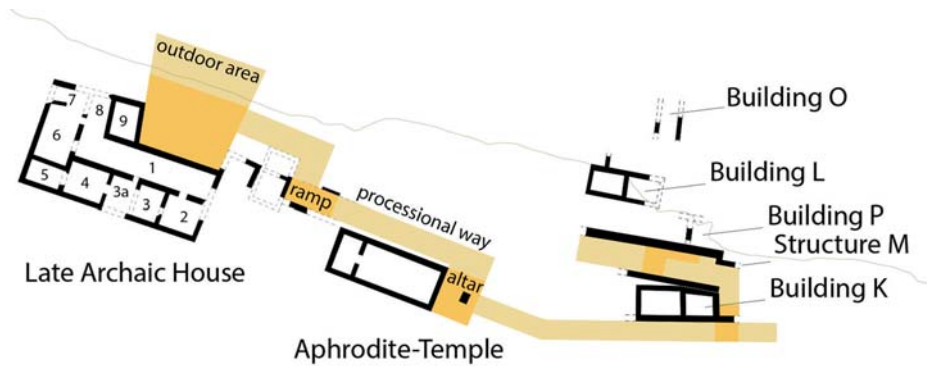


Fig. 2. Cult precinct around the Aphrodite Temple (Western Quarter).

altar in front of it. In this way, the role of religion in the installation of the new power matrix will be examined more closely. In the second section I present archaeological evidence suggesting that the LA house was abandoned in a ritual act around 460/50 BC. In a third section I deal with the question of embedding and anchoring the LA house and its builders' claim to power in the local fabric of a traditional society in the midst of western Sicily's interior. To this end, I discuss how and why rituals are created to celebrate being a native by means of so-called *archaika* and deliberately 'archaised' retro-enactments. Finally, these politics of indigeneity should provide a plausible explanation why, according to my argument, the LA house – and with it all other Greek-style architectures on Monte Iato – were de-monumentalised

about 460/50 BC in a 'termination ritual', and why this can be equated with a depowerment of the new local rulership, which had previously been induced on Monte Iato by the intensification of contacts and relations to the Greek *apoikiai* in western Sicily.

### Architecture and Function<sup>9</sup>

The choice of site for the construction of the LA house was not only based on the appropriateness of the terrain but also on the desire to align the building to the sacred axis of the 'Aphrodite Temple' (Fig. 3). This runs along the longitudinal axis of the temple from east to west. At a right angle to this sacred axis, at a distance of about 20 m from the west-facing side of the 'Aphrodite Temple', the east wall of the LA house was marked out and erected. This can be traced by the alignment of the remaining foundations, which are preserved beneath the remains of a later Hellenistic wall running from north to south. Therefore, one can assume that the east side of the LA house was the main front where the entrance gate to the corridor was located, although no structural remains of this could be detected, due to stone robbing during the Middle Ages.

In order to make optimum use of the rocky relief, which consisted of three natural terraces running parallel to the slope, the long corridor was constructed on the middle terrace without having to straighten and smooth the ground significantly. Accordingly, the occupation layers in north-east room 9 and courtyard 8 were only 30 cm higher and the three-room row in the south tract was easily accessible via three steps leading from the corridor to room 3 (Fig. 4), although the difference in height measured around 60 cm over all. Only the three rooms of the western section, arranged vertically to the relief lines of the slope, display significant differences in height. And so, there is a more than 2 m difference in height between the two floor levels of rooms 5 and 6, such that room 5 could only be accessed via room 4 in the south wing.

A decisive factor in choosing this area as a building site was the geo-morphological fact that the relief of the rock to the north of the LA house was around 2.4 m higher than the floor level of the corridor (see Fig. 4). On the one hand, this provided direct ground-level access to the upper floor from the north. On the other hand, the construction of a processional way and a ramp meant that the levelled outer square and the upper floor entrance had a permanent connection to

<sup>9</sup> The following section is a synthesis of the architectural historical investigations of the LA House. It will be published as a monograph, with detailed argument and documentation, in Kistler and Öhlinger 2020.

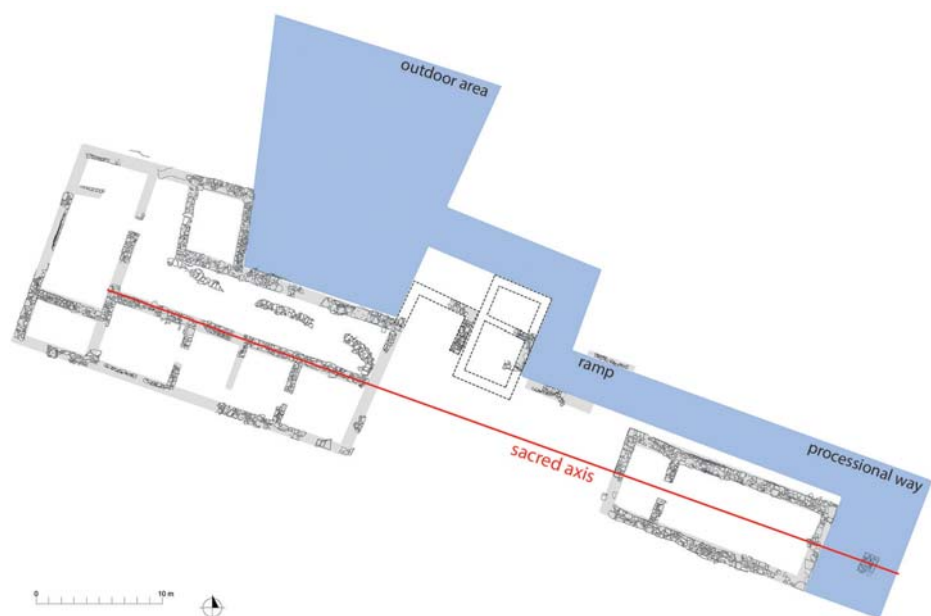


Fig. 3. Topographical setting of the LA house.

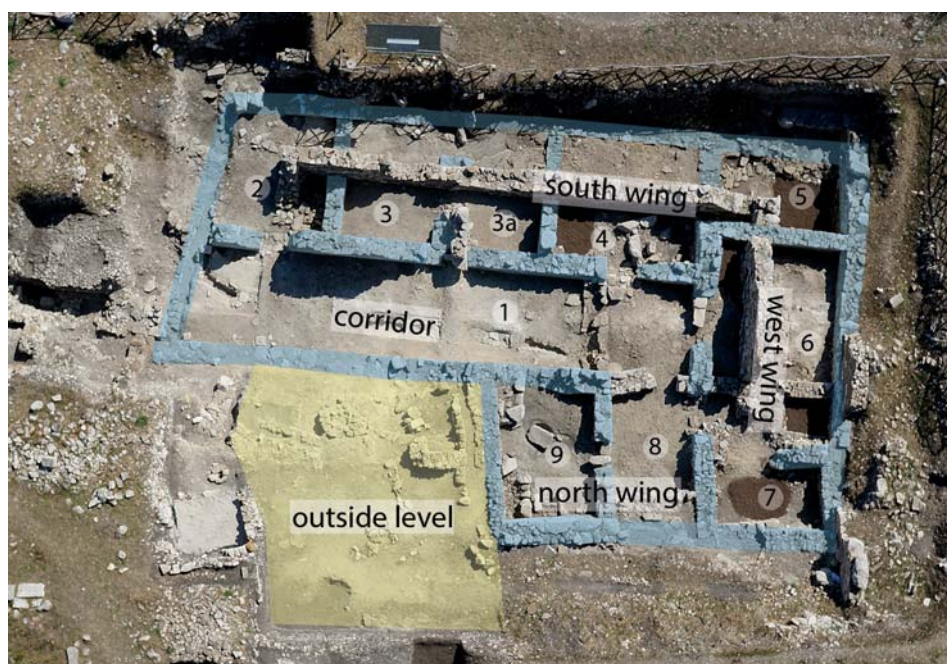


Fig. 4. Aerial views of the LA house. Blue: Late Archaic wall remains;  
yellow: Late Archaic outer level.

the altar place in front of the 'Aphrodite Temple' (see Fig. 2). In addition, the rock provided a firm foundation for the building ground, ensuring subsidence would be kept to a minimum, which particularly in the case of the two-storey main section would have led to cracks in the walls and potentially the collapse of the building. After all, on the ground floor in particular the dry stone walls were composed solely of field and quarry stones, using the double shell technique. Consequently, the footing on the rocks and the wall made completely of stone both bear witness to a mastery in construction that is of very noteworthy in the Sicilian interior. It only has direct precursors in buildings such as the 'Aphrodite Temple' and the Archaic Agora houses on Monte Iato,<sup>10</sup> and older parallels – dating back from the first to the third quarter of the 6th century BC – in the 'Four-Room-House' on the Cittadella at Morgantina, the 'Pastas-Houses' at Monte San Mauro and the *oikos*-like 'Sacello' on Colle Madore.<sup>11</sup> Apart from that, both in Sicily and in the Greek coastal cities, the dry-stone technique, using quarry stones, was usually limited to the construction of stone foundations upon which the walls were subsequently erected using the *pisé* technique or air-dried clay bricks.<sup>12</sup>

A striking and significant feature of the LA house is the differing width of the walls on the ground floor, which vary from 60 to 90 cm. These differing widths are doubtlessly the result of a detailed planning process on the drawing board prior to the construction phase, which took into account the wall strength required to support the great weight of the upper storey in the main section of the building along with the need to withstand the displacement pressure of the slope to the north. In the case of the two wall-tracts I<sup>13</sup> and III (Fig. 5, highlighted in red), their function as terrace-like retaining walls led to the construction of a mighty wall more than 90 cm in width. It was designed to absorb the displacement forces pushing down masses of earth and debris on the cliff-side, arising from the friction of its wide wall foundations and its own weight. The blue wall-tracts of rooms 7 and 9 leading off wall-tract III – which measures more than 14 m in length – also act as additional supports.

Slightly less substantial than the north and the retaining walls are the wall-tracts in green: V, VI, VIII and IXa (Fig. 5). They average between 80 and 85 cm in width and form the outer walls of the two-storey section. Notably, they are around

<sup>10</sup> Isler *et al.* 1984, 19–21; Isler 2009, 153–57, 167–69; Kistler and Mohr 2015, 387–88.

<sup>11</sup> Spigo 1979; 1997; Antonaccio 1997, 176–81; Vassallo 1999; Neils 2003, 47.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Vasallo 1999, 55; Mertens 2006, 181–82; Spatafora *et al.* 2008; Panvini 2009, 179.

<sup>13</sup> See McConnell 2008, 312: 'A wall-tract is defined as a contiguous segment of blocks in the same material, which comprises an uninterrupted stretch of wall ... A wall-tract by definition cannot turn a corner; ...'. In Figure 5, each wall-tract is identified by a unique Roman numeral.

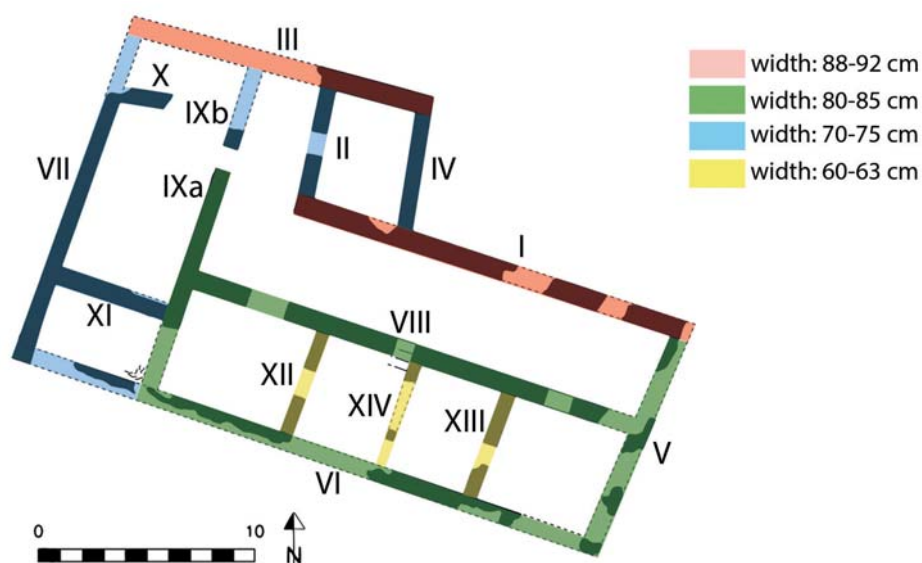


Fig. 5. Wall-tracts of the LA house.

10 cm wider than the blue wall-tracts II, IV, VII, IXb, X and XI, which define the single-storey western and northern sections of the LA house. Consequently, the partition walls XII to XIV, which are of little static relevance, are about 60 cm wide and thus much narrower than the single-storey external walls which had to bear the weight of the roof tiles.

There are two different types of floors on the ground level. In the long corridor and in rooms 2, 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9 a beaten earth floor (Fig. 6), mixed with limestone flour and earth, was built up directly on the rocky ground, sometimes with additional supporting layers. By contrast, in rooms 3 and 6 mortar was poured onto a levelling subfloor, which was quite substantial in places. The mortar is based on a mixture of lime, aggregates (sand, splitters of stone) and water.<sup>14</sup> These poured limestone pavements were easy to keep clean as they were impermeable, quite in contrast to the beaten earth floors.

Even in the lack of standing masonry of the upper floor, for static reasons it has to be assumed that the layout of the ground floor was repeated in the upper storey (rooms 10 to 13: Fig. 7). For example, the outer walls and the middle transverse wall of the upper floor, bearing the main load of the heavy clay tile roof, were already laid out on the ground floor as 80 to 90 cm thick walls in contrast to the

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Vitruvius 7. 1.



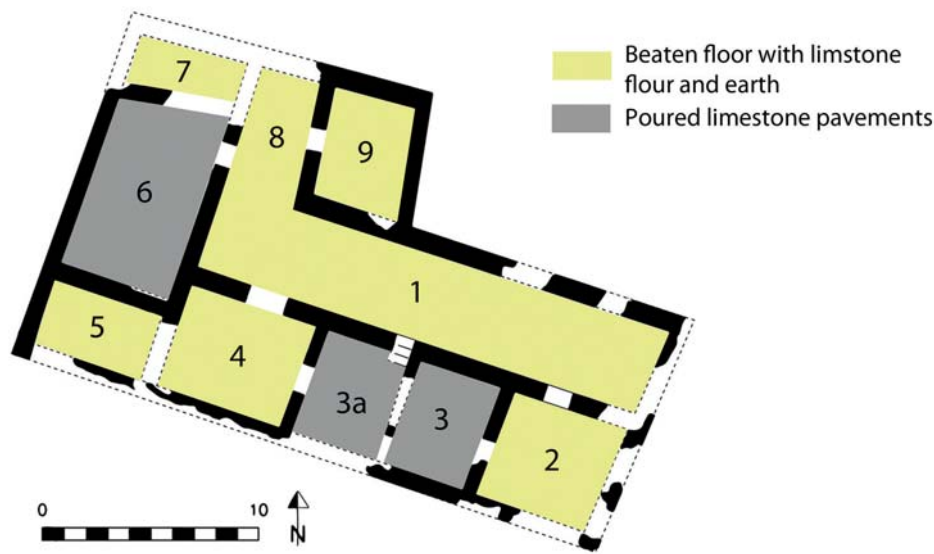


Fig. 6. Construction of the floors in the lower storey of the LA house.

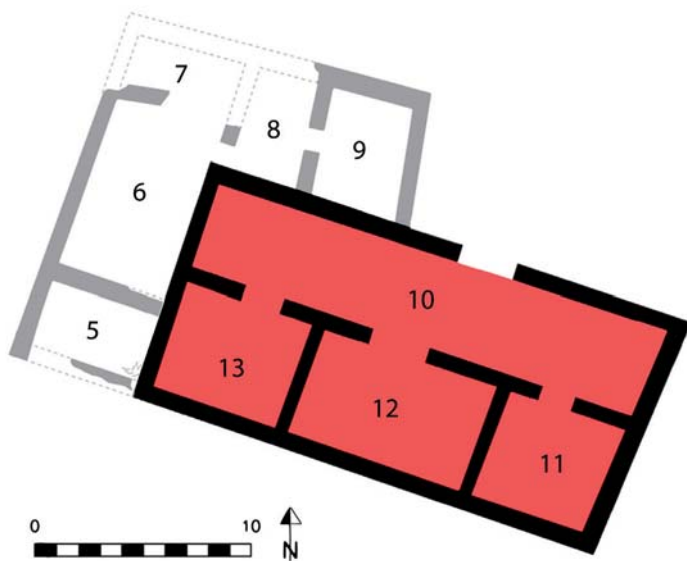


Fig. 7. Reconstructed ground plan of the upper storey of the LA house.



60 to 70 cm wide internal and dividing walls. All this makes a layout in the three-cell type with a frontal transverse vestibule highly likely also on the upper floor of the east wing. This is also evidenced by the fact that collapsed rubble from the upper storey came to light only in rooms 1 to 4 of the ground floor.

It is rather surprising that there was no internal connection between the ground and the upper floor.<sup>15</sup> There was no evidence of a staircase nor does the layout of the ground floor allow for the inclusion of such a staircase. As a result, the upper storey with its vestibule (room 10) and the rear rooms 11 to 13 was a self-contained section of the house which could only be accessed from the abovementioned outer square to the north (see Fig. 2).

The many fragments of floor pavement – found where they collapsed to the ground floor – show that all the rooms in the upper storey were equipped with wet mortar pavements, the smooth surfaces of which were coloured in white or red (Fig. 8; see also Vitruvius 7. 1. 1). A scorched beam and the carbonised end of a wooden board located in the demolition rubble suggest that the coloured pavement in the upper storey was poured onto wooden boards (Fig. 9). The preserved upper floor in the Roman ‘Casa di Nettuno e di Anfitrite’ in Herculaneum provides a good indication of what this would have looked like (Fig. 10). Remains of the red-coloured flooring were found, above all, in the corridor on the ground level, appearing in thicknesses of either 6 cm or 10 cm (Fig. 11). In conjunction with them individual bulging transition pieces were found, which are likely to have been end-fragments of the slightly raised borders around the walls to accommodate *klinai* (Fig. 12). This is confirmed by the *ca.* 90 cm-wide platforms for couches produced at the same time in the two rear rooms of the contemporary *hestiatorion* in Perachora.<sup>16</sup> Somewhat younger, into the middle 5th century BC, dates a corresponding floor with raised borders in the *andron* of the Pastas house on the east side of the Agora of Selinous.<sup>17</sup> The *andrones* in the houses of the *città bassa* at Himera, identified by their characteristic plaster floor with raised edges for *klinai*, are even younger and belong to the last quarter of the 5th century BC.<sup>18</sup>

The rising walls of the upper storey partially consisted of mud bricks, as is documented by substantial intermediate layers of amorphous clay masses with straw inclusions found in the rubble that had fallen to the ground level (Fig. 13). It was rarely possible to prepare and treat the remnants of these clay bricks with their red or white painted plaster *in situ* (Fig. 14). The sandstone architectural elements were also covered with red and white plaster, most of which shattered into small

<sup>15</sup> Contra Isler 2009, 179.

<sup>16</sup> See Tomlinson 1969, 166, fig. 4; Leypold 2008, 117–19, pl. 94b.

<sup>17</sup> Mertens 2006, 328.

<sup>18</sup> Vassallo 1997, 82–85.



Fig. 8. Fragments of floor pavement – found where they had fallen to the ground floor (Zürcher Ietas-Grabung).



Fig. 9. Carbonised end of a wooden board located in the demolition rubble (Zürcher Ietas-Grabung).



Fig. 10. Preserved upper floor in the Roman 'Casa di Nettuno e di Anfitrite' in Herculaneum (after Mols 1999, fig. 61).



Fig. 11. Remains of the red-coloured upper floor (Zürcher Ietas-Grabung).





Fig. 12. An end-fragment of the slightly raised borders around the walls (Zürcher Ietas-Grabung).



Fig. 13. Remnants of amorphous clay masses with straw inclusions found in the rubble (Zürcher Ietas-Grabung).



Fig. 14. Remnant of a clay brick with their red painted plaster *in situ* (Zürcher Ietas-Grabung).



Fig. 15. Fragment of a square bloc with angled corners (Zürcher Ietas-Grabung).

fragments when the upper storey collapsed. Only a few larger fragments were preserved, such as the fragment of a square block with angled corners (Fig. 15). The tiled roof consisted of pan and cover tiles in the Corinthian and Laconian systems originating from different workshops (Fig. 16).<sup>19</sup> Indeed, three flat pan tiles have a rosette-like stamp (Z 2859; Z 2860 and Z 3280), whereas another is stamped with a fish surrounded by the name inscription 'XENOS' (Z 2858), arguably the Greek name of the owner of a different workshop.<sup>20</sup>

Given that the tiled roofing is of Greek origin, it is all the more surprising that the arrangement of the layout and the lavish interior of the *klinai* rooms on the upper floor of the LA house have their closest parallels in the monumental funerary architecture of the Etruscan city of Caere. There, it is the three-chambered tomb fronted by a portico,<sup>21</sup> dating from the first half of the 6th century BC, which precedes the layout of the upper storey section on Monte Iato. The correlation in the layout of the three rooms in Caere and on Monte Iato also suggests their usage as dining rooms behind the transverse antechamber (*vestibulum*). In this respect, the Caeretan tombs provide a life-like insight into such Archaic banqueting rooms. This gives rise to a more concrete basis for reconstructing the appearance of the

<sup>19</sup> On a corresponding roofing system at Selinunte, see Jonasch 2009.

<sup>20</sup> Isler 1996a, 59–60, pls. 11, 8 and 9.

<sup>21</sup> Type D according to Prayon 1975, 70–74.



Fig. 16. Fragments of pan and cover tiles, originating from different workshops.

once splendid interior of the rooms situated in the upper storey of the LA house at Monte Iato. Accordingly, single pieces of the architectural elements can be identified more easily within the overall construction by drawing comparisons with the funerary architecture of Caere. For example, the abovementioned red plastered fragment with the angled corner (see Fig. 15) can be ascribed to a *porta dorica* which is comparable with an equivalent decorative embellishment of the doorways in the antechamber of the ‘Tomba degli Scudi e delle Sedie’ at Caere (Fig. 17).

The three-cell tombs in Caere also provide important clues that help to reconstruct the roofing for the banqueting section in the upper storey on Monte Iato (Fig. 18). It appears that a ridged roof spanned the three rear rooms, as is indicated by the fragment A 1550 of a sandstone ashlar with a slightly oblique cut (Fig. 19). A separate flat roof appears to have covered the corridor-like transverse room, as is in evidence at the aristocratic three chambered tomb with a portico in Tuscania, dating from around 550 BC (Fig. 20).

For a long time, there was general consensus in the research that Etruscan residential architecture was reflected in the Caeretan chamber tombs, especially in types D and E.<sup>22</sup> Widely cited as testimony to this claim are the so-called three-room groups in the monumental ‘palaces’ of Murlo and Acquarossa, which date from the first half of the 6th century BC.<sup>23</sup> The recent discovery of the tripartite banqueting house with a longitudinal vestibule in Gabii, the so-called *Regia* (Fig. 21), which likewise dates from the early 6th century BC provides the first evidence of a free-standing tripartite building with off-centre doorways to the rear rooms.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Steingraber 2013, 659.

<sup>23</sup> Zaccaria Ruggiu 2003, 243–48; Prayon 2010, 15–21.

<sup>24</sup> Fabbri 2015.





Fig. 17. Antechamber of the 'Tomba degli Scudi e delle Sedie', Caere (after Prayon 1975, pl. 43).

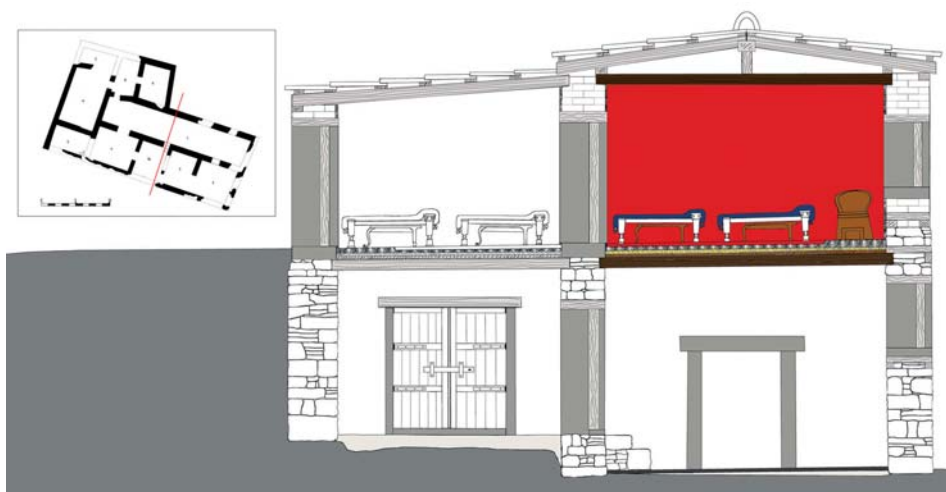


Fig. 18. Reconstruction of the interior of the LA House.

The second example dating from the first half of the 6th century BC is the free-standing tripartite structure in the 'Località San Antonio' in Caere.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Rampazzo 2011, 54–64, fig. 3.



Fig. 19. Fragment A 1550 of a sandstone ashlar with a slightly oblique cut.

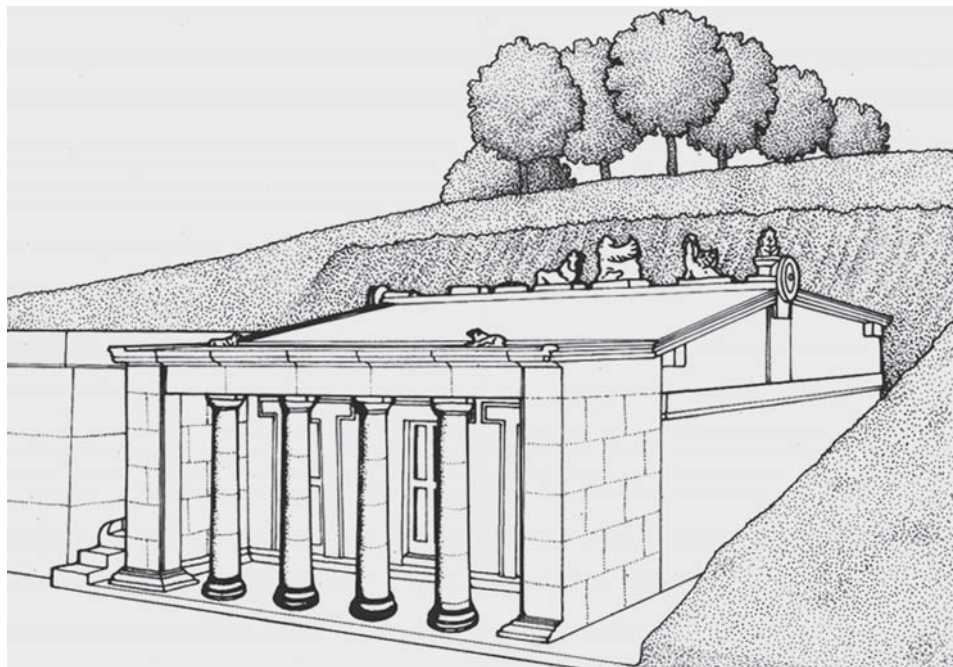


Fig. 20. Reconstruction of the three chambered tomb with a portico in Tuscania (after Haynes 2000, fig. 137).



Fig. 21. The 'regia' in Gabii, panoramic view (after Fabbri 2015, 202, fig.10.11).

The earliest bi- or tripartite banquet houses in Greek or native sanctuaries or cities, however, can be dated after the middle of the 6th century BC: the '*oikos* A' in the main urban sanctuary of Selinous *ca.* 540 BC,<sup>26</sup> the 'édifice monumental' at the 'College port vieux' in Marseille about 540 BC<sup>27</sup> and the 'édifice B' (*hestiatorion*) at the Agora of Megara Hyblaea around 540/30 BC.<sup>28</sup> Regarding the layout, the five *pastas* houses at Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone are directly comparable to the building at Megara Hyblaea. At least some of them – such as the 'Casa delle Arule' – may have served as banquet houses. They were hardly built before the *hestiatorion* of Megara Hyblaea and destroyed in the early 5th century BC.<sup>29</sup> However, the oldest known examples of such freestanding

<sup>26</sup> Mertens 2006, 186.

<sup>27</sup> Gantès and Mellinand 2006.

<sup>28</sup> Mertens 2006, 69–70.

<sup>29</sup> Spigo 1979, 22; 1997, 162. Only the construction of casa 1 can be dated by the excavator U. Spigo to the turn of the 7th to 6th century BC on the basis of the rim sherd of an 'Ionic' cup of type B1 and the fragment of an older Archaic lamp type, which came to light in the under-packing for the floor of room 1. However, sherds of two cups of type B1 (K 16697 and K 19319) from the debris of the LA house show that at least on Monte Iato cups of this type were still in circulation in the first half of the 5th century BC. See under <http://diglib.uibk.ac.at/2304070>.



banquet houses in the two- or three-cell type in the Greek mainland have been built in the decades before and after 500 BC.<sup>30</sup> In view of this chronological situation, it seems obvious that bi- or tri-partite banquet houses with transverse corridor or porticoes represent an independent building type, owing its existence to the cultural and technological interaction of Etruscans and Greeks during the first half of the 6th century BC.

Almost without exception, these bi- or tri-partite banqueting houses are situated in close proximity to temples in the type of a 'Greek' *oikos* – such is the case, for example, at Temple h on the Agora at Megara Hyblaea, at the Temple of Athena on the Acropolis of Himera and at the early Temple R in the main urban sanctuary of Selinunte.<sup>31</sup> All of these examples show that during this period, in different sanctuaries, building configurations repeatedly occurred consisting of an *oikos* building as the house of the deity, a built altar and a freestanding banqueting house, together forming a functionally associated architectural ensemble. It was this architectural triad that gave the oligarchic poleis of Archaic Greece its monumental, epochal signature, along with the new *agorai* and sacred ways of the 6th century BC.<sup>32</sup>

This process of the differentiation of hegemony as well as the constitution and monumentalisation of a central cult place on Monte Iato was coupled with a peculiar architectural fact: The banqueting house as part of the architectural triad formed the upper storey of the LA house. The ground floor, on the other hand, was equipped with poured mortar pavements and partly very large pithoi in its corridor<sup>33</sup> and therefore clearly exhibits aspects of representative habitation as well as the hoarding of economic surpluses. All this simultaneously lends the LA house the character of a residential house.<sup>34</sup>

As already noted, there is no evidence of any internal connection between the ground and upper floors. The two floors must therefore be regarded as two functionally separate parts of the building. The difference is that they are not, as would be usual, grouped around a shared courtyard, but constructed one above the other in two storeys. The only parallel for this functional partitioning of such a building into a lower and upper storey is an unusual four-room building, the so-called *pyrtaneion* on the 'Cittadella hilltop' of Morgantina in the centre of eastern Sicily.

<sup>30</sup> The '*hestiatorion*' of Perachora (Leypold 2008, 117–19), the 'priest's house' in the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia at Delphi (Leypold 2008, 54–57) and the southern wing of the 'south-east houses', east of the younger propylon of the Aphaia sanctuary on Aegina (Leypold 2008, 18–22).

<sup>31</sup> Bonacasa 1982, 59–60, fig. 18; Mertens 2006, 68–69, 186, fig. 80, 328.

<sup>32</sup> Detailed argument with discussion of the corresponding archaeological records is given in Kistler forthcoming.

<sup>33</sup> K 19589; 19592; 19896; 24486; 24488; 24489; 26053; I-K 362. For each sherd see the catalogue of the ceramic findings, available at <http://diglib.uibk.ac.at/ulbtirolfodok/content/titleinfo/2304070>.

<sup>34</sup> So Isler 2009, 210–14.

It dates from around 580 BC at the earliest and was used until approximately 450 BC. It similarly had two storeys with four basement rooms on the lower floor and banqueting rooms above. These basement rooms, which contained large quantities of drinking vessels, imported wine amphorae, pithoi and storage vessels, opened to the north to the so-called *agora*, whereas the banqueting block on the upper storey was accessed from the south-east via the square in front. A ramp to the west of the building created an external link between the two storeys.<sup>35</sup> Not least it is the functional partitioning of such a building into a lower and upper storey that makes the four-room building at Morgantina and the LA house special cases with yet no direct analogies in the Greek world.<sup>36</sup>

At any rate in the case of the latter, if one considers the upper-storey banquet tract as separate from the ground level and arranges both parts around an imagined courtyard without the long corridors, the picture of a monumental three-winged building emerges (Fig. 22). This can be recognised as equivalent, in terms of functional typology, to the ‘palaces’ of Murlo and Acquarossa.<sup>37</sup> Both of these ‘palaces’ were erected in the 6th century BC and consist of two or four wings arranged around a shared courtyard. The significance of this courtyard as a central place for redistribution ceremonies, banqueting feasts and contests has become ever clearer in the most recent research and allows it to be seen as a central structural element of Etruscan ‘palaces’.<sup>38</sup> Connected with the courtyard via open *exedrae* were *klinai* rooms and audience halls, each housed in the main wing. Ultimately, what we have here is a social and structural concept of rulership that in one instance had already been present in earlier times in the shape of the *bît hilani* of neo-Assyrian palaces,<sup>39</sup> and that in another instance was also evident later in the form of the ‘three-room groups’ of palace-like peristyle houses of the Hellenistic period.<sup>40</sup> At the level of structural typology and function, therefore, the upper floor banqueting house element of the LA house can be equated to the banqueting and audience halls in the main wings of such palaces. On the other hand, the outdoor area north of the banqueting rooms of the upper floor, as in the case of the inner courtyards of the Etruscan palaces, functioned as a central space for larger gatherings and feasts.<sup>41</sup> And finally, the ground floor, as a self-sufficient residential and economic unit, corresponds to the side wings of ancient palace and court buildings.

<sup>35</sup> Antonaccio 1997, 175–80, fig. 3; see also Neils 2003, 47.

<sup>36</sup> Mertens 2006, 213.

<sup>37</sup> Prayon 2010, 19–21.

<sup>38</sup> Rathje 2007; Tuck 2016, 111.

<sup>39</sup> Novák 2004; Prayon 2010, 15.

<sup>40</sup> Hoepfner 1996; Isler 1996b; Vössing 2015.

<sup>41</sup> See Kistler and Mohr 2016, 89–92; Kistler 2016, 255.

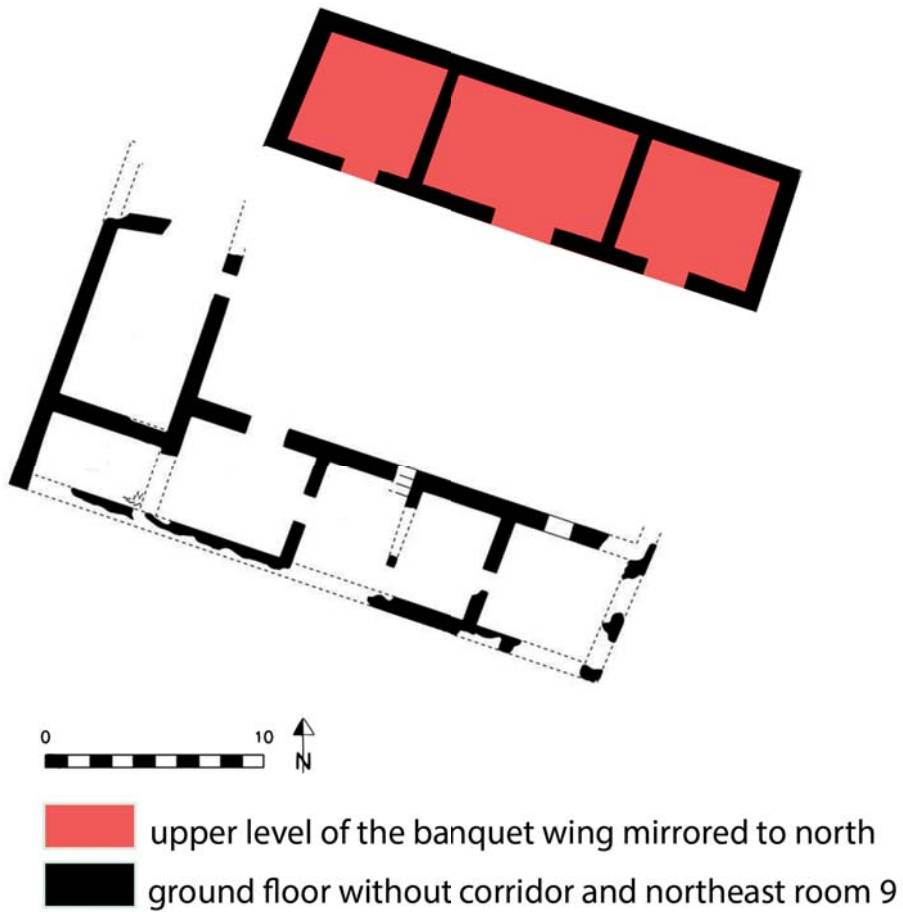


Fig. 22. Sacred axis between Temple and LA House.

Considering this analogy with palatial complexes, the upper storey of the LA house does not lose its function as an exclusive meeting house within the triad of temple, altar, and banquet house. Nevertheless, the ground level also causes its function to be incorporated into the household of the family that controlled the supra-local ceremonial centre, established in the area around the 'Aphrodite Temple'. The latter fact follows from the topographical connection of the LA house with the 'Aphrodite Temple' and its altar via the forecourt, processional way, and ramp (see Fig. 2, above). All this signifies the role of its builder as master of the cult and supreme redistributor, who places himself under the protection of the divine power that obtained a permanent presence – probably through a cult statue – in the *adyton*



of the 'Aphrodite Temple'. Through the architectural triad and the ground floor of the LA house, a supra-local 'ruling house' was thereby installed on Monte Iato in about 500 BC.

### The Ritual Abandonment

For the banqueting houses in Gabii, Francavilla di Sicilia and Bosco Littorio near Gela, there are clear signs of an abandonment ritual in the archaeological record.<sup>42</sup> In the case of the sumptuously furnished tripartite building in Gabii, between the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century BC the rooms were completely emptied, the wall plaster and flooring in the interior were almost entirely removed (with the exception of a few remnants) and the roofing materials and upper parts of the walls were taken away. Finally, the remaining walls were buried under an imposing stone mound, enclosed on three sides by massive walls. All that remained of the former contents and architectural embellishments – embedded between the stones of the tumulus – were just a few sherds of vessels used for banquets and some fragments of the architectural decoration, which among other things include a terracotta slab from the *simā* with a relief depicting a Minotaur.<sup>43</sup>

In view of the pattern of intentional destruction of the banqueting house in Gabii, certain striking features in the archaeological assemblages of the LA house on Monte Iato suddenly gain special significance. On the one hand, clay tile fragments weighing a total of just 357.5 kg were retrieved from the upper storey debris. The tiled roof of the two-storey eastern section, however, had once weighed more than 13 tons alone. Consequently, 97% of the previous tiles were missing in the archaeological record. On the other hand, although the demolished house on Monte Iato was not buried under a giant stone mound as in Gabii, there are still indications of a ceremonial closure<sup>44</sup> of the site where the obliterated LA house had once stood. For example, there are the fragments of a red-figure amphora from Athens (K 14681: Fig. 23), which with the exception of a larger sherd and a few post-Archaically deposited fragments, were all located on the surface of the demolished rubble and distributed across the entire site of the ruin (Fig. 24). In some cases, sherds that join were located more than 12 m apart.<sup>45</sup> The positions of these dispersed sherds from a single amphora can only be explained as an intentional act carried out by human

<sup>42</sup> Fabbri 2015; Spigo 2000, 2–6, figs. 1–6; Panvini 2009, 181.

<sup>43</sup> Fabbri 2015, 190–92.

<sup>44</sup> Regarding this issue or 'termination rituals', see Zuckermann 2007; Papaconstantinou 2010; Driessen 2013, 13.

<sup>45</sup> In general, Orton *et al.* 2010, 209–12.



Fig. 23. Fragments of the Attic red-figure amphora K 14681 (Zürcher Ietas-Grabung).

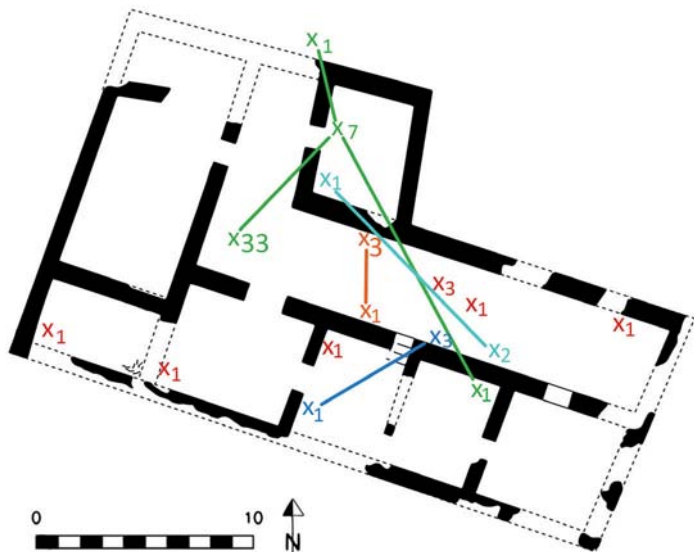


Fig. 24. Distribution of the sherds and sherd-links of amphora K 14681.

hand.<sup>46</sup> It appears, therefore, that amphora K 14681 had been smashed prior to the demolition of the LA house, explaining how the fragment, depicting a 'departing warrior' (see Fig. 23), came to rest in the debris from the upper storey. The remaining sherds were set apart and subsequently put down by hand across the ruins of the former building complex after its ritual destruction. This symbolic act was most probably intended as a 'ceremonial closure' of the building, making the pile of rubble that was once the LA house sacrosanct to a certain extent.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, it was surely no coincidence that the remaining debris of the collapsed banqueting complex was not affected by reuse until the 2nd century BC, even though two imposing peristyle houses were erected to the east and west of the location as early as the 3rd century BC.<sup>48</sup>

Another striking indication, that the LA house was ritually abandoned, was the discovery of the remains of 39 vessels in the upper storey debris in the west wing of the corridor, all of which could be reconstructed to more than half of their original size.<sup>49</sup> The fragments of other well preserved ceramics were found in less dense concentrations in the remaining rooms of the two-storey eastern section. These include: the majority of sherds of 13 receptacles in the central area of the corridor,<sup>50</sup> of ten additional ceramic vessels in its east wing,<sup>51</sup> of six vases in room 2,<sup>52</sup> of another six vessels in room 3,<sup>53</sup> and of a receptacle in room 4 (Fig. 25).<sup>54</sup> The location in which they were found within the fallen debris, often together with fragments of the coloured flooring and wall plaster, suggests that these well preserved ceramics belonged to the rubble from the upper storey.

These better conserved vessels are distinguished from the more than 1000 individual ceramic fragments that were also found in the upper storey rubble, many of which appear only as single sherds (Fig. 26). These single sherds all seem to have been selected as *pars pro toto* pieces of broken vessels, left in the upper storey after being intentionally shattered as part of the ritual abandonment of the LA house.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>46</sup> See also Isler 2009, 182–83.

<sup>47</sup> For a correlating ritual abandonment on Monte Polizzo, see Mühlenbock 2008, 142–43.

<sup>48</sup> With regard to Peristyle house 1, see Dalcher 1994; concerning the dating of Peristyle house 2 into the 3th century BC, see Isler 2000, 88–90; for the recently suggested later date (middle 2nd century BC), see Russenberger 2014b.

<sup>49</sup> K 10769; 16744; 16747; 16784; 16793; 16796; 16797; 16808; 16809; 17058–17060; 17113; 17117; 17124; 17128; 17190; 17192; 17192; 17195; 17197–17199; 17202–17206; 17211–17214; 17216–17219; 17247; 17324; 24491. For each sherd see the catalogue of the ceramic findings, available at <http://diglib.uibk.ac.at/ulbtirolfodok/content/titleinfo/2304070>.

<sup>50</sup> K 18886; 19221; 19222; 19297; 19582–19585; 19590; 23426; 24245; 24490; 24498.

<sup>51</sup> K 22698; 22699; 22702; 22705; 22713; 22753; 22755; 22757; 22849; 24628.

<sup>52</sup> K 24780; 24781; 23616; 23761; 23763; 26313.

<sup>53</sup> K 19228; 19230; 19231; 19876; I-K 542; 666.

<sup>54</sup> K 16795.

<sup>55</sup> For such ritual behaviour, see Öhlinger 2015, 164–65.

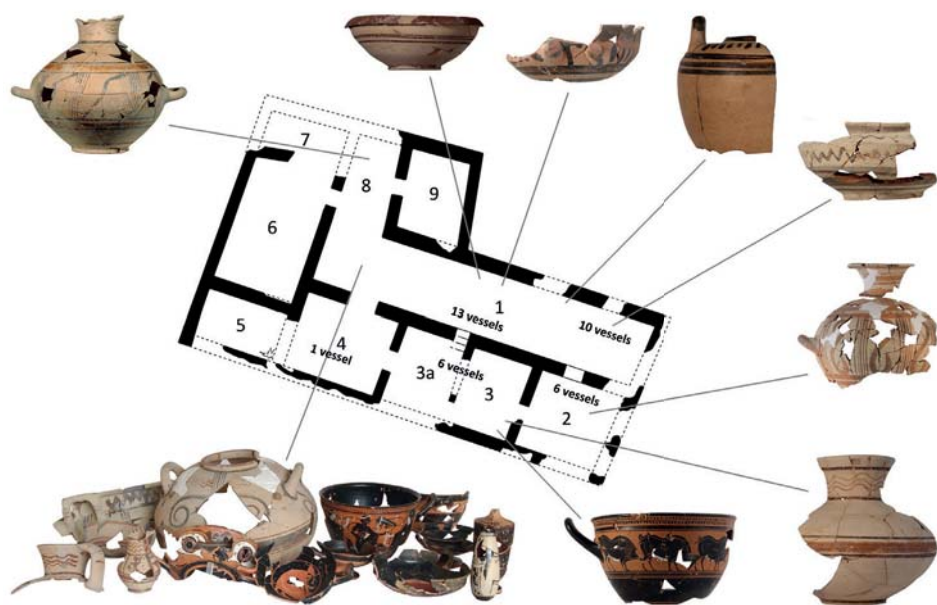


Fig. 25. Assemblage of vessels from the upper storey debris (Zürcher Ietas-Grabung/Institute of Archaeologies, University of Innsbruck).



Fig. 26. *Pars pro toto* pieces in the upper storey debris.

Once again it is the red-figure amphora K 14681, which illustrates best this ritual act of shattering the pottery. The abovementioned fragment showing the 'departing warrior' was laid down as a *pars pro toto* fragment from the shattered amphora K 14681 in the upper storey and broke into more than 30 tiny matching fragments on impact with the corridor floor; these fragments were then covered by falling rubble from the upper storey (see fig. 23, above). After the LA house had collapsed, the fragments of the broken amphora that had been stored somewhere outside the house were scattered over the entire heap of the rubble. The other *partes pro toto* probably underwent a similar process of intentional breaking, but all their related piles of broken fragments – in contrast to the red-figure amphora – were not placed in an interim storage point but were deposited most likely as ceremonial trash in a pit, grotto or rock crevice.<sup>56</sup>

Overall, a distinction can be made between three ritual events that ultimately explain the different states of conservation of the finds in the debris of the LA house. First, following the systematic dismantling of all reusable items,<sup>57</sup> valuable ceramics of Greek and West Sicilian origin – some with object biographies going back almost 50 years<sup>58</sup> – were placed on the floors of the upper storey during the ritual closure of the house. The votive character of these ceramic deposits is indicated above all by individual miniature vessels such as the monochrome colonette krater K 17310, which could not be used to mix wine on account of its smaller dimension, but was equally ill-suited for use as a drinking receptacle due to its rim (Fig. 27). Such miniaturised kraters have been located chiefly in central Sicily where they were found exclusively in elite tombs, such as the examples from Vassallaggi.<sup>59</sup> Similarly, the fragments of terracotta busts and statuettes were doubtlessly deposited in the upper storey rooms solely as votive offerings.<sup>60</sup>

The second ritual act involved all the freshly broken single sherds which were distributed as *partes pro toto* across the mortar pavements in the upper storey.<sup>61</sup> The spectrum of different shapes, ranging from prestigious drinking vessels from Athens to locally handmade cooking pots, clearly shows that these fragments originated from deliberately smashed pottery, previously used in the preparation and consumption of food and drink.<sup>62</sup> This intentional breaking of cooking pots, storage vessels and

<sup>56</sup> For deposition in this manner on Monte Polizzo, see Copper 2007, 68, 85–89, 145–50, 18; Öhlinger 2015, 93–97.

<sup>57</sup> Called 'curate behaviour' by La Motta and Schiffer 1999, 22.

<sup>58</sup> Isler 2009, 187–90 and 197–201.

<sup>59</sup> Gulli 1991, 35, pl. 19; Rabinowitz 2004, 379, ref. 226.

<sup>60</sup> T 246, T 252 A–K, T 252, T 419, T 310; see also Isler 2009, 186–87. For corresponding behaviour of votive offerings of terracotta figurines during the closure of the bi-partite building at Francavilla di Sicilia, see Spigo 2000, 6–7, fig. 5.

<sup>61</sup> Orton *et al.* 2010, 214–15.

<sup>62</sup> Kistler and Mohr 2015, 389–91.



Fig. 27. Miniature colonette krater K 17310.

fine ceramic tableware were part of the ceremonies performed after the lavish feast on the occasion of the ritual abandonment, but before the third and final ritual act in which the LA house was intentionally destroyed.

A pattern of pottery findings – closely resembling the ceramic assemblage in the debris of the LA house – was found at the Heroon on the Agora of Selinunte in the late 5th century BC.<sup>63</sup> The differing degrees to which the ceramics were preserved there are strikingly consistent with the vessels found in the upper storey debris of the LA house. In the case of the Selinuntinian deposit, it is assumed that rituals and feasts were performed in the context of the ‘ceremonial closure’ of the tomb belonging to the founder of the *apoikia*, when the Carthaginians conquered Selinunte in 409 BC. In contrast to its counterpart on Monte Iato, however, the ceramic assemblage in the deposit situated in the *oikistes*-tomb of Selinunte was not of a mixed cultural composition, which by contrast was symptomatic for the interior situation in Late Archaic western Sicily.<sup>64</sup> This aspect of mixed cultural elements, which can be described not so much as hybrid but rather as Janus-like, oscillating between local traditionalism and Greek-induced empowering, are examined in the next section on the search for a nexus between the embedding of the Greek-style architecture of the LA house into the locals’ social fabric and the resulting rituals of indigeneity.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Adorno 2012; see also Öhlinger 2015, 171–72.

<sup>64</sup> Kistler and Mohr 2015, 391–94; 2016, 89–92.

<sup>65</sup> For the application of the concept of indigeneity to the archaeological research of inland settlements in Archaic Sicily, see Antonaccio 2015, 60–67. A corresponding concept and model to



### Architectural Retro-References, *Archaika* and Rituals of Indigeneity

With its prestigiously equipped dining rooms, multiple storeys, roof tiling and the generous dimensions, the LA house evidences the highest possible degree of local appropriation of Greek architecture.<sup>66</sup> A comparison with the housing complex belonging to a leading West Sicilian family on neighbouring Monte Maranfusa underlines the gap between the lavishly, sophisticated Greek architecture and the local way of life.<sup>67</sup> In keeping with the new Greek-style living environment and in contrast to Maranfusa, the LA house marked a move away from the traditional seated banquet.<sup>68</sup> Instead, in the habitus of an elegant *symposiast*, native banqueters would also recline with legs stretched out on elaborate couches, in tune with the *haute culture* of the elites along the Mediterranean coastline around 500 BC.<sup>69</sup> This was accompanied by a refined cuisine indicated, on the one hand, by a grater (B 970A-C), identified not only in the upper storey debris on Monte Iato but also in elite tombs and sacred centres of power all along the coast of the Mediterranean.<sup>70</sup> On the other hand, organic kitchen refuse from food preparation – eggshells, oyster shells, sea-urchin spines and sea-fish scales – came to light in the drain in the corridor of the LA house.<sup>71</sup> Because of the sedimentation in the drain, it can no longer be determined whether the olive stones and grape seeds might also be attributed to these food preparation activities or whether they simply relate to the consumption of imported olives and grapes. In any event, all of these bio-archaeological drain finds, together with the grater from the upper-floor debris, bring to mind the ingredients of a delicious dipping sauce.<sup>72</sup> Such expensive and exquisite delicacies, for which Sicilian cuisine was well known in Athens as early as the 5th century BC,<sup>73</sup> fits perfectly with the consumption of black- and red-figure Athenian vases in the *klinai* rooms of the LA house. The latter was thus strongly influenced by Greek culture, not only in terms of architecture, but also in terms of refined style of banqueting.

investigate politics of autochthonicity and ‘Perils of Belonging’ in the Camerouns and the Netherlands during the 1990s was developed by Peter Geschiere (2009, 1–35); concerning this issue in contemporary Kenya, see Lynch 2011, 393–95.

<sup>66</sup> Cf., for example, Lang 1996; Mertens 2006.

<sup>67</sup> Spatafora 2003, 65–82; 2012, 4–16; 2015, 290–93.

<sup>68</sup> Spatafora 2003, 76–80.

<sup>69</sup> In general, see Hodos 2010, 86–88.

<sup>70</sup> Kistler 2014a, 191–92.

<sup>71</sup> See G. Forstenpointner, G. Weissengruber and U. Thanheiser in Kistler and Öhlinger 2020.

<sup>72</sup> See, for example, Ananius 5 [Athenaeus 282b]. See also Dalby 1996, 107 and 244 (with further references).

<sup>73</sup> Dalby 1996, 16–24.

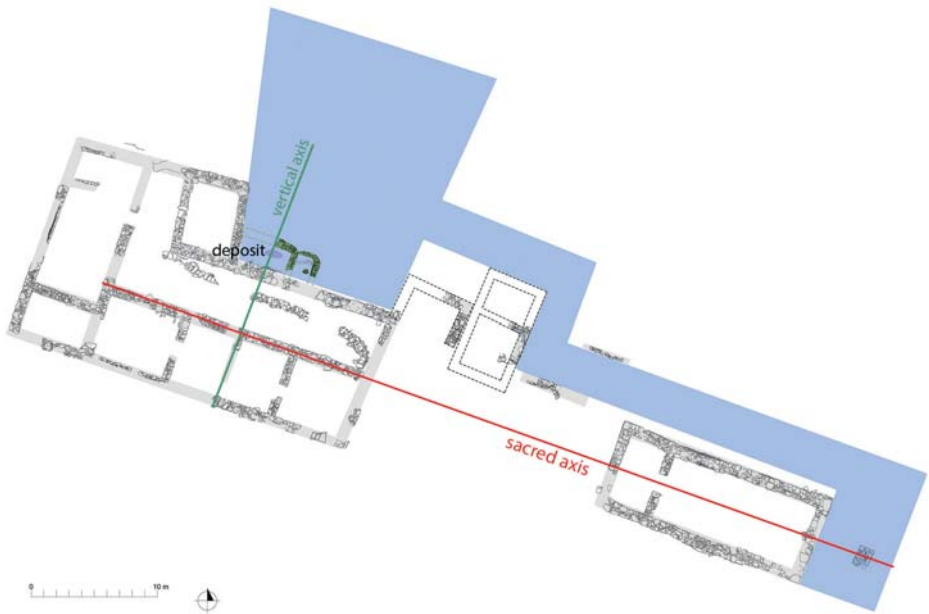


Fig. 28. Deposit in the main room of the protohistoric dwelling for the planning and construction of the banqueting wing of the LA house.

Nevertheless, in order to establish a new dynasty the LA house is also embedded into the *telos* of local history by a pertinent architectural reference back to the past. The perpendicular bisector to the corridor of the LA house rests precisely on the packing of stones that formed the above-ground marker of an abandonment deposit in the main room of the protohistoric dwelling that once stood immediately north of the LA house (Fig. 28). This vertical centreline anchored the new Greek-style culture and matrix of power, which showcased itself in monumental splendour in the architecture of the LA house, right in the ruins of the protohistoric dwelling as an ‘archaeological’ reference back to the ancestral village and ‘pre-contact’ way of life of the locals. It is quite fitting that the fragments in the abandonment deposit of the protohistoric compound and household did not contain any Greek(-style) sherds, even though such fragments were found in significant quantities in contemporaneous layers on Monte Iato. The absence of Greek(-style) pottery in this deposit – and in the area surrounding the protohistoric dwelling – must therefore be the consequence of intentional behaviour.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>74</sup> In greater detail, see Kistler *et al.* 2017.

This constitutes a consumerist arena of re-enacted ‘pre-contact’ locality as a social technique for the production of locality that Appadurai fittingly describes as a ‘colonisation’ or reclamation of the past with a view to claiming ownership of local history.<sup>75</sup> Central vehicles that are repeatedly used in the production of locality are so-called *archaika* or *Altstücke*.<sup>76</sup> These resources refer not only to ‘antiques’ that are already hundreds of years old at the time of their use, but also to ‘antiqued’ items that were created, for example, for the performance of foundational rituals. Such *archaika*, which are often presented to the community as its heritage from the world of the ancestors, lend an apparent ‘archaeological’ authenticity and thus also a supposed prehistoric depth to an imagined locality.

It is interesting to note that *archaika* were used on Monte Iato not only in ritual settings that focused on the retro-enactment of a ‘pre-contact’ world through the exclusion of Greek(-style) imports. The sherds of a ladling and drinking vessel (K 26018) of protohistoric appearance, for example, were located directly next to those of an Attic black-figure skyphos (I-K 666) in the demolition rubble of the LA house around 460 BC. This kind of receptacle that tended to feature an incised and stamped decoration actually goes back to prototypes dating from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age (Fig. 29).<sup>77</sup> Only the fine tempering of the clay, the exceptionally hard and even firing and the tectonic shaping are indicative of a level of craftsmanship that would not have been possible without the pottery technology of the late 6th /early 5th centuries BC, with its rapidly turning potter’s wheel and

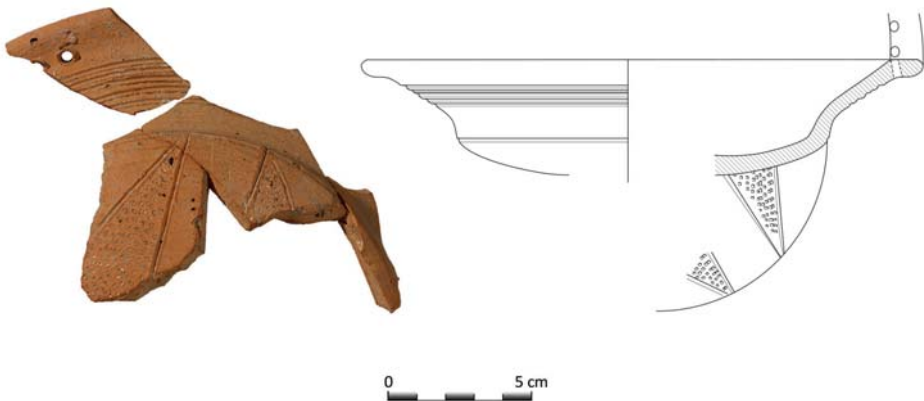


Fig. 29. Incised cup (K 26018/I-K 418) from the upper storey debris.

<sup>75</sup> Appadurai 1996, 183.

<sup>76</sup> Mehling 1998; Guggisberg 2004.

<sup>77</sup> Ferrer Martin 2010; 2013, 216; Mühlenbock 2013, 403; 2015, 252.

firing kiln. Vessel K 260128 is deliberately produced to look antique in order to emphasise ties with the local pottery tradition and forebears of the 7th and early 6th centuries. As such, it was a retro-looking ritual instrument, whose precursor would already have played a central role in the practice of cultic rule in the 'pre-contact' age.<sup>78</sup>

However, in contrast to the protohistoric *attingittoi*, the incised ladling and drinking vessel K 26018 was not embedded in an 'antiqued' cult event that blocked out anything and everything that was Greek. Instead, this old-fashioned *attingitoio* is integrated as an *archaikum* in the social field of a banqueting culture that was strongly influenced by Greek customs.<sup>79</sup> Consequently, in this particular instance, the imagined 'pre-contact' order with which the ancient-looking vessel would have been associated is brought together with the pronounced consumption of Greek cultural goods. For the builders and owners of the LA House, both can be said to be symptomatic and a clear expression of their social identity: in their role as the new leaders, they were building their superiority on the back of Greek 'reward power',<sup>80</sup> while simultaneously having to convince those around them that they were descendants of a legitimate (fictitious?) local authority. Without the creation of indigeneity, which turned traditional places of worship into ceremonial spaces of becoming native, the local appropriation of Greek culture at Monte Iato in the late 6th and early 5th centuries BC would never have reached such a high degree. Indigeneity is thus an essential resource that permits empowerment and can promote the formation of complex societies in cultural contact zones.<sup>81</sup>

## Conclusions

The monumentalisation and conceptualisation of the supra-local ceremonial centre on Monte Iato after the example of a Greek sanctuary during the Archaic phase of the 'Aphrodite Temple', as well as the adaption of certain Greek cultural standards,<sup>82</sup> made the founders of the LA house *philhellenes* in the view of the Greeks.<sup>83</sup> This Mediterraneanisation<sup>84</sup> also possesses a flipside, namely the creation of indigenising rituals to render the Greek-induced matrix of power bearable in the local commu-

<sup>78</sup> Kistler *et al.* 2017.

<sup>79</sup> Kistler and Mohr 2015, 394–98; 2016, 87–89; Kistler 2016, 250–57; 2017, 115–19.

<sup>80</sup> On the application of the concept of 'indirect rule' and the resulting rewarding power to the Early Iron Age Mediterranean, see Kistler 2014b, 89–100; 2018.

<sup>81</sup> Kistler *et al.* 2017.

<sup>82</sup> Kistler 2012, 225–28; 2016, 250–57; 2017, 115–19.

<sup>83</sup> See Ephoros with regard to the Celts: *FGH* 70, F 70 and 131–133.

<sup>84</sup> Morris 2003.

nity. Both Mediterraneanisation and the creation of indigeneity are instruments of a local agency aimed at empowerment and authority. After 500 BC the exclusion of everything Greek(-style) and the intensified use of *archaika*, which are meant to give pre-historic depth to the creation of indigeneity, led to proper spaces of indigeneity, used to imply first-order connections between locals and locality and thus to distinguish ‘natives’ from ‘other’.<sup>85</sup> These spaces of indigenous self-reassurance can lead to a feeling of a distinct ‘native’ agency through the constitution of an alleged ‘pre-contact’ originariness and can therefore lead to subalternity and resistance.<sup>86</sup> Maybe these feelings of a pronounced indigeneity will in future provide an explanatory approach to the question why all Greek-style architecture on Monte Iato was destroyed around 460/450 BC and why the local community returned to a form of settling and subsistence that left nearly no archaeological traces.<sup>87</sup>

At least such a scenario would explain why the LA house had apparently been abandoned during a particular termination ritual – since it represented not only the culmination of the monumentalisation of the sanctuary at the ‘Aphrodite Temple’, but also the climax of the empowerment of its builders as the new rulers on Monte Iato. Consequently, if monumentalisation and local empowerment are parts of one and the same equation, then the inverse equation must also be valid, especially in the case of the LA house: De-monumentalisation in the form of ostentatious termination rituals are targeted acts of depowerment! As a monumental manifesto of a new power matrix, the LA house and its builders and owners – as *philhellenoi* – apparently no longer had a place in the social architecture of the re-established Old Order.

Around 460/50 BC not only the LA house was ritually destroyed. Annex H and building I, as well as the *oikos*-like buildings L, K, O and P, East of the ‘Aphrodite Temple’ were also abandoned and demolished at this time.<sup>88</sup> The *oikos* building and houses I and II on the southern edge of the later Agora followed the example.<sup>89</sup> All these destructions and ritual abandonments are a manifestation of a comprehensive de-monumentalisation with the obvious intention to smash the Greek-induced power structures.<sup>90</sup> The long-lasting effect of this de-empowerment is mainly evidenced by the fact that for the following 150 years Monte Iato was once again a place of settlement- and subsistence patterns that left almost no archaeologically

<sup>85</sup> Merlan 2009, 304.

<sup>86</sup> Concerning, for instance, Palikoi in the interior of eastern Sicily, see Leighton 1999, 268. In general: Ulf 2009, 118–23.

<sup>87</sup> Kistler 2015, 209 (with further references).

<sup>88</sup> Perifanakis 2016, 71; Mohr 2017; Kistler *et al.* 2018, 270.

<sup>89</sup> Kistler and Mohr 2015, 385–88.

<sup>90</sup> With regard to de-monumentalisation as a kind of ruination, see Stoler 2008.

visible traces. It was not until the Carthaginian epicracy at the beginning of the 3rd century that the Greek-induced matrix on Monte Iato was reloaded, leading to a renewed monumentalisation process, especially in the area around the 'Aphrodite Temple' once more.<sup>91</sup> However, this is another story and already the prelude to the next chapter in the tumultuous history of empowerment and depowerment in a cultural contact zone such as Monte Iato in the 1st millennium BC.

## Bibliography

- Adorno, L. 2012: 'Heroon: Elementi per la datazione del monumento e del deposito votivo'. In Mertens, D. *et al.*, 'Die Agora von Selinunt: Der Platz und die Hallen'. *RomMitt* 118, 51–178.
- Antonaccio, C.M. 1997: 'Urbanism at Archaic Morgantina'. *Acta Hyperborea* 7, 167–93.
- . 2015: 'Re-excavating Morgantina'. In Antonaccio, C.M. and Haggis, D. (ed.), *Classical Archaeology in Context: Theory and Practice in Excavation in the Greek World* (Berlin/Boston), 51–69.
- Appadurai, A. 1996: *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis).
- Bonacasa, N. 1982: 'Il temenos di Himera'. In Allegro, N., Belvedere, O. and Bonacasa, N. (eds.), *Secondo Quaderno Imerese* (Rome), 47–60.
- Copper, J. 2007: *Traditions in Profile: A Chronological Sequence of Western Sicilian Ceramics (7th–6th c. BC)* (Dissertation, University of Buffalo, NY).
- Dalby, A. 1996: *Siren Feasts. A History of Food and Gastronomy in Greece* (London).
- Dalcher, K. 1994: *Das Peristylhaus 1 von Iaitas: Architektur und Baugeschichte* (Zurich).
- Driessen, J. 2013: 'Time Capsules? Destructions as Archaeological Phenomena'. In Driessen, J. (ed.), *Destruction: Archaeological, philological, and historical perspectives* (Louvain-la-Neuve), 9–26.
- Fabbri, M. 2015: 'A seat of power in Latium Vetus: The archaic building complex on the Arx of Gabii'. In Kistler, E., Öhlinger, B., Mohr, M. and Hoernes, M. (eds.), *Sanctuaries and the Power of Consumption: Networking and the Formation of Elites in the Archaic Western Mediterranean World* (Wiesbaden), 187–204.
- Ferrer Martin, M. 2010: 'Raciones de Solidaridad: mujeres, alimentos y capeduncolas en Sicilia occidental (s. VII V a.C.)'. *Sagvntvm Extra* 9, 209–18.
- . 2013: 'Feasting the Community: Ritual and Power on the Sicilian Acropoleis (10th–6th centuries BC)'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 26.2, 211–34.
- Gantès, L.-F. and Mellinand, P. 2006: 'Marseille: Collège Vieux-Port'. In *Bilan scientifique de la région Provence – Alpes – Côte d'Azur 2005* (Aix-en-Provence), 127–31.
- Geschiere, P. 2009: *The Perils of Belonging: Autochthony, Citizenship, and Exclusion in Africa and Europe* (Chicago).
- Guggisberg, M. 2004: 'Keimelia: Altstücke in fürstlichen Gräbern diesseits und jenseits der Alpen'. In Guggisberg, M. (ed.), *Die Hydria von Grächwil: Zur Funktion und Rezeption mediterraner Importe in Mitteleuropa im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Bern), 175–92.
- Gulli, D. 1991: 'La necropoli indigena di eta greca di Vassallaggi (S. Cataldo)'. *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Archeologia della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia di Università di Messina* 6, 23–42.
- Haynes, S. 2000: *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History* (Los Angeles).
- Hodos, T. 2010: 'Globalization and Colonization: A View from Iron Age Sicily'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 23.1, 81–106.
- Hoepfner, W. 1996: 'Zum Typus der Basileia und der königlichen Andrones'. In Hoepfner, W. and Brands, G. (eds.), *Basileia: Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige* (Mainz), 1–43.

<sup>91</sup> Isler 2011; 2012; Kistler *et al.* 2014, 169–72.



- Isler, H.P. 1996a: 'Grabungen auf dem Monte Iato 1995'. *AntKunst* 39, 52–64.
- . 1996b: 'Einflüsse der makedonischen Palastarchitektur in Sizilien?'. In Hoepfner, W. and Brands, G. (eds.), *Basileia: Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige* (Mainz), 252–57.
- . 2000: *Monte Iato: Guida archeologica* (Palermo).
- . 2009: 'Die Siedlung auf dem Monte Iato in archaischer Zeit'. *JdAI* 124, 135–222.
- . 2011: 'L'insediamento a Monte Iato nel IV e III secolo a.C.'. In Neudecker, R. (ed.), *Krise und Wandel: Süditalien im 4. und 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden), 147–73.
- . 2012: 'L'agora ellenistica di Iaitas'. In Ampolo, C. (ed.), *Agora greca e agorai di Sicilia* (Pisa), 229–37.
- Isler, H.P., Isler-Kerényi, C. and Lezzi-Hafter, A. 1984: *Der Tempel der Aphrodite. La ceramica proveniente dall'insediamento medievale: Cenni e osservazioni preliminari* (Zurich).
- Jonasch, M. 2009: 'Un ambiente con tetto spiovente ai margini dell'Agorà di Selinunte'. *Fasti online* ([www.fastionline.org/docs/FOLDER-it-2009-136.pdf](http://www.fastionline.org/docs/FOLDER-it-2009-136.pdf)).
- Kiderlen, M. 1995: *Megale Oikia: Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung aufwendiger griechischer Stadthausarchitektur von der Früharchaik bis ins 3. Jh. v. Chr.* (Hürth).
- Kistler, E. 1997: 'Monte Iato: Ein spätarchaisches Haus'. In Isler, H.P. and Käch, D. (eds.), *Wohnbauforschung in Zentral- und Westsizilien: Sicilia occidentale e centro-meridionale. Ricerche archeologiche nell'abitato* (Zurich), 37–44.
- . 2012: 'Glocal Responses from Archaic Sicily'. *AWE* 11, 219–33.
- . 2014a: 'Die Mittelmeerwelt um 500 v. Chr.: Eine Welt in Bewegung'. *AA*, 181–204.
- . 2014b: 'Die Phönizier sind Händler, die Griechen aber Kolonisatoren – Zwei alte Klischees, Ulfs Kulturkontaktmodell und das archaische Westsizilien'. In Rollinger, R. and Schnegg, K. (eds.), *Kulturkontakte in antiken Welten: vom Denkmodell zum Fallbeispiel* (Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA), 67–108.
- . 2015: 'Zwischen Lokalität und Kolonialität – alternative Konzepte und Thesen zur Archäologie eines indigenen Kultplatzes auf dem Monte Iato'. In Kienlin, T.L. (ed.), *Fremdheit – Perspektive auf das Andere* (Bonn), 195–218.
- . 2016: 'The MEDiterranean Sea. Mediterranean object histories and their counter-histories'. In Dabag, M., Haller, D., Jaspert, N. and Lichtenberger, A. (eds.), *New Horizons: Mediterranean Research in the 21st Century* (Paderborn), 237–65.
- . 2017: 'Lokal divergierende Antworten auf die Kraterisierung West- und Mittelsiziliens (6./5. Jh. v. Chr.) – Perspektiven des Binnenlandes'. In Cappuccini, L., Lepold, C. and Mohr, M. (eds.), *Fragmenta Mediterranea – Contatti, tradizioni e innovazioni in Grecia, Magna Grecia, Etruria e Roma. Studi di onore di Christoph Reusser* (Florence), 111–31.
- . 2018: 'Sicily'. In Wittke, A.-M. (ed.), *The Early Mediterranean World, 1200–600 BC* (Leiden/Boston), 179–83.
- . forthcoming: 'Zwischen stasis und eunomia. Bankethäuser im archaischen Griechenland'. In Meister, J. and Seelentag, G. (eds.), *Konkurrenz und Institutionalisierung in der griechischen Archaik* (Berlin).
- Kistler E. and Mohr, M. 2015: 'Monte Iato I: Two Late Archaic Feasting Places between the Local and Global'. In Kistler, E., Öhlinger, B., Mohr, M. and Hoernes, M. (eds.), *Sanctuaries and the Power of Consumption: Networking and the Formation of Elites in the Archaic Western Mediterranean World* (Wiesbaden), 385–415.
- . 2016: 'The Archaic Monte Iato: Between Coloniality and Locality'. In Baitinger, H. (ed.), *Materielle Kultur und Identität im Spannungsfeld zwischen mediterraner Welt und Mitteleuropa* (Mainz), 81–98.
- Kistler, E. and Öhlinger, B. (eds.) 2020: *Das spätarchaische Haus auf dem Monte Iato: Architektur, Keramik und Kleinfunde* (Rahden).
- Kistler, E., Öhlinger, B., Dauth, T., Irovec, I. and Wimmer, B. 2017: 'Archaika as a Resource: The Production of Locality and Colonial Empowerment on Monte Iato (Western Sicily) around 500 BC'. In Scholz, A.K., Bartelheim, M., Hardenberg, R. and Staecker, J.S. (eds.), *Resource*

- Cultures: Sociocultural Dynamics and the Use of Resources – Theories, Methods and Perspectives* (Tübingen), 159–78.
- Kistler, E., Öhlinger, B., Dauth, T., Irovec, R., Wimmer, B. and Slepeki, G. 2015: '»Zwischen Aphrodite-Tempel und spätarchaischem Haus«: Die Innsbrucker Kampagne 2014 auf dem Monte Iato (Sizilien)'. *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes* 84, 129–64.
- Kistler, E., Öhlinger, B., Dauth, T., Mölk, N., Irovec, I., Wimmer, B. and Forstenpointner, G. 2018: '»Zwischen Aphrodite-Tempel und spätarchaischem Haus II«: Die Innsbrucker Kampagnen 2015 und 2016 auf dem Monte Iato (Sizilien)'. *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes* 87, 250–99.
- Kistler, E., Öhlinger, B., Mölk, N. and Steger, M. 2014: '»Zwischen Aphrodite-Tempel und spätarchaischem Haus«: Die Innsbrucker Kampagnen 2012 und 2013 auf dem Monte Iato (Sizilien)'. *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes* 83, 189–232.
- Kistler, E., Öhlinger, B. and Steger, M. 2013: '»Zwischen Aphrodite-Tempel und spätarchaischem Haus«: Die Innsbrucker Kampagne 2011 auf dem Monte Iato (Sizilien)'. *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes* 82, 227–58.
- La Motta, V.M. and Schiffer, M.B. 1999: 'Formation processes of house floor assemblages'. In Allison, P.M. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Household Activities* (London/New York), 19–29.
- Lang F. 1996: *Archaische Siedlungen in Griechenland: Struktur und Entwicklung* (Berlin).
- Leighton, R. 1999: *Sicily before History: An Archaeological Survey from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age* (New York).
- Leypold, C. 2008: *Bankettgebäude in griechischen Heiligtümern* (Wiesbaden).
- Lynch, G. 2011: 'The Wars of Who Belongs Where: The Unstable Politics of Autochthony on Kenya's Mt Elgon'. *Ethnopolitics* 10.3-4, 391–410.
- McConnell, B.E. 2008: 'Monumental Architecture in the area of the Grotto'. In Maniscalco, L. (ed.), *Il santuario dei Palici. Un centro di culto nella Valle del Mergi* (Palermo), 310–62.
- Mehling, A. 1998: *Archaika als Grabbeigaben. Studien an merowingerzeitlichen Gräberfeldern* (Rahden).
- Merlan, F. 2009: 'Indigeneity: global and local'. *Current Anthropology* 50.3, 303–33.
- Mertens, D. 2006: *Städte und Bauten der Westgriechen: Von der Kolonisationszeit bis zur Krise um 400 vor Christus* (Munich).
- Mohr, M. 2012: 'Agora Süd'. In Reusser, C. et al., 'Forschungen auf dem Iato 2011'. *AntKunst* 55, 116–18.
- . 2017: 'Westquartier, Bereich der Sondage 480'. In Reusser, C. et al., 'Forschungen auf dem Monte Iato 2016'. *AntKunst* 60, 95–101.
- Morris, I. 2003: 'Mediterraneanization'. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18.2, 30–55.
- Mols, S.T.A.M. 1999: *Wooden Furniture in Herculaneum: Form, Technique and Function* (Amsterdam).
- Mühlenbock, C. 2008: *Fragments from a Mountain Society: Tradition, Innovation and Interaction at Archaic Monte Polizzo, Sicily* (Gothenburg).
- . 2013: 'Having an Axe to Grind: An Examination of Tradition in the Sicilian Iron Age'. In Bergerbrant, S. and Sabatini, S. (eds.), *Counterpoint. Essays in Archaeology and Heritage Studies in Honour of Professor Kristian Kristiansen* (Oxford), 401–09.
- . 2015: 'Expanding the Circle of Trust: Tradition and Change in Iron Age Communities in Western Sicily'. *Acta Hyperborea* 14, 239–68.
- Neils, J. 2003: 'City versus Cemetery. The imported Pottery of Archaic Morgantina'. In Schmaltz, B. and Söldner, M. (eds.), *Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext* (Münster), 46–48.
- Novák, M. 2004: 'Hilani und Lustgarten. Ein »Palast des Hethiter-Landes« und ein »Garten nach dem Abbild des Amanus« in Assyrien'. In Novák, M., Prayon, F. and Wittke, A.-M. (eds.), *Die Außenwirkung des spätethethitischen Kulturraums* (Münster), 335–72.
- Öhlinger, B. 2015: *Ritual und Religion im archaischen Sizilien: Formations- und Transformationsprozesse binnenländischer Kultorte im Kontext kultureller Kontakte* (Wiesbaden).

- Orton, C., Tyers, P. and Vince, A. 2010: *Pottery in Archaeology* (Cambridge).
- Panvini, R. 2009: 'L'emporio greco in località Bosco Littorio'. In Panvini, R. and Sole, L. (eds.), *La Sicilia in età arcaica. Dalle apoikiai al 480 a.C.: Contributi dalle recenti indagini archeologiche* (Palermo), 179–181.
- Papaconstantinou, D. 2010: 'Abandonment Processes and Closure Ceremonies in Prehistoric Cyprus: In search for Ritual'. In Bolger, D. and Maguire, L.C. (eds.), *The Development of PreState Communities in the Ancient Near East. Studies in Honour of Edgar Peltenburg* (Oxford), 29–37.
- Perifanakis, J. 2016: 'Westquartier, Bereich der Sondage 480'. In Reusser, C. et al., 'Forschungen auf dem Monte Iato 2015'. *AntKunst* 59, 68–71.
- Prayon, F. 1975: *Frühetruskische Grab- und Hausarchitektur* (Heidelberg).
- . 2010: 'Frühetruskische Hausarchitektur – Bemerkungen zum Forschungsstand'. In Bentz, M. and Reusser, C. (eds.), *Etruskisch-italische und römisch-republikanische Häuser* (Wiesbaden), 9–28.
- Rabinowitz, A.T. 2004: *Symposium, Community and Cultural Exchange in Archaic Sicily and South Italy* (Ann Arbor).
- Rampazzo, C. 2011: 'Un contesto etrusco arcaico dall'area urbana dell'antica Caere: l'edificio a tre vani del santuario in località S. Antonio'. In Ellero, A., Luciani, F. and Zaccaria Ruggiu, A. (eds.), *La città: Realtà e valori simbolici* (Padua), 51–78.
- Rathje, A. 2007: 'Murlo, Images and Archaeology'. *Etruscan Studies* 10, 175–84.
- Russenberger, C. 2014a: 'Ältere Wohnbebauung westlich des Peristylhauses 2'. In Reusser, C. et al., 'Forschungen auf dem Monte Iato 2013'. *AntKunst* 57, 101–05.
- . 2014b: '200 Jahre Wohnen im Peristylhaus 2 auf dem Monte Iato: Materialien für eine Analyse der Raumfunktionen und der Raumhierarchien'. In Haug, A. and Steuernagel, D. (eds.), *Hellenistische Häuser und ihre Funktionen* (Bonn), 57–83.
- Spatafora, F. 2003: 'L'indagine archeologica'. In Spatafora, F. (ed.), *Monte Maranfusa: Un insediamento nella media valle di Belice. L'abitato indigeno* (Palermo), 19–86.
- . 2012: 'Rassegna d'archeologia: scavi nel territorio di Palermo (2007–2009)'. In Ampolo, C. (ed.), *Sicilia occidentale: Studi, rassegna, ricerche* (Pisa), 13–23.
- . 2015: 'Santuari e luoghi sacri in un'area di frontiera: la valle del Belice tra elimi, sicani, punici e greci'. In Kistler, E., Öhlinger, B., Mohr, M. and Hoernes, M. (eds.): *Sanctuaries and the Power of Consumption: Networking and the Formation of Elites in the Archaic Western Mediterranean World* (Wiesbaden), 287–301.
- Spatafora, F., Calascibetta, A.M.G., Chiovaro, M., Di Leonardo, L. and Vassallo, S. 2008: 'The use of earth in central-western Sicily: attestations and documentary evidence'. In Mecca, S. and Lotti, G. (eds.), *Earth/Lands: Earthen Architecture of Southern Italy* (Pisa), 201–25.
- Spigo, U. 1979: 'Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone. Scavi 1978: Aspetti di un centro greco della Sicilia interna'. *Bollettino d'arte* 4, 21–42.
- . 1997: 'Monte San Mauro e Altobrando. Recenti ricerche sul territorio di Caltagirone'. *Cronache di Archeologia* 19, 145–67.
- . 2000: 'I pinakes di Francavilla di Scilia (Parte I)'. *Bollettino d'arte* 111, 1–60.
- Steingraber, S. 2013: 'Worshipping with the dead: new approaches to Etruscan necropolis'. In Turfa, J.M. (ed.), *The Etruscan World* (New York), 655–71.
- Stoler, L. 2008: 'Imperial Debris: Reflections on Ruins and Ruination'. *Cultural Anthropology* 23.2, 191–219.
- Tomlinson, R.A. 1969: 'Perachora: The Remains outside the Two Sanctuaries'. *BSA* 64, 155–258.
- Tuck, A.S. 2016: 'Poggio Civitate. Community Form in Inland Etruria'. In Bell, S. and Carpino, A.A. (eds.), *A Companion to the Etruscans* (Malden, MA/Oxford), 105–16.
- Ulf, C. 2009: 'Rethinking cultural contacts'. *AWE* 8, 81–132.
- Vassallo, S. 1997: 'Indagini in un quartiere della città bassa di Himera'. In Isler, H.P. and Käch, D. (eds.), *Wohnbauforschung in Zentral- und Westsizilien: Sicilia occidentale e centro-meridionale. Ricerche archeologiche nell'abitato* (Zurich), 81–90.
- . (ed.) 1999: *Colle Madore. Un caso di ellenizzazione in terra sicana* (Palermo).

- Vössing, K. 2015: 'Royal Feasting'. In Wilkins, J. and Nadeau, R. (eds.), *A Companion to Food in the Ancient World* (Malden, MA/Oxford), 243–52.
- Zaccaria Ruggiu, A. 2003: *More Regio Vivere: Il banchetto aristocratico e la casa romana di età arcaica* (Rome).
- Zuckermann, S. 2007: 'Anatomy of a Destruction: Crisis Architecture, Termination Rituals and the Fall of Canaanite Hazor'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 20.1, 3–32.

Institute of Archaeology  
University of Innsbruck  
Innrain 52  
6020 Innsbruck  
Austria  
Erich.Kistler@uibk.ac.at

# ODYSSEUS AS A DWARF?

ALEXEY MOSOLKIN

## Abstract

The reference points of the article are vv. 1242–1245 (Lycophron *Alexandra*) and some Greek vase-paintings of 7th century BC (amphora, Eleusis, Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 2630; krater, Argos, Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. C149; krater from Corinth, Louvre, E 635). Lycophron, named Odysseus as *nanos*, which means ‘dwarf’, and some early painters pictured the hero as having a smaller stature than his comrades. The famous metope no. 17 of a relief pithos from Mykonos probably portrays Neoptolemos rather than Odysseus (Mykonos, Archaeological Museum, inv. 2240). The author surmises that the idea of a short stature of Odysseus comes from the Archaic folktales, which erudite Lycophron could have known.

In the poem *Alexandra*, written by the Lycophron (3rd century BC), lines 1242–1245 have long attracted the attention of scholars.<sup>1</sup> Cassandra, when making predictions about Aeneas, also mentions a dwarf, who, together with the Trojan hero, will wander across sea and land after the destruction of Troy:

σὺν δέ σφι μίξει φίλιον ἔχθρὸς ὢν στρατόν,  
 ὄρκοις κρατήσας καὶ λιταῖς γουνασμάτων  
 νάνος, πλάναισι πάντ’ ἐρευνήσας μυχὸν  
 ἄλός τε καὶ γῆς.

‘An enemy will join him (*scilicet* Aeneas) with a friendly army, compelling him with oaths and prayers of supplication, a dwarf, who has explored every nook of sea and land’ (trans. S. Hornblower).

\* This work would have been almost impossible without the friendly academic support of my wife Julia Krasnobaeva (Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow), Prof. A.V. Podossinov (Moscow State University) and – last but not least – of Michail Khimin (The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg). Not only were they generous in suggesting new ideas, but took it upon themselves to read the article examining in depth all the nuances of this topic, which was not of the simplest. Many thanks to my anonymous referees. Of course, all mistakes are mine. I should like separately to thank Alena Chepel from the University of Reading and Maya Azarova from the University of California, San Diego, who provided me with copies of relevant periodical articles, and also my friend Alexander Brill (Birmingham, UK), who has made many useful remarks. The article was translated by Katharine Judelson.

<sup>1</sup> Holzinger 1895, 340; Fusillo *et al.* 1991, 295; Gigante Lanzara 2000, 402; Lambin 2005, 179; Chauvin and Cusset 2008, 151; Surikov 2011, 2, 259; Hornblower 2015, 443–45. Without any commentary in Hummel 2006. It is particularly important to mention the work by Hartmann 1917, 154–57, in which the author provides a detailed commentary on the fragment from *Alexandra* of interest to us.



Lycophron, famous for his erudite but very obscure verses, set scholars the following riddle: whom should we understand the ‘dwarf’ (νάνος) to be?<sup>2</sup> Who initially was Aeneas’ enemy (ἐχθρὸς ὦν), but later, after combining his troops with those of the latter (μίξει στρατόν), became his friend? What kind of mysterious person was he, who appeared to have been an opponent of the Trojans but, after returning home, found himself nevertheless in Italy together with Aeneas? Was he a dwarf or was *nanos* merely his name? An answer is provided by the Byzantine scholiast, Johannes Tzetzes. When commenting on these verses, he cites evidence, according to which Odysseus was referred to as *nanos* among the Tyrrhenians. He goes on writing:

I have discovered that Odysseus had been known as *nanos* previously and it was only later that he came to be known as Odysseus, just as Achilles had been known earlier as ‘Ligyron’ or ‘Pyrissoos’, and as others [*scilicet* heroes] had borne various names (*Schol. ad Lycoph.* 1242).

This means that according to Tzetzes, Odysseus unexpectedly emerges as an ally of Aeneas, although he had actually been an enemy of Aeneas during the Trojan War. Unfortunately, Tzetzes does not shed light on what kind of sources he used and we do not know what led him to assert that, when amongst the Etruscans, Odysseus had used the name *nanos*. Nevertheless, the scholarly commentator appears to have been aware of the weakness of the tradition he refers to, which led him to undertake new searches. It is an obvious result of the latter that he discovered another legend, according to which *nanos* had indeed been Odysseus’ original name.

It should be said that this abstruse ‘enciphering’ of characters was a perfectly ordinary procedure for Lycophron, as a result of which it is not simple to make sense of Cassandra’s prophecies. For rivers, countries and towns he used names, which were generally accepted in specific *poleis* or were encountered in legends, poems or tragedies. Sometimes Lycophron used sources, which are inaccessible for us. This ‘dark’ poet (*Stat. Silv.* 5. 3. 156–57) never seems to have called his heroes by their real names.<sup>3</sup>

In the light of this, the Byzantine commentator on *Alexandra* suggests that *nanos* is just another name for Odysseus and not an indication of the hero’s height.

I shall not examine here the sources of these legends, which were accessible for Lycophron or Tzetzes, but merely attempt to establish whether the author of *Alexandra* had grounds for calling Odysseus a ‘dwarf’. Could that name or nickname

<sup>2</sup> I avoid the question as to whether lines 1226–1280 were written by Lycophron or by someone else later, although the suggestion that the ‘Roman passage’ is a later insert appears to me to be justified. See West 1984; Horsfall 2005; and recently Hornblower 2015, 37–38.

<sup>3</sup> Lambin 2005, 53, n. 43. About the use of epithets for divine personae, see Hornblower 2014.

actually be a reflection of the height of the resourceful Achaean, as imagined by the storytellers of old?<sup>4</sup>

To start with, we shall focus our attention on the only existing source, which links together the wanderings of Aeneas and Odysseus, the two former rivals in warfare. We find an extremely vague mention of an alliance between them in the writings of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. When listing various versions regarding the founders of Rome, Dionysius refers to the testimony of Hellanicus. Dionysius recounts that in a work entitled *Priestesses in Argos* it was stated (*Ant. Rom.* 1. 72. 2):

but the author of the history of the priestesses at Argos and of what happened in the days of each of them says that Aeneas came into Italy from the land of the Molossians with Odysseus and became the founder of the city, which he named after Romê, one of the Trojan women (trans. E. Cary).

Unfortunately, we do not have a reliable manuscript tradition and the names of Aeneas and Odysseus are linked by two almost opposite variant readings: either *Αἰνείαν ἐκ Μολοττῶν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐλθόντα μετ' Ὀδυσσέα* ('Aeneas arrived from the Molossians to Italy *after* Odysseus') or *Αἰνείαν ἐκ Μολοττῶν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐλθόντα μετ' Ὀδυσσέως* ('Aeneas arrived from the Molossians to Italy *together with* Odysseus').<sup>5</sup> Modern scholars often opt for the second variant on the basis of the only fact: that it is from the text of *Alexandra*. Therefore, a vicious circle comes into play: lines 1242–1245 of the poem are meaningful only on the basis that Hellanicus' μετ' Ὀδυσσέως and Hellanicus' text is based on *Alexandra*.<sup>6</sup>

This means that we have an indication, albeit a vague one, that there was some kind of a link between the appearance of Aeneas in Italy and Odysseus regardless of whether the two heroes arrived together or separately. But is there any kind of testimony regarding the height of the resourceful Greek? Scholars commenting on *Alexandra* all state that there are only two references to that. The first is found in the *Iliad*: Priam, when he is asking who is who in the Achaean army, first turns his attention to Agamemnon to 'that man wondrous in his majesty [...], // There are others among the Achaeans a head taller than he // but so handsome a man my eyes have not glimpsed'. Later, he turns his attention to Odysseus, who is 'a head shorter than the great son of Atreus, Agamemnon, (μείων μὲν κεφαλῇ Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδῃ) // but, as it appears to me, he is broader in the shoulders and chest'

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Horsfall 1979, 380–81; 2005, 37–38.

<sup>5</sup> Perret 1942, 371–73; Phillips 1953, 57–58; Horsfall 1979, 376; Dury-Moyaers 1981, 53–65; Solmsen 1986, 95; Ampolo 1992, 331, 336–38; Vanotti 1995, 43; Malkin 1998, 194–202; Gigante Lanzara 2000, 402; Erskine 2001, 153; Lambin 2005, 179, n. 504; Chauvin and Cusset 2008, 159; Casali 2010, 45.

<sup>6</sup> For more detail on the legends linking Odysseus with Italy, see Malkin 1998, 178–209.

(3. 166–194; cf. Eustathius *Comm. ad Iliad.* 1. 628). Scholars have drawn attention on several occasions to the fact that it is not clear from the text of the *Iliad* whether Odysseus was inordinately short or Agamemnon inordinately tall. I believe, however, that the commander of the Achaean army was not depicted as inordinately tall since ‘there are others among the Achaeans a head taller than he’. The admiration, which Agamemnon calls for stems not from his height but from his build, which was majestic and handsome. Therefore, in my view, line of *Iliad* 3. 193 should be interpreted as a pointer to Odysseus’ small stature.<sup>7</sup>

The second indirect indication to the effect that the resourceful Greek was not particularly tall is found in *Odyssey* 6. 230, when Athena on the island of the Phaeacians renders him ‘taller and fatter’ (μεῖζονά τ’ εἰσιδέειν καὶ πάσσονα).<sup>8</sup> There is an apparent contradiction between *Iliad* 3. 193 and *Odyssey* 6. 230 since in the *Iliad*, Odysseus is a sturdy fellow, while in the above-mentioned passage of the poem about his wanderings, he almost resembles someone ‘on his last legs’. Moreover, the hero found himself in this state, after he had already come through a whole series of adventures but the wanderings could not possibly have influenced his height – so even in the *Odyssey* we can sense a suggestion that his height was far from that of a typical hero.

Yet to the best of my knowledge none of the scholars writing commentaries on *Alexandra* noticed another instance, when Odysseus is directly referred to as short. This is in *Odyssey* 9. 515, when the blinded Polyphemus curses Odysseus as he leaves the island together with his friends calling him ὀλίγος τε καὶ οὐτιδανὸς καὶ ἄκικλος, that is ‘small, weak and powerless’. Naturally, we have to bear in mind that these words are uttered by the giant Polyphemus and that, in comparison with him, Odysseus, just like all his companions, must seem equally ὀλίγοι. Even if the poet does not express through the lips of the Cyclops an ancient legend, unknown to us, about Odysseus’ short stature, at any rate this line – together with the above-mentioned lines from the *Iliad* – would have been enough to enable Lycophron to turn his hero from ὀλίγος into a νάνος, that is from ‘small’ into a ‘dwarf’.

<sup>7</sup> Holzinger 1895, 340. From line 210 in Book 3 of the *Iliad*, as noted by Kirk 1985, 292, we learn that Menelaus had even broader shoulders than Odysseus (στάντων μὲν Μενέλαος ὑπείρεχεν εὐρέας ὦμους). The phrase ὑπείρεχεν εὐρέας ὦμους presupposes that Menelaus differed from Odysseus evidently only in the breadth of his shoulders, i.e. that they were of the same height. This means that, according to the *Iliad*, Agamemnon was the tallest of the three heroes. There then followed Odysseus and Menelaus, more or less equally tall. The most thick-set of the three was Menelaus, followed by Odysseus and Agamemnon.

<sup>8</sup> And she has made him so! Indeed in *Odyssey* 8. 134 Laodamas describes Odysseus as ‘not bad’ (φυήν γε μὲν οὐ κακὸς ἔστι). Cf. *Odyssey* 18. 67–70, where Athena once more renders him stronger.

That is all the literary evidence we have at our disposal, in which there is even any hint of a reference to Odysseus' height. References to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are found first in one and then another commentary on the poem *Alexandra* and the subject would appear to leave no scope for further research. That is not the case, however, and we have at least three artefacts, from which it is clear that the hero was indeed far from being tall. Let us now examine these three pieces of evidence. I shall start with the least plausible one.

1. The amphora found in Eleusis near the ancient necropolis was so large that in antiquity it had been used as an unusual coffin, after its base had been broken off: the remains of a boy had been preserved in it (Fig. 1). G. Ahlberg-Cornell assigns the vessel an approximate date of 675–650 BC.<sup>9</sup> On the body of the amphora there is a scene with Perseus and Medusa and on the wide neck figures have been depicted, among which it is easy to identify Polyphemus and Odysseus with his companions. This is one of the five surviving depictions of the blinding of Polyphemus dating from the 7th century BC.<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that in Greek vase-painting, among the scenes including Odysseus, this is one of the most frequent.<sup>11</sup> The giant is seated on the right and in one hand he is holding a vessel which contains the wine, with which Odysseus had intoxicated him, and with his other hand he is trying to pull out of his eye the long stake of olive wood, which three naked men depicted to the left of the giant are driving into his eye. The men are holding their weapon above their heads. The first of the three has been depicted in white.

Which one of them is Odysseus?

Homer tells us that five bold men had been called upon to blind the monster. After they had driven the stake into the giant's eye, Odysseus 'pressing down from above, began to twist the stake' (ἐγὼ δ' ἐφύπερθεν ἐρεισθεὶς // δίνεον: *Odyssey* 9. 383–384). Strictly speaking, it is quite difficult to imagine how that took place. If Odysseus had been pressing down from above (ἐφύπερθεν), he would have had to be the last of the five, furthest away from Polyphemus. Moreover, the stake would have been driven into the latter's eye not horizontally but vertically.<sup>12</sup> In that case, however, Odysseus' stance is almost impossible: he would have had to be suspended in the air and to have pushed off with his feet from the ceiling! For this reason, it is sensible to assume that the Greeks were standing not one behind the

<sup>9</sup> The first publication: Mylonas 1957. See also Mylonas 1961, 74–76; Schefold 1964, 48–49; Morris 1984, 37–51; Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 94; Martens 1992, 258–64; Touchefeu-Meynier 1997, 8.1, no. 15; Osborne 1998, 57–61; Giuliani 2013, 70–76.

<sup>10</sup> Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 94–95; Touchefeu-Meynier 1997, 8.1, nos. 15, 16, 16bis, 25, 26.

<sup>11</sup> Brommer 1983, 121; Touchefeu-Meynier 1997, 8.1, nos. 15–32.

<sup>12</sup> See Kannicht 1982, 78; Snodgrass 1998, 94; Burgess 2001, 97.

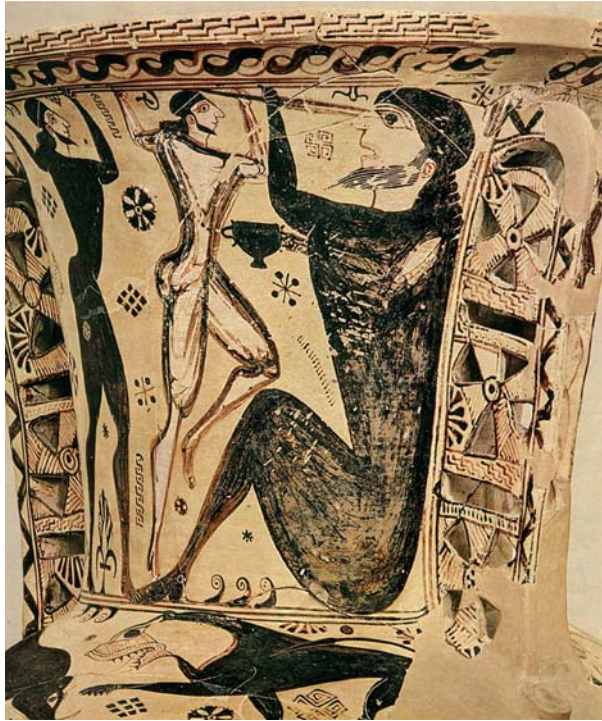


Fig. 1. Amphora, 675–650 BC. Scene of the blinding of Polyphemus. Eleusis, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2630.

other, as shown in almost all depictions of this scene, but in a circle as they gripped the olive-wood stake. It is precisely for this reason that Odysseus had been steering the blow from above, placing his hands above those of his comrades. A stance of that kind would fit in with the Greek text (ἀμφὶ δ' ἑταῖροι ἔσταντ': 9. 380–381).<sup>13</sup>

None of the survived depictions of the scene with the blinding of Polyphemus reflects the text of the poem accurately, the painters might have had in mind a poetic, vernacular or artistic tradition, one of which is unknown to us.<sup>14</sup> The craftsmen evidently understood that it would be very complicated to arrange the figures on the vessel as was indicated in the text: if, of course, they really were basing their work on the *Odyssey*. The composition on seventh-century vessels known to us

<sup>13</sup> This was noted by M.V. Povalyaev. That is precisely how the figures were arranged on a krater (of the late 5th century BC) held in the British Museum (see Brommer 1983, 63–64). It would appear to be the only depiction of its kind (see Touchefeu-Meynier 1997, 8.1, 1013–15).

<sup>14</sup> Hurwit 2011, 5. A.M. Snodgrass asserts that the vase-painting of the 7th century BC illustrated not Homer's epics but other legends on the Trojan theme, which have not come down to us. Depictions of scenes with the blinding of Polyphemus only confirm the conclusion he drew, in Snodgrass's opinion (1998, 90–100).



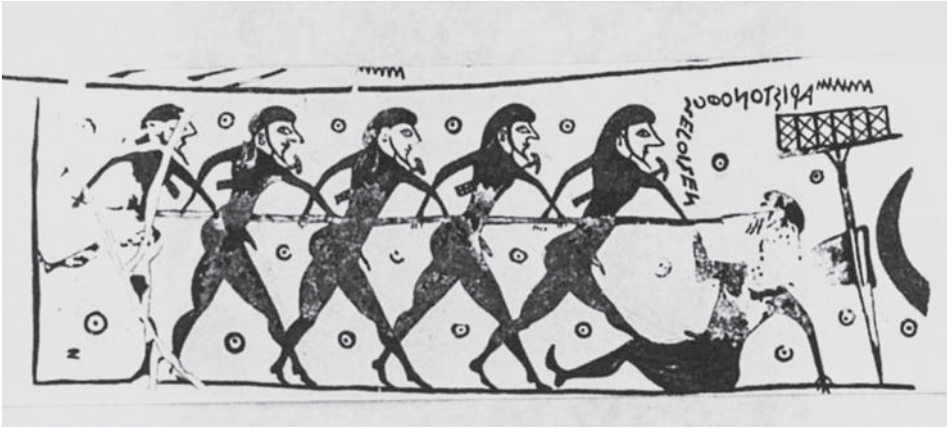


Fig. 2. Krater from Caere, 650 BC. Signed Aristonothos. Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. Castellani 172.

is always arranged horizontally with the Greeks standing one behind the other. This means that Odysseus' position had to be altered because it was impossible to depict this scene so as to match the text of the *Odyssey* completely. In order to emphasise the main hero among the other Greeks, Odysseus is placed first in the row, not last. Only on the krater from Caere do we see that the figure furthest away from Polyphemos – the fifth Greek – is pushing with his foot against the wall and, in so doing, he is making his blow harder and more accurate. Here too, however, the 'skewer' is arranged horizontally (Fig. 2).

Scholars all agree, and I share this opinion, that the figure of Odysseus on the vessel from Eleusis is the one, which is designed in white colour and positioned closest of all to Polyphemos.<sup>15</sup> It was precisely this hero who was directing the blow: he had instigated the action and he was risking more than all the others (*cf. Odyssey* 9. 331–335). It can be noted that his figure was more slender than those of the two companions standing next to him. His head is smaller and his left arm is definitely smaller than the arms of his comrades and, although the top of his head was at the same level as that of all the other heads, it can clearly be seen that Odysseus is standing on tiptoe (the knee of his left leg is significantly higher than the knees of the other two Greeks).

<sup>15</sup> The colour white would appear to have been deliberately selected by the artist. According to V.Y. Propp, 'painting the figure white was bound up with the ideas of blindness and invisibility' (Propp 1986, 135, 175). Could this not be linked with the fact that Odysseus was blinding the giant, after referring to himself as 'No-one', i.e. as invisible? Or with the fact that he was going to visit the realm of the dead? Incidentally, R. Osborne suggests that the white colour should be regarded as stemming from the general colour scheme of the vessel (Osborne 1988, 2), but would appear to be less categorical in Osborne 1998, 60. See also Morris 1984, 44; Martens 1992, 262.

Is it possible to suggest that the figure of Odysseus on the amphora from Eleusis is shorter than the other figures? Perhaps the evidence is too slim? I can appreciate the weakness of the argument put forward here. The positioning of the 'white Greek' is very haphazard, as if he had been painted after the others and so, perhaps, he was shorter than the other Greeks because there had been little space available for him. In view of this, let us now turn to the depiction on the other vessel, which should serve to reinforce my suggestion.

2. The krater from Argos dates from approximately the same time as the amphora from Eleusis – 675–650 BC.<sup>16</sup> On the survived fragment (Fig. 3), we see Polyphemos lying on a pile of stones to the left. With his left hand he is trying to pull the narrow stake out of his eye, while protruding tongue evidently conveys the yell let out by the monster. Opposite him, the depictions of only two heroes have survived and the leg (below the knee) of a third. We do not know how many Greeks the artist depicted on the krater in total. We do not know whether the last of the three figures



Fig. 3. Krater, 670–650 BC. Scene of the blinding of Polyphemos. Argos. Archaeological Museum, inv. no. C149.

<sup>16</sup> First publication: Courbin 1955.

was pushing against the wall to add strength to his blow or not. One striking detail, however, attracts our attention – the first of the two Greeks is clearly a head taller than the second.

None of the scholars considering this question can explain this strange and obviously not coincidental feature.<sup>17</sup> The figure's short stature is not justified by the general composition or a lack of space. All that we can do is regret that the depictions of the other figure or figures have not survived, since he/they might have demonstrated to us whether the first of the heroes was too short or the second extremely tall. If we hypothesise once more that Odysseus was depicted as the first figure – which is what historians tend to do – then it is possible to state the following: at the time, from which the Eleusis amphora dates, Odysseus is depicted on the other vessel as a hero who is clearly shorter than his comrades.<sup>18</sup>

3. Finally, Odysseus stands out on a third occasion on account of his unusual height on a krater from Corinth (dating from approximately 625–600 BC) held in the Louvre, on which the scene of Ajax's suicide is depicted – one of the earliest scenes from the Trojan cycle portrayed by vase-painters (Figs. 4, 5).<sup>19</sup> Odysseus and Diomedes are standing on both sides of the fallen hero (being evidence of inscriptions). It is noticeable that the king of Ithaca was a head shorter than Diomedes.<sup>20</sup> These heroes are only mentioned together in the Little Iliad in the story of the capture of Palladium (Procl. *Chrest.* 4). This epic was created earlier than the depiction on the vessel, so it could not have been the source of the artist's inspiration.<sup>21</sup>

Apart from these three depictions,<sup>22</sup> in which one of the figures can, with a fair degree of confidence, be identified with Odysseus, thus confirming that the word *νῆρος* in the poem *Alexandra* could be translated as 'dwarf', there is one more indirect but striking piece of evidence available.

<sup>17</sup> Courbin 1955, 29; Touchefeu-Meynier 1992, 6.1, 956.

<sup>18</sup> F. Brommer maintains that it is not Odysseus precisely because he is shorter than the second hero! L. Giuliani agrees with him, noting that the depiction of the heroes on the vases does not include any special physical characteristics: they are all portrayed as an ideal type of athlete (Brommer 1983, 61–62; Giuliani 2013, 77, 78).

<sup>19</sup> Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 74.

<sup>20</sup> In the photograph of the krater the difference in height is not very clearly visible. S. Padel-Imbaud (Louvre), however, assured me that Odysseus is really depicted as shorter than Diomedes.

<sup>21</sup> Touchefeu 1981, no. 120; Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 74.

<sup>22</sup> I cannot shake off the impression that on one further occasion the figure of a short Odysseus has been depicted in a bronze relief held in the museum at Olympia (B 3600; 625–600 BC). The hero is clearly identifiable thanks to the easily recognisable cap (*πίλος*). Cf. Friis Johansen 1967, 51–57; Brommer 1983, 24; Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 64; Burgess 2001, 39. Odysseus' reduced height can in this case be justified by the fact that the artist did have enough space at his disposal.



Fig. 4. Krater from Corinth, 625–600 BC. The scene of Ajax’s suicide. Paris, Louvre, inv. no. E 635.



Fig. 5. Krater from Corinth, 625–600 BC. The scene of Ajax’s suicide. Paris, Louvre, inv. no. E 635.



A relief pithos from the island of Mykonos (*ca.* 675 BC: Figs. 6, 7) often attracts scholars' attention.<sup>23</sup> The general subject of the reliefs is the destruction of Troy. On the neck of the vessel, the episode is depicted with the Greeks leaving the Trojan horse. On the body, there are seven metopes, in which Greeks are either killing Trojan women or leading them off into captivity and also a further eight metopes, where a victor is either killing or threatening an infant in its mother's presence. Motifs linked with infanticide are unexpected, because we know of only three cases when Greeks slew children during the siege or capture of Troy. The first was the slaying of Troilus, the second that of Astyanax – the son of Hector and Andromache, and the third was the sacrifice of Polyxena, daughter of Priam and Hecuba.<sup>24</sup> For this reason, we may assume that the relief on the pithos depicts an ancient tradition, which has not been preserved to the present day. The characters in only one of the metopes incorporating an infanticide have been identified (no. 17 according to the numbering used by M. Ervin;<sup>25</sup> see Fig. 6). They would appear to be Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, Astyanax and Andromache. Neoptolemus is unarmed. In one arm he is holding the infant<sup>26</sup> and with the other he is pushing away Andromache, who is straining towards her son. In essence, the identification of this scene as the slaying of Astyanax is based on the fact that the unarmed warrior is holding the small child by its legs and is clearly about to hurl him to his death.<sup>27</sup>

This serves to illustrate *Iliad* 24. 732–735, in which Andromache predicts the fate of her son, who will either serve a hard master or 'a Greek // will grasp you by the hand and make you fall from the tower onto the ground' (ἥ τις Ἀχαιῶν // ῥίψει χειρὸς ἐλὼν ἀπὸ πύργου λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον). I cannot fail to notice that in the *Iliad*, the infant is seized by the hand (χειρὸς ἐλὼν) and in the metope the warrior grasps him by the foot. This could well have been overlooked, were it not for the fact that the scene with Astyanax and Neoptolemus was also included in the *Little Iliad*:

<sup>23</sup> The first publication: Ervin 1963. Ebbinghaus 2005 (with bibliography).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 81–82.

<sup>25</sup> Ervin 1963, 50.

<sup>26</sup> It is probably a small boy not a girl. For more detail on this, see Giuliani 2013, 278, n. 20.

<sup>27</sup> Friis Johansen 1967, 28; Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 82; Giuliani 2013, 63. Scheffold (1964, 46–47), however, is unable to identify the figures from the scenes depicted on the vessel with the heroes familiar to us. M. Anderson also suggests that the content of metope no. 17 cannot definitely be linked with the story of Astyanax and that it is merely a variation on the subject of 'infanticide' (Anderson 1997, 188–89). Cf. Ebbinghaus 2005, 64. The metope on the vessel from Mykonos is probably the only depiction of the slaying of Astyanax of such an early date. A fragment of a vessel found in the Athens Agora contains a scene, which was initially interpreted as the scene of Astyanax's death. It has been dated to around 720–690 BC (Brann 1962, 15; Coldstream 1962, 217; Scheffold 1964, 27 [reconstruction of the whole image]; Friis Johansen 1967, 30). This interpretation of the subject appears to us extremely bold and it would seem necessary to regard the scene not as one of death but as a depiction of an acrobatic dance (Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 82).





Fig. 6. Pithos, *ca.* 675 BC. Scenes of the slaying of infants.  
Mykonos, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2240.

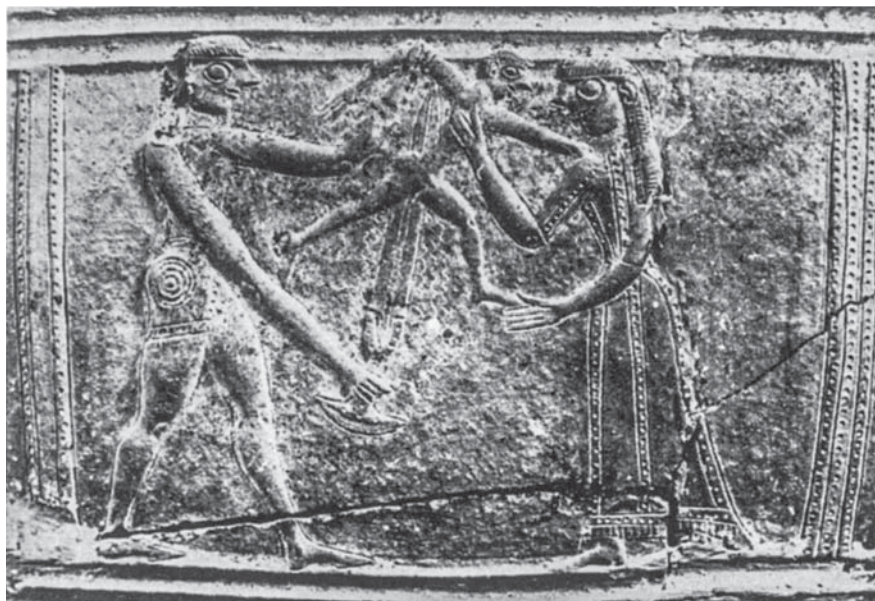


Fig. 7. Pithos, *ca.* 675 BC. Scenes of the slaying of infants.  
Mykonos, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2240.

But great-hearted Achilles' glorious son  
 led Hector's wife, back to the hollow ships;  
 her child he snatched from the bosom of his lovely-haired nurse and,  
 holding him by the foot (ῥῖψε ποδὸς τεταγών ἀπὸ πύργου),  
 flung him from the battlement,  
 and crimson death and stern fate took him at his fall...  
 (trans. M. West)

It is difficult to say what reason was behind this substitution: in the *Iliad*, Astyanax is seized by his hand (χειρὸς ἑλών), but in the *Little Iliad* by the foot (ποδὸς τεταγών). All that it is important to point out is that the depiction on the amphora would appear to illustrate not lines from the *Iliad*<sup>28</sup> but some ancient folktales, which have not come down to us or the *Little Iliad*, according to which, when Troy was captured, the Achaeans committed terrible crimes and killed several infants.

Is it imperative that the *Little Iliad* should serve as a source, a work in which the description of Astyanax's death appears to correspond more closely to metope no. 17? Can we be sure that the warrior slaying Astyanax is Neoptolemus?

This question is justified. The fact is that we have another piece of evidence available, in which a completely different person figures as the slayer of Astyanax. It is Odysseus. In *The Sack of Ilion* it is written: καὶ Ὀδυσσέως Ἀστυάνακτα ἀνελόντος, Νεοπτόλεμος Ἀνδρομάχην γέρας λαμβάνει ('after Odysseus had killed Astyanax, Neoptolemus took Andromache as a reward').<sup>29</sup> This hypothesis is borne out by one very interesting corroboration, which is now more comprehensible: the warrior on the vessel from Mykonos is a head shorter than the woman from whom he was wresting the child!

That is unlikely to be a coincidence. On the remaining metopes we see that the slayer of the child was either the same height as the woman depicted opposite him, or significantly taller than she was (Fig. 7).

There is another piece of evidence, which even if it does not allow us to conclude that we have Odysseus here, does make us start doubting that it is Neoptolemus. The key fact here is that the warrior slaying Astyanax has a beard. It is well-known that in depictions it was possible to distinguish an adult warrior from a youth on the basis of beards. It is difficult to say that artists always abided by that principle. I should, however, note that on the neck of the pithos, all the Achaeans arranged

<sup>28</sup> R. Kannicht suggests that it is not a servant in the *Little Iliad*, who is depicted opposite Neoptolemus, but Andromache herself (Kannicht 1982, 83). See also Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 82.

<sup>29</sup> M. Anderson notes with good grounds that the texts of the *Little Iliad* and *The Sack of Ilion* do not rule out the possibility of Odysseus and Neoptolemus being present together at the murder of Astyanax (Anderson 1997, 53). What attracts attention is that in both poems the slaying of Astyanax is linked with Andromache being taken prisoner and then handed over to Neoptolemus.

round or inside the Trojan horse have no beards, whereas the male figures in the metopes are sometimes clean-shaven and sometimes not. Yet in metope no. 17, the face of the warrior is clearly framed with a beard.<sup>30</sup> I would have to agree that this feature would be more likely for an experienced Odysseus than for a youthful Neoptolemus (cf. Pausanias 10. 25. 3–4).

Special note should also be taken of the fact that this vessel, like the amphora from Eleusis and the krater from Argos, dates from a broadly similar date – 675 BC.

I am unaware of any other depictions, in which Odysseus differs from other figures by his height.

To sum up, it is possible to say that by the 7th century BC there probably existed a tradition, according to which Odysseus was short in stature.<sup>31</sup> Echoes of this tradition have survived not only in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* but also in vase-painting – only in that dating from the 7th century BC, which illustrates ancient traditions evidently predating the *Iliad*. It is appropriate to agree with J. Burgess and emphasise that artists, who decorated the above-mentioned vessels, were not in any way obliged to follow lines unknown to us from one of the Cyclopean epics. Popular legends could also be their source of inspiration.<sup>32</sup> It was one of the first attempts by artists to lend figures individual features. But why should a shrewd Greek be short of stature? Does his height reflect certain ideas relating to what this resourceful warrior should be like?<sup>33</sup> It is interesting that Odysseus is twice represented as short on vessels specifically in the scene with Polyphemus, namely in one of the most ancient parts of the *Odyssey*. As we recall, it is precisely the Cyclops who calls the Achaean ὀλῆγος. Could it not have been his short stature, which helped Odysseus flee from the monster's cave after hiding under *one* of the sheep, while the rest of his men hid under *three* (*Odyssey* 9. 424–436)?

<sup>30</sup> This was noted by Ervin Caskey, but she asserts that the figure we have before us is Neoptolemus (Ervin Caskey 1976, 35, n. 175). M. West also notes that the warrior is bearded but does not make so bold as to call him Odysseus (West 2013, 240). Probably the bearded warrior with the veiled woman is Menalaos (Ebbinghaus 2005, 62–63).

<sup>31</sup> It would appear that, among modern scholars, only A. Brelich has drawn attention to the fact that some Greek heroes are short in stature (after him Dasen 1993, 215). Among these, apart from Odysseus, there is Ajax the Less, son of Oïleus (*Iliad* 2. 527–529) and Tydeus (*Iliad* 5. 800–801). Brelich notes that Polyphemus refers to Odysseus as ὀλῆγος and links this evidence to Lycophron's testimony (Brelich 2010, 190–91). Unfortunately, the evidence to be gleaned from vase-painting was not known to Brelich, although his book first came out in 1958, i.e. after the publication of the fragment from Argos in 1955.

<sup>32</sup> Burgess 2001, 37; 2015, 125.

<sup>33</sup> Dasen writes: 'A well-developed sense of wit was also traditionally associated with physical smallness' (1993, 215).

As I see it, there exist three possible ways to explain Odysseus' small stature in Homer's epic, in the poem *Alexandra* and also in early vase-painting.

1. His small stature reflects the idea of how a cunning, clever or even resourceful warrior should look. The hero's lack of height is made up for by his high degree of intelligence. Here it is appropriate to recall the fragment from the poem by Archilochus (fr. 114 W), in which the author admits that it is not the tall well-groomed military leader (μέγαν στρατηγόν) who is dear to his heart, but the short, unprepossessing sturdy fellow (αλλά μοι μικρός τις), who is bold in spirit and has his legs firmly on the ground. Is not Odysseus a sort of original ideal for Archilochus: short, clever and magnanimous (καρδίας πλέως)?<sup>34</sup>

2. This idea of short stature was 'transferred' to Odysseus from legends, which have not survived and in which the dwarf-hero fights with a one-eyed monster.<sup>35</sup>

3. The examples described in this article are no more than extremely rare coincidences, but coincidences nevertheless. Vase-painters of the 7th century BC lacked substantial experience in depicting human figures, to whom they lent specific features. This means that our essay is just one of the entertaining observations, which can be encountered in academic research but which in itself does not lead to further consequences and is not at all fruitful in that way.

I, incidentally, am more inclined to believe that Odysseus is that type of wanderer small of stature – a figure often in legends of all manner of peoples in all manner of historical periods. Sometimes the wanderer will be a boy, sometimes a dwarf (Tom Thumb), who stands up to a giant.<sup>36</sup>

If I am right in my assumption that in the 7th century BC there existed legends about a small Odysseus and that Lycophron, who lived in the 3rd century BC, was familiar with them, then the question is bound to arise: how could it come about that over the course of around 400 years we do not come across any intimations at all about the cunning hero's small stature? How could it be that Odysseus everywhere 'ceased' to be shortish after the 7th century BC? If there was clear reference to this – hypothetically – in the Epic Cycle, why did artists as early as the

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Hedreen 2016, 80–82. Naturally another figure from the Homeric epic also comes to mind, a man whose appearance was the opposite of attractive and, even if he was not clever, he was definitely excessively talkative: Thersites.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Page 1955, 1–20; Carpenter 1956, 20–21.

<sup>36</sup> Aarne and Thompson 1961, no. 327. As a rule the motif about Polyphemos is usually linked with the motif entered in the Aarne and Thompson catalogue as no. 1137 ('The Blinding of a Giant'). See, for example, Hansen 1997, 449–50; Edmunds 2005, 37. It is interesting that the motif no. 327B is called 'The Dwarf and the Giant'. It could perhaps be cautiously pointed out that Odysseus is reminiscent of another hero as well – the brave seamstress from Grimm's fairytales (Aarne and Thompson 1961, no. 1640). Although nothing is said in the fairytale about the height of the hero, all the actions of the tailor make it quite clear that he is of far from heroic proportions.



6th century BC not distinguish the king of Ithaca on the basis of his height from other figures, although the poems still existed? Why did subsequent generations of Greek storytellers, writers, commentators and vase-painters maintain a suspicious silence about such a remarkable fact? The answer, it would seem to me, can only be that artists, depicting the hero as a short man, were basing themselves not on the epos from the Trojan Cycle, but precisely on folk legends. There was probably some ancient tale, according to which a hero (child-hero) set off to the Kingdom of the Dead and on his way found himself in the abode of a giant. It is no mere coincidence that vessels from Eleusis, Argos and Mykonos were used as funerary vessels. Later on, the motif becomes part of the story of the wanderings of Odysseus the hero.<sup>37</sup> Then, on vases from the 6th century BC onwards, the illustrious Odysseus the Wanderer and hero of the Trojan War ‘ousted’ the figure of the short and therefore un-heroic prototype.<sup>38</sup> The great hero of the Homeric epic did not match the image of the infantile ‘shorty’ and later generations of artists indignantly rejected any such interpretation. The short conqueror of Polyphemos found himself a comfortable niche, where he was out of reach for the modern scholar, where vase-painters, familiar with the Homeric epic, would not be able to laugh at him with an air of superiority – in those legends, which were alive and well in every Greek household, in the mouths of mothers and grandmothers, who throughout history have enjoyed telling their offspring incredible stories.<sup>39</sup>

Yet how was it that the ‘transfer’ of this legend of the 7th century BC to the 3rd century BC took place without any traces of it being preserved in the work of scholars and the verses of poets? How could such an unusual indication ‘go into hiding’ for 400 long years and then, after a strange mention in the poem *Alexandra*, disappear forever?

It should be acknowledged that we do not have at our disposal any substantial proofs and therefore we can only make suggestions, remaining within the confines of common sense. We know that the ‘erudite’ Lycophon from Alexandria had to hand one of the finest libraries of antiquity and therefore access to even the rarest of manuscripts.<sup>40</sup> We know that he had knowledge of rare variants for the names of Trojan and Greek heroes, which were only commonly used in specific Greek

<sup>37</sup> V.Y. Propp, in his day, had expressed the belief that the description of Odysseus’ long journey was of later origin than the description of the fabulous adventures *en route* (Propp 1986, 48). He also notes that Polyphemos has a good deal in common with the witch figure, Baba Yaga, in Russian fairytales (Propp 1986, 71–73).

<sup>38</sup> Was it perhaps to this end that in later depictions Odysseus is shown wearing his famous cap? Precisely so as to ‘add’ a little height? We might recall that later a *certain* real historical figure would appear wearing a laurel wreath, so as to conceal his early baldness.

<sup>39</sup> ‘Yet ancient authors usually refer to female storytellers only in order to disparage them, “old wives’ tales” is an expression with an impeccable ancient pedigree’ (Buxton 1994, 21).

<sup>40</sup> On the Epic Cycle as a source for Lycophon, see Ziegler 1927, 2339; Hornblower 2015, 8–10.



*poleis*. For this reason, it is perfectly logical to suggest that it is precisely from rare manuscripts unknown to us that the Alexandrian scholar and poet was able to ‘fish up’ such rare and even amusing information.

Whatever the truth may be, either Lycophron himself or some other author of lines 1226–1280 in the poem *Alexandra* would have been familiar with that ancient tradition. Whether it be via Homer’s lines (the preferred allusion for the lines from *Alexandra* would, in my opinion, be *Odyssey* 9. 515) or those of the Epic Cycle, we should not, however, rule out the possibility that he was also acquainted with the fairytale legends of the kind, which grandmothers tell their grandchildren everywhere. If the nickname ‘dwarf’ can be traced back precisely to the story of the Cyclops, then we need to interpret Lycophron’s lines as meaning: ‘the dwarf who defeated Polyphemus’.<sup>41</sup>

## Bibliography

- Aarne, A. and Thompson, S. 1961: *The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography* (Helsinki).
- Ahlberg-Cornell, G. 1992: *Myth and Epos in Early Greek Art* (Jonsered).
- Ampolo, C. 1992: ‘Enea ed Ulisse nel Lazio da Ellanico (FGrHist 4 F 84) a Festo (432 L)’. *PP* 47, 321–42.
- Anderson, M. 1997: *The Fall of Troy in Early Greek Poetry and Art* (Oxford).
- Brann, E.T.N. 1962: *The Athenian Agora VIII: Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery, Mid 8th to Late 7th Century B.C.* (Princeton).
- Brellich, A. 2010: *Gli eroi greci: Un problema storico-religioso* (Milan).
- Brommer, F. 1983: *Odysseus: Die Taten und Leiden des Helden in antiker Kunst und Literatur* (Darmstadt).
- Burgess, J.S. 2001: *The Tradition of the Trojan War in Homer and the Epic Cycle* (Baltimore/London).
- . 2015: *Homer* (London/New York).
- Buxton, R. 1994: *Imaginary Greece: The Contexts of Mythology* (Cambridge).
- Carpenter, R. 1956: *Folk Tale, Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epics* (Berkeley/Los Angeles).
- Casali, S. 2010: ‘The Development of the Aeneas Legend’. In Farrell, J. and Putnam, M.C.J. (eds.), *A Companion to Virgil’s Aeneid and its Tradition* (Malden, MA/Oxford), 37–51.
- Chauvin, C. and Cusset, C. (ed. and trans.) 2008: *Lycophron, Alexandra* (Paris).
- Coldstream, J.N. 1962: Review of Brann 1962. *JHS* 84, 216–18.
- Courbin, P. 1955: ‘Un fragment de cratère protoargien’. *BCH* 93, 1–49.
- Dasen, V. 1993: *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (Oxford).
- Dury-Moyaers, G. 1981: *Énée et Lavinium* (Brussels).
- Ebbinghaus, S. 2005: ‘Protector of the City, or The Art of Storage in Early Greece’. *JHS* 125, 51–72.
- Edmunds, L. 2005: ‘Epic and Myth’. In Foley, J.M. (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Epic* (Malden, MA/Oxford), 31–44.
- Erskine, A. 2001: *Troy between Greece and Rome: Local Tradition and Imperial Power* (Oxford).
- Ervin [Caskey], M.E. 1963: ‘A Relief Pithos from Mykonos’. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 18, 37–75.
- . 1976: ‘Notes on Relief Pithoi of the Tenian-Boiotian Group’. *AJA* 80, 19–41.
- Friis Johansen, K. 1967: *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* (Copenhagen).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *Alexandra* 659–61: ‘He shall see the dwelling of the one-eyed lion // offering in his hands to that flesh-eater // the cup of the vine as an after-supper draught’ (trans. A.W. Mair).

- Fusillo, M., Hurst, A. and Paduano, G. (ed. and trans.) 1991: *Licofrone, Alessandra* (Milan).
- Gigante Lanzara, V. (ed. and trans.) 2000: *Licofrone, Alessandra* (Milan).
- Giuliani, L. 2013: *Image and Myth: A History of Pictorial Narration in Greek Art* (Chicago).
- Hansen, W. 1997: 'Homer and the Folktale'. In Morris, I. and Powell, B. (eds.), *A New Companion to Homer* (Leiden/New York/Cologne), 442–62.
- Hartmann, A. 1917: *Untersuchungen über die Sagen vom Tod des Odysseus* (Munich).
- Hedreen, G. 2016: *The Image of the Artist in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Cambridge).
- Holzinger, C. von (ed. and trans.) 1895: *Lykophron's Alexandra* (Leipzig).
- Hornblower, S. 2014: 'Lykophron and Epigraphy: The Value and Function of Cult Epithets in the Alexandra'. *CQ* 64, 91–120.
- . (ed. and trans.) 2015: *Lykophron, Alexandra* (Oxford).
- Horsfall, N. 1979: 'Some Problems in the Aeneas Legend'. *CQ* 29, 372–90.
- . 2005: 'Lycophron and the "Aeneid", Again'. *ICS* 30, 35–40.
- Hummel, P. (ed. and trans.) 2006: *Lykophron, Cassandre* (Chambéry).
- Hurwit, J.M. 2011: 'The Shipwreck of Odysseus: Strong and Weak Imagery in Late Geometric Art'. *AJA* 115, 1–18.
- Kannicht, R. 1982: 'Poetry and Art: Homer and the Monuments Afresh'. *CA* 1, 70–86.
- Kirk G.S. 1985: *The Iliad: A Commentary 1: Books I–IV* (Cambridge).
- Lambin, G. (ed. and trans.) 2005: *L'Alexandra de Lycophron* (Rennes).
- Malkin, I. 1998: *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity* (Berkeley/London).
- Martens, D. 1992: *Une esthétique de la transgression: Le vase grec de la fin de l'époque géométrique au début de l'époque classique* (Brussels).
- Morris, S.P. 1984: *The Black and White Style: Athens and Aigina in the Orientalizing Period* (New Haven/London).
- Mylonas, G.E. 1957: *Ἡ πρωτοαττικὸς ἀμφορεὺς τῆς Ἐλευσίνος* (Athens).
- . 1961: *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton).
- Osborne, R. 1988: 'Death Revisited, Death Revised: the Death of the Artist in Archaic and Classical Greece'. *Art History* 2, 1–16.
- . 1998: *Archaic and Classical Greek Art* (Oxford).
- Page, D. 1955: *The Homeric Odyssey* (Oxford).
- Perret, J. 1942: *Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome (281–31)* (Paris).
- Phillips, E.D. 1953: 'Odysseus in Italy'. *JHS* 73, 53–67.
- Propp, V.Y. 1986: *Istoricheskie korni volshebnoi skazki* (Leningrad).
- Schefold, K. 1964: *Myth and Legend in Early Greek Art* (New York).
- Snodgrass, A.M. 1998: *Homer and the Artists: Text and Picture in Early Greek Art* (Cambridge).
- Solmsen, F. 1986: 'Aeneas founded Rome with Odysseus'. *HSCPh* 90, 93–110.
- Surikov, I.E. 2011: 'Lykofron, Aleksandra (Per. i komm.)'. *VDI* 1, 216–33; 2, 234–67.
- Touchefeu[-Meynier], O. 1981: 'Aias I'. *LIMC* 1.1, 312–36.
- . 1992: 'Odysseus'. *LIMC* 6.1, 943–70.
- . 1997: 'Polyphemos'. *LIMC* 8.1, 1011–19.
- Vanotti, G. 1995: *L'altro Enea* (Rome).
- West, M.L. 2013: *The Epic Cycle. A Commentary on the Lost Troy Epics* (Oxford).
- West, S. 1984: 'Lycophron Italicised?'. *JHS* 104, 127–51.
- Ziegler, K. 1927: 'Lykophron'. *RE* 13, 2316–81.

Checherskij proezd, 56-1-92  
117042 Moscow  
Russia  
mosolkina@mail.ru

# HEDGING BETS, ABETTING REBELLIONS: THE ROLE OF ATHENS IN THE 4TH-CENTURY SATRAPS' REVOLTS

DENISE DEMETRIOU

## Abstract

This paper explores Athens's role during the satrapal revolts of the 360s BC, through the study of several Attic inscriptions dating to the same period. The examination of these texts shows that there was a consistent and complex Athenian foreign policy towards the rebelling rulers and satraps. Athens granted honorary awards to many of the rebellious rulers to negotiate and establish alliances with them but stopped short of officially supporting the revolts. In this way, it maintained the terms of the King's Peace while also cultivating diplomatic relations with the rebels.

The relationship between Athens and the Persian empire after the Persian Wars and before Alexander the Great's conquest of Persia does not receive enough attention in modern scholarship. This is especially the case for the Late Classical period, between the end of the Peloponnesian War (406/5 BC) and the death of Alexander the Great (323 BC).<sup>1</sup> Textbooks of ancient Greek history barely touch the subject, usually in a chapter on the changing 4th century BC that traces the collapse of the Spartan system, the growth of Thebes, the problems facing Athenian democracy and the struggle for hegemony among these Greek city-states. Nonetheless, Persian kings, satraps administering the Persian empire and the Persian military were ever-present in the political and military affairs of the eastern Mediterranean. Greeks and Greek city-states, too, were active in Persian affairs, serving as mercenaries in Persian armies, fighting in intra-Persian wars of succession and even invading Persian territories.

My aim in this article is to explore one overlooked aspect of Athenian and Persian interactions: what was Athens's role during the tumultuous years of the satraps' revolts? I bring Diodorus' account of the satrapal revolts of the 360s into dialogue with several Attic inscriptions of the same period that show Athens's dealings with the rebellious satraps.<sup>2</sup> I argue that Athens and various satraps who had revolted or who were about to revolt from the Persian empire attempted to establish diplomatic

<sup>1</sup> A notable exception is Miller 1997.

<sup>2</sup> Austin 1944 is the only work, published posthumously, directly dealing with this subject.

relations with each other. While the satrapal revolts did not amount to one cohesive rebellion against the Persian authorities, Athens's dealings with rebel kings and satraps reveal that Athens followed a policy of establishing diplomatic relations with rebellious rulers. But, it did not officially support them as a state because it also tried to maintain good relations with the Persian king.

A reassessment of the role Athens played in the internal affairs of the Persian empire is timely. It showcases modes of ancient Mediterranean diplomacy that became prominent in the increasingly interconnected world of the 4th century BC, such as grants of honorary awards. Moreover, our interpretations of the relationship between Persia and the Greek world have shifted in emphasis. Until recently, scholars preferred to describe Persian policies after the Persian Wars as attempts to balance Greek powers, especially Athens and Sparta. Now they emphasise that Persian policy in this period was ideologically motivated by a Persian religious worldview that required the Persian empire to impose order on a chaotic world, which included the Greek peninsula.<sup>3</sup> In addition, the study of Achaemenid Persia from a Persian (rather than a Greek) perspective has gained more prominence, with several works published recently both on the historiography of the Persian empire and on Persian imperial ideology and authority.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, local and regional histories, including those of areas that were under Achaemenid control such as the Phoenician city-states, have started to appear.<sup>5</sup> An investigation of Athens's role in the satrapal revolts brings together these disparate histories because it involves Athens's relations with Egypt, Sidon and various satraps in Asia Minor, and offers a new interpretation of diplomatic practices of the 4th century BC.

### The Great Satraps' Revolt

The Great Satraps' Revolt of 362 BC is mostly known from Diodorus' brief account of the events of that year, which he describes in a few short paragraphs (15. 90. 1–15. 93. 6). Diodorus' writings suggest that this particular rebellion, joined by many satraps and local rulers of cities within the Persian empire, was a concerted effort to challenge the central administration of the Persians in an effort to gain independence. A more comprehensive view of sources of this period, however, suggests that the revolt was haphazard and, indeed, that revolts had been

<sup>3</sup> For the view that Persia's interventions can be explained as attempts to balance Greek powers, see Lewis 1977; Waters 2014. For the more recent argument that ideological and economic criteria shaped Persia's actions, see Hyland 2017.

<sup>4</sup> Briant 2002; Harrison 2011; Dussinberre 2013.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Ruzicka 2012 on Egypt, and the many works of Josette Elayi on the histories of Sidon and Tyre and on numismatic practices of Sidon, Byblos, Tyre and Arwad.

a common feature of the whole of the first half of the 4th century BC. In short, 362 BC represented merely a peak in the number of rebellions, which in their totality are a sign of instability especially in the western parts of the Persian empire.

According to Diodorus, in 362 BC most of the satraps of all coastal provinces in West Asia rose against Artaxerxes II. Orontes, the satrap of Mysia led the revolt, supported by Autophradates, the satrap of Lydia, Mausolus of Caria, Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Phrygia, as well as the Ionian Greeks, Pisidians, Pamphylians, Cilicians, Syrians and Phoenicians. The Egyptian Pharaoh, Tachos, joined this rebellion and employed Greek mercenaries in his troops: the Spartan king Agesilaus and his troops were in Tachos' aid and the Athenian Chabrias led the Egyptian pharaoh's naval forces. To indicate how devastating the rebellion was to Artaxerxes, Diodorus claims that the revolt was so extensive that the revenues of the king were halved, causing him problems in paying for the military effort to put down the rebellion.

The revolt may have been concerted but it was also betrayed from within. Diodorus reports that Orontes, the satrap of Mysia and overall leader of the revolt, soon turned the rebels over to the Persian king. Similar events unfolded in Ionia, where a representative of the rebels, Rheomithres, gathered together many of the insurgents and sent them back to Artaxerxes. Meanwhile, in Egypt, Tachos' brother revolted and persuaded Tachos' nephew Nektanebo to overthrow Tachos, thus ending the rebellion in Egypt. Elsewhere, the Persian armies defeated the Sidonians and there is contemporary evidence from a Babylonian tablet that Sidonian prisoners – both men and women – were taken to Babylon and Susa.<sup>6</sup> And, in Cappadocia, where the satrap Datames had been in revolt since around 370/369 BC, the betrayal came from Datames' father-in-law, who collaborated with the king's general, Artabazus, to defeat the satrap. Eventually, Artaxerxes assassinated Datames, thus putting an end to the revolt (Diodorus 91. 1–92. 6).

The contemporary Athenian orator and politician Demosthenes alludes briefly to events that paint a similar picture of revolts in many places, especially in western Asia, characterised by in-fighting and eventually put down by Persian forces. While

<sup>6</sup> The tablet is usually dated to the fourteenth year of Artaxerxes III's reign, namely to 345/4 BC. If this is correct, the tablet refers to prisoners taken during a second Sidonian rebellion, led by their king, Tennes. Elayi (2005, 129–32) has argued that it should instead be dated to year four of Artaxerxes III's reign (355 BC). If she is correct, then the Chronicle records some of the consequences that Sidon faced during the Great Satraps' Revolt. The text of Babylonian Chronicle no. 9 (London, BM 31450) reads (translated by Glassner 2004, 240–41): 'The fourteenth [year] (of the reign) of Umasu, who [was called] Artaxerxes (III): in the month of Tešrit the prisoners whom the king had taken [at] Sidon [were led] to Babylon and Susa. [In the month of ...], that month, the thirteenth day, a small number [of] them entered Babylon. The sixteenth day, the women remaining (among) the prisoners of Sidon, whom the king had sent to Babylon entered that day into the palace of the king.' See also Grayson 2000, 24–25.



arguing in 351 BC that Athens should send aid to Rhodes to free it from Mausolus' control, Demosthenes reminds his audience that in 366 BC they had sent Timotheos to help Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Phrygia who had rebelled along with other satraps, with the explicit instructions that he would only help the satrap as long as his actions did not violate the treaty with the Persian king. Timotheos ended up using his army to remove a Persian garrison from the island of Samos, without outright helping Ariobarzanes. Demosthenes (15. 9) says that Timotheos freed Samos (ῥήλευθέρωσε) – an odd choice of words since Athens subsequently set up a cleruchy there. Casting Timotheos' actions as a liberation of Samos from the king's army was clever because it suggested that Athens had not violated the King's Peace, which guaranteed autonomy to all Greek cities (including Samos) except Lemnos, Imbros, Skyros and the cities in Asia. Athens could claim that it maintained the King's Peace though in reality it broke the treaty by its subsequent treatment of the Samians. In another one of Demosthenes' speeches, delivered shortly before 352 BC, the orator refers to Charidemos, a Euboean who had often served in Athenian armies as a mercenary, and who had been in Timotheos' service. In 362 BC, the same year of the Great Satraps' Revolt, Timotheos discharged Charidemos from his service, and the latter went on to join the Persian commander Artabazus in his attempt to squelch the rebellion of the satrap Autophradates (Demosthenes 23. 154). In an earlier speech delivered in 354 BC on the *symmoriai*, the navy-boards that funded the Athenian navy, Demosthenes (14. 31) alludes to Greeks who were paid to serve as mercenaries against Egypt, Orontes and other foreigners, who rebelled against the Persian king. This last mention indicates a similarly widespread rebellion supported by many satraps and local rulers along the lines of what Diodorus suggests. What Demosthenes does not mention is that Greeks had also supported the rebels: Agesilaus helped Tachos as did the Athenian Chabrias who had been in charge of Tachos' navy, as mentioned above (Diodorus 15. 92. 3; Plutarch, *Agesilaus* 36. 1; Xenophon *Agesilaus* 2. 28; Ps.-Aristotle *Oeconomicus* 1353a). Demosthenes' references to the revolts of various satraps in his different speeches, regardless of whether Athenians fought with or against them, demonstrate that the rebellions featured as exemplars in the Athenian political theatre of the 350s, less than a decade after the events had unfolded.

Diodorus' report describes the events of these years as some of the most destructive for the Persian empire. Nonetheless, a different narrative emerges once we consider more sources: satrapal revolts were the norm during most of Artaxerxes' reign rather than a distinct specific event of 362 BC. Persian sources from this period are limited to the building activities of the king and do not refer to Artaxerxes' military affairs. Nonetheless, Babylonian astronomical diaries make reference to Artaxerxes' wars in several parts of the empire during his whole reign, some of which corroborate

and elaborate on Greek sources.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, contemporary and later Greek historians relate the rebellions of the late 360s to earlier revolts against Artaxerxes. Pompeius Trogus' summary of the events more or less matches the brief narrative of Diodorus, though the details vary: Datames was the first to rebel, followed by Ariobarzanes and then Orontes (who in this text is the satrap of Armenia, a satrapy he held earlier on in his career before becoming the satrap of Mysia) (Pompeius Trogus *Prologue* 10). Nepos' account in his biography of Datames is similar and also places Datames first among the rebels rather than Orontes, the leader according to Diodorus (Nepos *Datames* 5–11).<sup>8</sup> In the process of discussing Datames' role and eventual demise in the satraps' revolts, Nepos refers to earlier rebellions against Artaxerxes. According to Nepos, Thyos a Paphlagonian revolted against the king as early as the 380s, as did Aspis of Kataonia in the early 360s, and Datames defeated and captured both of them (Nepos *Datames* 2–4).<sup>9</sup> Other historians allude to earlier rebellions, as well. Cyrus, Artaxerxes' younger brother, attempted to usurp the throne with the support of Greek mercenaries and various satraps, including those of provinces in Asia Minor, starting from the closing years of the 5th century (Xenophon *Anabasis* 1. 1–10). Cyrus failed, but the revolts continued. Many satraps and rulers defected or rose against the Persians in the 380s. Egypt was in revolt since the beginning of Artaxerxes' reign; Cyprus rose up against Persian control under Euagoras throughout the 380s as did Glos, the king's fleet commander; Ariaioi of Phrygia, Spithridates of Hellespontine Phrygia and Otys of Paphlagonia all rebelled in 396–395 BC.<sup>10</sup> These same sources also make references to internal struggles among the satraps, who attempted to enlarge their territories and encroached on those of others throughout Artaxerxes' reign.<sup>11</sup> Just as the internal power struggle upon Artaxerxes II's accession to the Persian throne must have been related to the revolts of the late 5th and early 4th century, the so-called Great Satraps' Revolt may have come at a time when Artaxerxes' son Ochus schemed to ensure that the throne would be his when his father died by removing other claimants: Plutarch's colourful and

<sup>7</sup> *ADRTB* nos. -440, -373, -369, -366. These mention the revolt of Euagoras in 381 BC, actions in Egypt in 373 BC and Datames' invasion of Mesopotamia in 367 BC, among others. See also Van der Spek 1998.

<sup>8</sup> Polyaeus also discusses Datames (7. 21. 1–7, 7. 29. 1–2), Orontes (7. 14. 2), Ariobarzanes (7. 26) and Autophradates (7. 27. 1–3).

<sup>9</sup> See also Sekunda 1988.

<sup>10</sup> Euagoras: Diodorus 14. 98. 1–4, 15. 9. 1–2; *ADRTB* no. -440 (London, BM 33478). Spithridates: Xenophon *Hellenika* 3. 4. 10. Spithridates and Otys: Xenophon *Hellenika* 4. 1. 6–28. Ariaioi: Xenophon *Hellenika* 4. 1. 27; *Anabasis* 1. 8. Glos: Diodorus 15. 9. 3–5. See also Briant 2002, 612–90.

<sup>11</sup> For a summary and discussion of these rebellions as they are attested in literary sources, see Moysey 1991; 1992. See also Briant 2002, 656–75.

dramatic account of the events states that before ascending to the throne in 358 BC, Ochus eliminated his brother Darius by accusing him of attempting to kill their father; drove a second brother, Ariaspes to suicide; and, had his third brother, Arsames, assassinated (Plutarch *Artaxerxes* 26–30). Moreover, shortly after becoming king, Artaxerxes III Ochus had to contend with rebellions in Egypt, Cyprus and some of the Phoenician city-states, including Sidon.<sup>12</sup> At the very least, this anecdote, whether historically accurate or not, reflects that such moments of transition made the Persian throne and the Persian empire vulnerable. The first bout of rebellions early in the 4th century was followed by a second wave of revolts – the satrapal revolts of the 360s – and by continued uprisings a decade later.

What we often call the Great Satraps' Revolt in reality resembled more a series of many small, uncoordinated rebellions rather than a unified revolt of the western satrapies.<sup>13</sup> The paucity of sources that discuss the rebellions, the poverty of the few that do, and the confusing picture these paint of betrayals among the insurgents, have led some to question whether the revolt of 362 BC was a concerted effort.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, little qualitative difference exists between the events that Diodorus describes in 362 BC and those of earlier periods. My purpose here is not to reconstruct the details of the rebellions. The primary focus in the remainder of the article is on what effects the widespread revolts of the 360s had on Athens and how Athens navigated diplomatically its relationship with both the Persian king and the rebellious satraps.

### Athens, the Satraps and 4th-Century Diplomacy

It is clear from the texts outlined above that Sparta supported the Egyptian revolt, with king Agesilaus serving as the general of the land army that included many Spartans. But Athens's involvement as a state is not at all transparent. Overall, Athens's actions wavered between a desire to help the satraps who had rebelled and the need to maintain the terms of the King's Peace. Ancient historians only mention individual Athenians who participated in the revolts but whether they acted on their own or with state sanction is not immediately obvious. For instance, Chabrias' role in Egypt was not officially sanctioned by Athens. Although Chabrias had been an

<sup>12</sup> Egypt, Cyprus and Sidon rebelled early on in Artaxerxes III Ochus' reign: Diodorus 16. 40–46. See also Briant 2002, 681–90; Barag 1966; Elayi 2006, 62.

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion, see Briant 2002, 656–75.

<sup>14</sup> Weiskopf 1989. Reviews of the book that appeared shortly after its publication took issues with the details of Weiskopf's argument, though not his overall point that the Great Satrap's Revolt was not concerted and did not challenge Persian authority (Hornblower 1990; Moysey 1991; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1992).

Athenian general in 363/2 BC, Diodorus (15. 92. 3) explicitly states that Athens did not send Chabrias to Egypt with public consent or at public cost (δημοσίᾳ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος) but rather that Tachos persuaded him to join him. The Spartan king Agesilaus echoes this in Plutarch's biography when he addresses Chabrias and specifies that Chabrias was serving in Tachos' armies on his own accord (κατὰ σεαυτὸν ἀφιγμένῳ) (Plutarch *Agesilaus* 37). The emphasis on distancing Chabrias from any official Athenian role while he was in Egypt suggests that it would be problematic for Athens to send a general to help the rebellion, as it would mean breaking the peace treaty with the Persian king. At the same time, it also implies that some Athenians supported sending aid to Tachos but not doing so openly.<sup>15</sup>

The Athenian assembly faced a similar dilemma when they sent Timotheos to help the satrap of Phrygia, Ariobarzanes. To ensure that they could not be accused of violating the king's Peace, the Athenians added a clause to their instructions to Timotheos specifying that Timotheos could only help the satrap as long as his actions did not break Athens's agreements with the Persian king (μὴ λύοντα τὰς σπονδὰς τὰς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα). Demosthenes goes on to say that once Timotheos got there and saw that Ariobarzanes was openly (φανερῶς) rebelling from the king he resolved not to help the satrap (τῷ μὲν ἀπέγνων μὴ βοηθεῖν). He did remove the Persian garrison stationed on Samos on his own, but this was not done for Ariobarzanes or with his help (Demosthenes 15. 9). In this way, Timotheos, who was serving as a state representative to Ariobarzanes, neither disobeyed Athens's command nor violated the treaty with the Persian king because, by removing the Persian garrison Timotheos ostensibly rendered Samos free and autonomous, as prescribed by the King's Peace. The reality was that Athens subsequently established a cleruchy on Samos, an island that was of strategic importance to Athens, where now it had a staging ground for actions in Asia Minor. Of course, the Spartans' disagreement with the terms of the King's Peace was exactly what had motivated the Spartans to support first Ariobarzanes (against attacks by Mausolus and Autophratades) in 366 BC and eventually Tachos by sending not only troops but also one of their kings to lead them (Xenophon *Agesilaus* 2. 26; 8. 5).<sup>16</sup> The Spartans vehemently opposed the King's Peace, which stipulated that areas and polities that Sparta had subjugated and controlled, such as the Messenians, should be treated as an independent polity. The Athenians, on the contrary, were rather ambivalent as to how much to support the rebellions.

<sup>15</sup> See also Howan 2010, 59–61.

<sup>16</sup> See also Ruzicka 2012, 136–37.

Epigraphic sources eliminate some of the ambiguity regarding Athens's official actions. A group of inscriptions that date from the 360s record diplomatic overtures between Athens and Tachos of Egypt, Straton of Sidon and Orontes of Mysia (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 119, 141, 207). They reveal that Athens was more involved in the revolts that unfolded in these years against the Persian empire than previously acknowledged. All these individuals, Tachos, Orontes and Straton, rebelled against the Persian empire at the same time. These documents in their totality showcase a consistent and complex Athenian foreign policy that employed similar diplomatic tools to negotiate and cultivate alliances with the rebellious satraps while also trying to maintain diplomatic relations with the Persian king.

### I: Straton, King of Sidon

An Attic decree honouring Straton, the king of the Sidonians, provides rare epigraphic evidence from the 4th century BC for Athens's foreign policy with non-Greek city-states and more specifically shows that Sidon and Athens were interested in forming an alliance, in the context of the satraps' rebellions in the 360s (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 141). Several scholars have proposed dates ranging from 378 to 360 BC for the decree, based on both internal and external evidence, such as the frequency with which certain phrases appear in certain periods, the dates in which the proposers of the decree were active, and other known embassies sent to the king.<sup>17</sup> The letter forms of the text conform with a date in the first half of the 4th century BC. Straton only came to power in 365 BC, as recent numismatic studies have securely shown.<sup>18</sup> The decree, then, most probably dates from the beginning of Straton's reign. This is the period preceding the height of the satrapal revolts, and the Attic decree honouring Straton should be understood in this historical context.

The inscription was discovered on the Acropolis, close to the Parthenon and is now at the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The beginning of the inscribed text is missing, and the surface of the stone is badly worn in lines 9–15 and 30–36. Nonetheless, the letters are still visible and the reading of the text is secure.<sup>19</sup> I quote it here in its entirety:

[...] Ἀθηναί[ων κ]αὶ ἐπεμελ[ήθη] ὅπως ὥς  
 χάλλιστα πορευθήσονται οἱ πρέσ-  
 βεις ὥς βασιλέα, οὗς ὁ δῆμος ἔπεμψ-

<sup>17</sup> Culasso Gastaldi (2004, 107–23) offers an overview of the scholarship on the date of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 141.

<sup>18</sup> Elayi 2006. Some of the earlier dates proposed for the decree are based on erroneous dates for Straton's reign, 375/4–362/1 BC, which Elayi has successfully revised to 365/4–352 BC.

<sup>19</sup> I follow here the edition in Culasso Gastaldi 2004, 104–15.



- εν καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι τῷ ἤκοντι π-  
 5 ἀρὰ τῷ Σιδωνίων βασιλέως ὅτι καὶ  
 ἐς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ὢν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθ-  
 ὸς περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων οὐ-  
 κ' ἔστι ὅτι ἀτυχῆσει παρὰ Ἀθηναίω-  
 ν ὢν ἂν δέηται. εἶναι δὲ καὶ πρόξεν-  
 10 ον τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων Στράτω-  
 να τὸν Σιδῶνος βασιλέα καὶ αὐτὸν  
 καὶ ἐκγόνος. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀν-  
 αγραψάτω ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βολῆς  
 [εἰ]στήλῃ λιθίνῃ δέκα ἡμερῶν καὶ  
 15 καταθέτω ἐν ἀκροπόλει, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀ-  
 ναγραφήν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τοὺς  
 ταμίαις τῷ γραμματεῖ τῆς βολῆς Δ  
 ΔΔ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων. π-  
 οιεσάσθω δὲ καὶ σύμβολα ἡ βολὴ πρ-  
 20 ὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν Σιδωνίων, ὅπως  
 ἂν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων εἰδῇ ἐάν τι  
 πέμπῃ ὁ Σιδωνίων βασιλεὺς δεόμε-  
 νος τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σ-  
 ιδωνίων εἰδῇ ὅταμ πέμπῃ τινὰ ὡ-  
 25 σ αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων. καλέσα-  
 ι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια τὸν ἤκοντα παρὰ  
 τῷ Σιδωνίων βασιλέως ἐς τὸ πρυτα-  
 νεῖον ἐς αὔριον.  
 Μενέξενος εἶπεν· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ-  
 30 περ Κηφισόδοτος· ὅποσοι δ' ἂν Σιδω-  
 νίων οἰκόντες ἐς Σιδῶνι καὶ πολι-  
 τευόμενοι ἐπιδημῶσιν κατ' ἐμπορο-  
 ῖαν Ἀθήνησι, μὴ ἐξεῖναι αὐτοὺς μετ-  
 οίκιον πράττεσθαι μηδὲ χορηγὸν  
 35 μηδένα καταστῆσαι μηδ' εἰσφορὰν  
 μηδεμίαν ἐπιγράφεν.

... of the Atheni[ans] and he saw to it that the ambassadors, whom our *demos* had sent, made their way to the King as splendidly as possible. And to reply to the man who has come from the king of the Sidonians that, in the future, if he is a good man towards the *demos* of Athens, he will not fail to obtain from the Athenians whatever he needs. And, Straton, the king of Sidon, will be a *proxenos* of the *demos* of Athens, both himself and his descendants. Let the secretary of the *boule* inscribe this decree on a stone stele within ten days and place it on the Acropolis. For the inscription of the stele the treasurers shall give to the secretary of the *boule* 30 drachmas from the Ten Talents. Let the *boule* also make *symbola* with the king of the Sidonians, so that the *demos* of Athens may know if the king of the Sidonians should send someone when in need of the polis, and the king of the Sidonians may know when the *demos* of Athens sends someone to him. Also invite

the man who has come from the king of the Sidonians to hospitality in the *prytaneion* tomorrow. Menexenus made the motion: let the rest be as proposed by Kephisodotos. However many Sidonians who live in and are citizens of Sidon reside in Athens on commercial business, no *metoikion* will be exacted from them nor is anyone of them to be appointed as *choregos* nor registered for any *eisphora*.

The text of the inscription provides insights into the process of establishing and maintaining diplomatic relations in the eastern Mediterranean. More specifically, reciprocity and grants of honorary awards characterise both the creation and nature of diplomatic ties. According to the text of the inscription, Straton had previously helped an Athenian embassy make its way to the Persian king (lines 1–4). Then he used this service he had performed for Athens as a pretext to approach the Athenians (lines 4–5). He tried to cultivate official diplomatic relations with Athens and sent an envoy to investigate the possibility. In return, Kephisodotos proposed that the Athenians give to Straton, the king of the Sidonians, whatever he needed to, as long as he was favourable to Athens (lines 5–9), grant him *proxenia* (lines 9–12), give hospitality to his diplomatic envoy (lines 25–28) and investigate the possibility of setting up formal diplomatic ties (lines 18–23). Kephisodotos proposed the awards given to Straton and the establishment of diplomatic ties with Sidon at the council meeting, reflecting the council's diplomacy towards Sidon. When the council's draft was discussed at the assembly, Menexenos proposed some further privileges, recorded in the rider of the inscription, given not to Straton but to citizens of Sidon.<sup>20</sup> The assembly added tax exemptions granted to Sidonian traders who lived in Athens (lines 29–36). Reciprocity characterises these diplomatic relationships. The Sidonians helped Athenian diplomats and Athens promised to help Sidon whenever it needed aid and to give hospitality to the diplomatic envoy who had approached Athens on behalf of the king. The grant of *proxenia* that Athens gave to Straton meant that Straton would be responsible for Athenian citizens who resided in Sidon. All these reciprocal acts created permanent ties between Athens and Sidon.

The grant of *proxenia* and the reduction of financial obligations through tax-exemptions were diplomatic tools employed by the Athenian council and assembly to establish permanent diplomatic relations, in this case between Athens and Sidon.

<sup>20</sup> Kephisodotos and Menexenos were politically active in the 360s. Kephisodotos acted as an ambassador to Sparta in 372/1 BC and proposed an agreement that Spartans and Athenians should have joint command on land and sea against Thebes in 369/8 BC (Xenophon *Hellenika* 6. 3. 2 and 7. 1. 12–14; Hansen 1983, 170). His career continued well into the 340s when he questioned Chares about his role in the Olynthian War (Demosthenes *Against Leptines* 146 and 150; Aristotle *Rhetorica* 1411a; Dionysios of Halikarnassos *First Letter to Ammaeus* 8). Menexenos may be identified with a person of the same name, who proposed a decree for Athens to accept a debt payment of the city-state of Ioulis on Keos (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 111; Hansen 1983, 173).

*Proxenia* was the most widespread and best attested institution used in building networks among states, and although the vast majority of grants date from the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, the institution took off in the 4th century.<sup>21</sup> *Proxenia* was not simply an honorific title; in practice it created a long-term official state relationship between city-states. To be a *proxenos* meant that one was legally responsible for individuals who came from the city that granted this award and who visited or lived in the *proxenos*' city. In 4th-century Athens, the institution of *proxenia* emerged as a popular diplomatic tool that served to create an extensive network of interstate relations between Athens and other polities in the Mediterranean. Only 25 of the more than 2500 proxeny decrees that span the history of the institution honour non-Greek kings, tyrants or dynasts.<sup>22</sup> The rarity of bestowing this status on kings, signifies that Straton and Sidon were important to Athens.

The tax exemptions given to Sidonian citizens who resided in Athens on commercial business were a means to further solidify diplomatic relations with Sidon. According to the text, Sidonian traders who lived in and were citizens of Sidon and who resided in Athens on commercial business would not be subject to resident alien taxes, property taxes, or be liable to finance a chorus for dramatic contests. In other words, the Athenians gave all Sidonian traders who resided in Athens the right to remain there without having to incur any of the taxes that resident aliens ordinarily had to pay. This grant essentially allowed them to continue their commercial operations without significant restrictions. Athens benefited financially from the presence of traders. It was in Athens's interest to grant traders tax exemptions and encourage commerce. The political authorities of Sidon were concerned with forging diplomatic relations and also with negotiating privileges for Sidonian citizens who resided abroad. But, the privileges granted to the Sidonian traders in Athens were contingent upon them maintaining their Sidonian citizenship and residency in Sidon. States were invested in controlling their citizenry.

Did Straton seek to help the Athenian embassy so that it could cultivate diplomatic relations with Athens? And, did Athens reciprocate by trying to create a permanent relationship between itself and Sidon for a specific reason? The text of the inscription is not explicit about what the Phoenician representative asked for and instead only makes vague references that the two states might need one another in the future (lines 22–25). This ambiguous language masks the motivation for why the two states pursued diplomatic relations. The text also alludes to the need for secrecy in communications between Athens and Sidon. A rare clause records that the Athenian council should explore the possibility of exchanging '*symbola* with the

<sup>21</sup> Mack 2015.

<sup>22</sup> For a collection of these 25 cases, see Marek 1984, 335–39.

king of the Sidonians' (lines 18–19). The purpose of this, according to the text, was so that the *demos* of Athens may know if the king of the Sidonians sends some request when in need of the city-state, and the king of the Sidonians may know when the *demos* of Athens sends someone to him (lines 18–25). This clause goes beyond the personal grant of *proxenia* that Straton received and beyond defining individuals' relations with a state. Although the word *symbola* usually indicates judicial agreements between states, in this instance the word refers to tokens used to guarantee the authenticity of embassies.<sup>23</sup> The emphasis in these lines is on how one would recognise when Sidon made a request from Athens and when Athens made a request from Sidon. How one would authenticate the envoys and embassies and the legitimacy of the request is through the *symbola* that the Athenian council was asked to create. These *symbola* refer to some object that would guarantee both the authenticity of envoys, embassies or communities, as well as secrecy between the two states.<sup>24</sup> In effect, *symbola* – tokens of recognition – would facilitate confidential diplomatic relations between Sidon and Athens.

The anticipation that Sidon would at some point find itself in a time of need and that Athens would send representatives to Sidon, as well as the emphasis on being able to recognise embassies sent from one city-state to another, suggests the necessity for secrecy in communications. I argue that the need for secrecy relates to the Sidonian plans to rebel from the Persian empire and to join the satrapal revolts, which were ongoing at the time. When the decree was published, early on in Straton's reign which began in 365 BC, Sidon had not yet joined the rebellion – it revolted in 362 BC – but may have already been thinking about it. Sidonian numismatic evidence from the same period supports this idea. Metronomic studies have shown that Sidonian coinage was rather consistent throughout its existence. Straton devalued Sidonian coinage in his first regnal year in 365 BC by lowering its weight by *ca.* 12%, and at the same time he increased the silver content back to 98.5%, the standard for Sidon's mint.<sup>25</sup> The devaluation of Sidonian currency in Straton's reign might have served to rebuild and maintain the Sidonian navy that had been used in many Persian expeditions earlier in the 4th century BC. In 363 BC, on the eve of his revolt from Persian rule, Straton increased the volume of issues, perhaps because he needed currency in order to rebuild his military, in preparation for joining the satrapal revolts.<sup>26</sup> In the same years, the Attic decree honouring Straton shows that Athens and Sidon were investigating the possibility of a future alliance.

<sup>23</sup> Gauthier 1972.

<sup>24</sup> Austin 1944, 100; Moysey 1976, 182; Culasso Gastaldi 2004, 111–12.

<sup>25</sup> Elayi and Elayi 2004, 586–89; Elayi 2005, 90–91. This team of scholars has single-handedly elucidated the history of Phoenician coinage in recent years.

<sup>26</sup> Elayi 2005, 137.

Such an alliance, I argue, relates to the rebellions against the Persian empire. Athens had only supported them indirectly when they sent Timotheos in 366 BC to help Ariobarzanes, albeit with the condition that whatever Timotheos did would be within the constraints of the King's Peace. This decree is a unique source that attests to Sidon and Athens establishing an alliance through reciprocal acts of benefaction, during the period of the satrapal revolts.

## II: Tachos, Pharaoh of Egypt

Around the same time as the Attic decree honouring Straton, Athens also honoured ambassadors of the Egyptian pharaoh Tachos, one of the rebel rulers. This is consistent with the policies observed thus far: rebel rulers approached Athens resulting in the formation of alliances or recognition of the rebels but not necessarily helping them. The short and fragmentary text has long been referenced in discussions of the rebellion and associated with the Athenian decree honouring Straton.<sup>27</sup> It records the names of three men, Pigres, Apollodoros and Zopyros, whom Tachos sent to Athens, most likely as his ambassadors (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 119):

- 1    θ[εοὶ]  
       Φανοκλ[ῆς - - - - -]  
       -ς ἐγγρα[μμάτευεν].  
       τοῖς Ταχῶ [πρέσβεσιν]
- 5       Πίγρητι  
       [Α]πολλοδώρ[ωι]  
       [Ζω]πύρωι.

Gods. Phanokles was the secretary. To the [ambassadors] of Tachos: Pigres; Apollodoros; Zopyros.

The text does not specify why Tachos sent this embassy to the Athenians. But, it is difficult to dismiss it as being unrelated to his rebellion against the Persians given the dates suggested for the inscription.<sup>28</sup> Since we know the names of the

<sup>27</sup> For example, Austin 1944, 100; Moysey 1976, 184; 1989, 119–20. Weiskopf (1989, 81–82) tries unconvincingly to disassociate Tachos from the satraps' revolt. Moysey (1991, 119–20) presents all the evidence that Tachos collaborated with the satraps. See also Ruzicka 2012.

<sup>28</sup> It used to be thought that an Attic imitation gold coin minted in Egypt bearing on it an Athenian owl and a Greek legend with Tachos' name (ΤΑΩ[Σ]) was evidence of Athenian involvement in Tachos' revolt (see Hill 1926, 24–25; Austin 1944, 100). More recent work has shown that this coin is not unique and that Attic imitations had been minted in Egypt for many years before and after the satrapal revolt: Moysey 1989, 119–20 (with bibliography). In these same pages, Moysey suggests that gold coins were often minted during times of duress, and thus the gold coin with Tachos' name may



secretaries of the *boule* for the years 363/2, 362/1 and 361/0 BC, none of whom were Phanokles, scholars have proposed either a date of 360/59 BC for the inscription or 364/3 BC, with the latter being the more widely preferred and accepted date.<sup>29</sup> In 364/3 BC Tachos was co-regent with his father Nektanebo and had seen first-hand the in-fighting among satraps and the political instability in the western Persian satrapies. He had fought with Mausolus against Ariobarzanes in Sestos and Assos in the mid-360s before returning to Egypt (Xenophon *Agesilaus* 2. 27). The three envoys are usually identified as Egyptians whom Tachos sent to Athens in 364/3 BC on his way back from the Troad region.<sup>30</sup> Whether the ambassadors were Egyptians or not, they were favourably received in Athens. It is quite possible that they went there to garner support for their rebellion. Indeed, this may be exactly the time when they recruited Chabrias to serve as an admiral of the navy fighting for Tachos.<sup>31</sup> If that was the case, the inscription would reveal an Egyptian policy of lobbying Athens and even seeking its support before Tachos rebelled against the Persians.<sup>32</sup> Athens's reluctance to send Chabrias as an official representative, implied by the sources' insistence that he was leading Tachos' navy on his own accord, as discussed above, exemplifies once again a cautious policy of courting the rebellious leaders while not going to outright war with the Persian king.

The Attic decree with the list of the Egyptian ambassadors of Tachos is contemporary to that honouring Straton, the king of Sidon. Because the text on the inscription is fragmentary, it is not certain what exactly it records. But contemporary texts that list ambassadors' names usually tend to honour them with awards, both honorary (for example, *proxenia*) and monetary (for example, gold wreaths). The Athenians could have honoured the Egyptian ambassadors with such grants, as they did Straton and his envoy. Further, there exists a concrete connection between Straton and Tachos. Tachos' nephew Nektanebo rose against his uncle in 360 BC and managed to acquire the support of the Spartan king Agesilaus but not that of the Athenian Chabrias who remained and fought with Tachos' armies in

have been issued during the satraps' revolts when the pharaoh was in need of money to finance his revolt, including the payment of mercenaries in his armies. For Tachos' finances, see Will 1960.

<sup>29</sup> 360/59 BC: Kirchner in *IG II<sup>2</sup>*; Foucart 1896; Austin 1944, 100; Alessandri 1982, 58. 364/3 BC: Moysey 1976, 185–86 with n. 16.

<sup>30</sup> Dušanić (1980–81, 14–15) identifies them instead as Anatolians. He bases his argument on the entry on Pigres in Zgusta 1964, which attests to the presence of the name in Lycia and Caria. The three ambassadors are listed as Egyptians in Pope 1935 because of their association with Tachos in this inscription. The other two names, Apollodoros and Zopyros, are Greek in form but that does not necessarily mean that they were Greek. Foreigners often adopted Greek names in their dealings with Greeks. Indeed, so did Straton, the king of the Sidonians, whose Phoenician name was 'Abd'aštart. Ambassadors were usually citizens of the state they represented, so I prefer to see them as Egyptians.

<sup>31</sup> Ruzicka 2012, 142.

<sup>32</sup> For an analysis of Tachos' strategy and goals, see Ruzicka 2012, 132–50.

this dynastic struggle. This war of succession effectively put an end to Tachos' rebellion from the king. Xenophon reports (*Agesilaus* 2. 30) that Tachos fled to Phoenicia and found refuge there.<sup>33</sup> This connection between the two kings is evidence of the collaboration between the Egyptian rebellion and the satrapal revolts of 362 BC. It suggests that there were existing alliances among the rebellious rulers, as well as several attempts to sound out what support Athens was willing to give to the revolt. For its part, as I have argued, Athens treaded carefully. It granted awards to the rebels but did not support them militarily as a state.

### III: Orontes, Satrap of Mysia

Tachos and Straton were not satraps. They were rulers whose territories were within the Persian empire who rebelled against it and cultivated relations with Athens to gain its support. Athens, in turn, formed alliances with them but did not offer help for their rebellions. Such a strategy of giving honours to one of the rebel leaders but not necessarily military help, is evident in a third inscription, one of a handful of documents from the 4th century, two of which I have already discussed, that record Athens's dealings with non-Greek states. This Attic inscription shows that Athens followed a similar strategy with Orontes, the satrap of Mysia, whom Diodorus names as the leader of the satraps' revolt. The published version of the inscription (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 207) consists of four pieces, one now lost, and the text is fragmentary.<sup>34</sup> While the meaning of the text is more or less clear almost everything else about the inscription has been controversial, including its date, who the honorand is, and whether the four pieces belong to the same inscription. All these issues have been discussed in great detail by other scholars; here, I only summarise them as they pertain to whether this decree relates to the satrapal revolts of the 360s. As is often the case with fragmentary texts whose preservation and transmission has been haphazard, it is impossible to resolve all the issues with certainty. Nonetheless, I argue that the text preserved on fragments (b–d) dates from 349/8 BC and reveals Athenian concerns relating to the Macedonian expansion into the Greek world in the

<sup>33</sup> Diodorus 15. 92 instead reports that once Tachos lost to Nektanebo he went to Artaxerxes via Arabia, begged for mercy, and Artaxerxes forgave him. How to reconcile these two traditions or what areas Diodorus means with the designation 'Arabia' is unclear. It is possible that by this point in time Sidon was no longer rebelling from the Persian king and that Tachos sought Straton's help in travelling to Artaxerxes. Whether Sidon was in rebellion or not, the connection between Tachos and Straton was strong. See also Briant 2002, 664–65.

<sup>34</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 207. Three of the fragments (b–d) are now in the Epigraphic Museum in Athens: EM 7035, 7035(a), 7036. Fragment (a) has been lost, but it had been seen and copied by Pittakys (Pittakys 1835, 500–01) and joined to fragments (b), (c) and (d) by Rangabé, who also emended Pittakys's text (Rangabé 1855, 74).

late 350s or early 340s. As such, it is not of concern here. Fragment (a), on the contrary, is contemporary with the decrees honouring Straton and Tachos' ambassadors, and honours Orontes, the satrap of Mysia. It shows that Athens explored the possibility of several alliances with rulers of areas that rebelled from the Persian empire.

Before I proceed, I present the full text of the inscription. Fragment (a) is Osborne's text based on Pittakys (*IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1,295); fragments (b)+(c)+(d) are based on the *IG* text:

- (a) ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ· Πανδιονίς ἐπρυτάνευ[ε - - - - -]  
 Φλυεὺς ἐπεστάτει· Πολυκράτης Πολυ[κράτους - - - εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν  
 οἱ  
 πρέσβεις οἳ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ὀρόν[του ἦκοντες τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ]  
 τῇ Ἀθηναίων ποιεῖν τὸν δῆμον λέγεται [- - - - - , ἐπαινέσαι Ὀρόντην ὅτι ἐστὶν]  
 5 ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς περὶ τὸν δῆμον [τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ πρόθυμος ποιεῖν ἀγαθὸν ὅτι ἄν  
 δύνηται καὶ νῦ]-  
 ν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ καὶ εἶναι Ὀρό[ντην Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐκγόνους αὐτοῦ,  
 καὶ γρά]-  
 [ψασθαι αὐτὸν φυλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρίας ἥστινος ἄν βούληται εἶναι· δοῦναι δὲ  
 καὶ τῇν]  
 ψῆφον περὶ αὐτοῦ τοὺς πρυτάνεις ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ· ἐκκλησίαι [τῷ δήμῳ καὶ  
 στεφανῶσαι αὐ]-  
 τὸν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ χιλίων δραχμῶν [- - - - -]  
 10 τοῦ στεφάνου· βουλευσασθαι ΠΝΑ - - - ὁπόθεν [- - - - -]  
 πάντα ΜΙΝΗΙΗΦ - - - Ὀρόντου πρὸς τὸ - - - ΟΠΟ - - - ΧΩΝΟΙΦ[- - - - -]  
 [τοὺς θε]σμοθέτας τοὺς ἐπὶ Νικομάχου ἄρχοντος - - - ΒΟΥΛΕΤΟΝ - - ΑΧΟΛΙΟ  
 [- - - τῶν]  
 Ἀθηναίων ἢ τῶν συμμάχων μὴ ΛΙΠΟΜΕΝ - - - [Ὀρ]όντου ἀρχ[- - - - -]  
 δήμου τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίους δι[κα]ς δοῦναι ἐν τοῖς συμβόλοις [- - - - -]  
 15 ΤΙΘ εἰσὶν ἐκ τῆς Ὀρόντου ἀρχῆς ΕΤ - - - συμμάχ[- - - - -]  
 ἐξεῖναι τῷ ἐγκλήματι ΩΙΛΛΟΠ - - - ΑΝ - - [- - - - -]  
 [- - -]ουσιν· τὴν δὲ βουλὴν τὴν [- - - - -]  
 - - - - -]  
 [- - -] καὶ τῷ δήμῳ [- - - - -]  
 - - - - -]
- (b-d) [- - - - - c. 54-55 - - - - -] ΩΣ . . Α[- - - - - c. 8-9 - - - - -]  
 [- - - - - c. 52 - - - - -] Ο. ΙΑΙΩ[.]ΤΟΥ[- - - - - c. 7  
 - - - - -]  
 [- - - - - c. 50 - - - - -] α πλοίων [- - - - - c. 10 - - - - -]  
 [- - - - - c. 41 - - - - -] ΟΝΟ..ΙΩ.. φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι - - c. 2 - - -]  
 5 [- - - - - c. 21-22 - - - ἐπειδὴ ἐπιμελεῖται Ὀρ]όντης ὅπως ἄν παραλάβῃ ὁ [δῆμος ὁ Ἀθ]-  
 [ηναίων - - - - - c. 33-34 - - - - -] Α καὶ τὰ σύμβολα δειχθῇ καὶ [- - c. 8 - - -]  
 [- - - - - c. 23-24 - - - - -] ΣΙΤ [- - c. 14 - - -] ἐλέσθαι τὸν δῆμον αὐτίκα μ[ά]λ[α - -  
 c. 3 - - -]

- [ - - πρέσβεις - - - τοῦς δὲ αἰρε[θέντας τὸ ἀρ]γύριον λαβόντας ὁπόθεν ἂν ὁ δῆμος  
[ψηφίς]-  
[ηται ἰέναι ὡς Ὀρόντης κ]αὶ ἀποδεῖξαι [τὰ σύμβολα] ἐν τῷ Θαρρηλιῶνι μηνὶ καὶ  
ἀπάγειν ἅ[π'] Ὀρ]-  
10 [όντου τὸν σῖτον κατ]ὰ τὰ ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψηφ[ίσματι] γεγραμμένα καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν  
ἔτι ἂν [δύναν]-  
[ται ποιεῖν· τὸ δὲ] ἀργύριον εἶναι εἰς τῇ[ν πα]ράληψιν τοῦ σῖτου ἐκ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν·  
[χομι]-  
[σάντων δὲ τὸν σῖτον] τῷ στρατοπέδω[ι τῷ μετ]ὰ Χάρητος καὶ Χαριδήμου καὶ  
Φωκίων[ος πεμ]-  
[πόμενωι· κελευσάντω]ν δὲ καὶ τ[οὺς ἤδη τα χρ]ήματα τῶν συντάξεων τῶν Λέσβωι  
[εισπράτ]-  
[τοντας - - c. 11 - -] ON τε [Χάρητος καὶ Χ]αριδήμου καὶ Φωκίωνος τά τε παρὰ  
τῆς πόλ[εως]  
15 [- - - - - c. 18-19 - - -]. ΟΣΛ[- - c. 11 - - ] λαβόντας παραλαβεῖν τὸν σῖτον μ[ε]τὰ  
τῷ[ν]  
[πρέσβεων - - c. 10 - - ] ἐπισι[τίσωνται ὡς τ]άχιστα καὶ γένηται μισθὸς τοῖς  
στρατι[ώτ]αις  
[- - - - - c. 15 - - - τῆς κ]ομιδῆς γ[ένηται, ἐνδε]ῖξαι τοὺς ταμίας καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις  
τῷ δήμωι  
[ψηφίσασθαι δὲ τὸν δῆμον δ]ιτι ἅμ βούλη[ται· ἐὰν δὲ οἱ τα]μίαι μὴ ποιῶσιν τὰ ἐν  
τῷδε τῷ ψηφί[σ]-  
[τι γεγραμμένα ὀφειλέτο] ἕκαστος Χ δραχμὰς ὡς δι[ακωλύοντας τὸν πόλεμον  
πολεμεῖσθαι.  
20 [ὅπως δὲ τα χρήματα πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀσφαλ]ῶς κομίζεται ἐπιμελεῖσθαι  
τοὺς ΜΕΝ[-]  
[- - - - - c. 32 - - - - τ]οὺς συμμάχους Χάρητα καὶ Χαριδήμον τοὺς σ[τ]-  
[ρατηγούς - - - - - c. 24 - - - -] ταμίαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὡς Ὀρόντην καὶ πλοῖα παρὰ  
[- - - - - c. 30 - - - -] Πρόξενον τ[ὸν] στρατηγὸν μετὰ τῶν πρέσβεων κα[.]  
[- - - - - c. 24-25 - - - - τὸν τα]μίαν τοῦ δήμου τὰ [ἐ]φ' ὅδια τῶν πρέσβεων κα[.]  
25 [ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλίσκομένων τῷ δήμ]ωι· ἐπαινέσα[ι δὲ κα]ὶ τοὺς  
πρέσβεις τοὺς πεμφθ[έ]ν[ι]-  
[τας - - - - - τοὺς δ]ὲ πρέσβεις [- - c. 4-5 - - σ]τεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ  
στεφάν-  
[ωι - - - - - ] Εὐωνυμέα, [- - c. 4 - -] Ν Λυκόφρονος Ἀχαρνέα,  
Φ[- - ]  
[- - - - - ] ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ[ς - - c. 5 - - ]  
ΝΟΥΣΜΕΡΟΠΑ[- - ]  
[- - - - - ] ΑΜΥΤ  
[- - - - - ]

## Fragment a:

The people decided. Pandionis was in prytany. [... was secretary. -] of Phlya was chairman. Polykrates son of Polykrates of - proposed: concerning what ... the Athenian envoys and those who have come from Orontes ... to the Athenians ... the People to do (?) ... good man towards the People ... both now and in time past, Orontes [and

his descendants] shall be an Athenian [and they will enrol him in a phyle and a deme and a phratry, whoever he wishes to be] ... and the prytany shall put the vote about him in the next Assembly ... and crown him with a gold crown of a thousand drachmas ... the crown; ... shall consider ... whence ... everything ... of Orontes to the ... the ... the *thesmothetai* in the archonship of [Nikomachos] ... consider ... of the Athenians or the allies ... of the People, the Athenians on the one hand shall be liable to legal proceedings under the judicial convention ... from the territory governed by Orontes ... allies ... it shall be possible ... for the complaint in law ... and the Council ... and to the People...

Fragments b–d:

... so that ... of the Athenians ... of the vessels ... equally friends and allies ... Orontes, so that he may receive ... and that the *symbola* may be presented and ... and the People shall elect straightaway ... and those elected shall take the money from wherever the people ... and give an account ... in the month of Thargelion and shall pay *or* carry off ... what is written in this decree and any other good within their power ... and the money for the receipt of the grain shall be paid from the military fund ... to the army encamped with Chares and Charidemos and Phokion ... and ... money from the allied levies in Lesbos and ... of Chares and Charidemos and Phokion and those from the city ... take the- and shall receive the grain with the ... as quickly as possible and that there be pay for the soldiers ... of transport ... the treasurers and the envoys shall show to the people (?) ... whatever ... may wish; but if the treasurers do not do the things – in this decree ... prevent war from being waged ... may be transported the – shall ensure that ... the allies, Chares and Charidemos the [generals?] ... treasurers and the money to Orontes and the vessels from *or with* ... Proxenos the general with the envoys [and?] the treasurer of the People shall give to each of the envoys (more than) 50 drachmas ... and to praise the envoys sent ... envoys ... crown them with a foliage crown ... of Euonymmon, -n son of Lykophron of Acharnai, Ph- ... and the – Merops (?) ... Adramyt[ion]

The text in both parts of this inscription is difficult to restore; nonetheless, the content of each section is relatively clear. Fragment (a) records the presence of Athenian ambassadors and envoys of Orontes who had arrived in Athens and states that Orontes had been a good man towards the Athenians both in the past and at that time. For this reason, they granted Orontes a gold crown worth 1000 drachmas and citizenship in Athens. Following these initial awards, the decree refers to some judicial agreement between Athens and Orontes that specifies that Athenian citizens would be liable to specific legislation within Orontes' territory and presumably vice versa given that we only have the *μέν* clause of a *μέν* + *δέ* construction in line 14. The text also mentions the words allies, though the text is too fragmentary at this spot to understand what the Athenians and Orontes agreed upon exactly.

The text preserved in the other three fragments discusses provisions for the purchase of grain from Orontes. More specifically, Athens would choose men responsible for taking money out of a military fund (line 11) to pay for the grain; the men



would take the grain to a military camp, where Chares, Charidemos and Phokion, were stationed (line 12); money from a levy on Lesbos would be used for the payment (line 13); when Chares, Charidemos and Phokion received the grain, they would pay the soldiers as quickly as possible (line 16). The opening lines mention ships, allies, Orontes and *symbola* that should be shown (lines 3–6), most probably to guarantee the authenticity of the representatives, as in the case of the *symbola* created between Athens and Straton. This would have been especially expedient since all this activity happens at a state of war. The Athenian generals are encamped, the text mentions a war and those hindering it (line 19), and specific instructions are in place to coordinate the purchase of the grain with military operations (lines 20–22). The text mentions Proxenos, a general, and ambassadors who were responsible for the purchase of the grain (line 23). The decree ends with provisions for paying the ambassadors' travelling expenses (line 24), and finally includes the names of the ambassadors and grants them the award of olive crowns (lines 25–29).

Fragment (a), which follows a similar structure as the decree that honours Straton, discussed above, I argue dates from the 360s. Nonetheless, 349/8 and 341/0 BC are the dates most commonly associated with the decree. How one dates fragment (a), which no longer exists, depends on how one reconstructs the name of the archon in line 12. Pittakys reconstructed it as 'Nikomachos' and thus dated the inscription to 341/0 BC when an archon of the same name was in office, while Rangabé edited the name as 'Kallimachos' and provided a date of 349/8 BC. The problem with Pittakys's date of 341/0 BC is that Orontes was more likely dead than alive by then: he had become satrap of Armenia in 401 BC and eventually satrap of Mysia but does not appear in the historical record after the references to his participation in the satrapal revolts.<sup>35</sup> The earlier date of 349/8 BC for fragment (a) is problematic for two reasons. First, Rangabé's emendations of Pittakys's transcription, including the change in the archon's name, are arbitrary, without any explanation and should not be trusted.<sup>36</sup> Second, according to fragment (a), Athenians were present in Orontes' territories. Logistically, it is hard to explain why Athens would divert its energies to the East, when during the 340s it had concentrated its

<sup>35</sup> For Orontes' life and career, see Osborne 1973; 1975. The Chronicle of Pergamon (*OGIS* 264) records that he died after he rebelled against Artaxerxes.

<sup>36</sup> Lambert (2006, 123–27) shows that Rangabé based his emendations to Pittakys's text, published in 1835, on one of Pittakys's earlier transcriptions from 1830, preserved in an archive of the latter's papers housed in the Berlin Academy. Osborne 2008 refutes the idea that Pittakys's earlier text should be more trustworthy than the later one. Pittakys himself claimed that his later reading was based on an autopsy of the stone, indicating that he thought it was the superior reading. Moreover, Osborne 2008 shows that Pittakys and Rangabé were on bad terms and that the former accused the latter of stealing and publishing his ideas. Pittakys specifically criticised Rangabé for distorting his reading of the archon's name in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 207.

efforts in the north Aegean in campaigns against Philip of Macedon.<sup>37</sup> Neither 349/8 nor 341/0 BC seem ideal. The letter forms of the inscription might be datable to the 360s,<sup>38</sup> and Osborne has twice suggested emendations to Pittakys's transcription that would date fragment (a) to this period.<sup>39</sup> His earliest reconstruction of the archon's name stays close to Pittakys's reading. He suggests that the name of the archon is 'Nikophemos', who was in office in 361/0 BC.<sup>40</sup> Subsequently, Osborne has argued that the name instead should be 'Timokrates', the archon of 364/3 BC.<sup>41</sup> The letter forms of the inscription and the difficulty of placing the events it describes to the 340s suggest that a date in the 360s is more fitting for this decree.

While a date in the 360s is likely for fragment (a), 349/8 BC is more appropriate for the text preserved on fragments (b–d). Most importantly, Chares, Charidemos and Phokion, who are referred to as *strategoi* (generals), all held that office in 349/8 BC<sup>42</sup> and were more active in the 350s and 340s than in the 360s.<sup>43</sup> The date of 349/8 BC also offers a reasonable historical context for the agreement recorded in fragments (b–d). Philip's expansion in the Greek world had led Athens to take hostile action against the Macedonians in the North Aegean. It is quite possible that Athens wanted to ensure that its soldiers had grain supplies while they engaged in hostilities in the North Aegean. Moreover, there is no need to insist that all four fragments date to the same period.<sup>44</sup> The text preserves two separate but

<sup>37</sup> Cawkwell 1962, 131–32.

<sup>38</sup> Walbank (1988) argued for a date in the 360s based on the letter forms, and similarities that he saw among *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 138, 143 and 207. Tracy (1995, 69, n. 2) does not agree that the three inscriptions were inscribed by the same stone-cutter. Tracy's objections, however, do not necessarily indicate that the 360s is not a possible date for *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 207. In any case, palaeographic grounds for dating this text are going to be problematic no matter what since this fragment is now lost.

<sup>39</sup> Osborne 1971; 1973, 544–47; 2008. Followed by Tritle 1988, 71; Walbank 1988; Weiskopf 1989, 76–7. *Contra* Osborne: Parke 1937–39; Hansen 1984, 134, n. 31; Moyses 1987; Develin 1988; Kelly 1990; Lambert 2006.

<sup>40</sup> Osborne 1971, 319–21; 1981, 52–54.

<sup>41</sup> Osborne 1982, 73–74.

<sup>42</sup> Hansen 1983, 178–79.

<sup>43</sup> Nonetheless, all three had been active in the 360s: Chares was general in 361/0 (Diodorus 15. 95. 3); Phokion had made an expedition in 361 BC against Athenodoros, a mercenary fighting with the Persian army allied with Artabazus, a loyal satrap; and, Charidemos was involved in Timotheos' expeditions in 364/3 BC (Demosthenes 15. 9). Charidemos can only have served as general after he was naturalised as an Athenian citizen. Osborne (1982, 77–78) argues for a date of 364 BC but most other scholars prefer 357 BC. *Contra*: Parke 1937–39, 375; Moyses 1987, 98, n. 18; Develin 1988, 80; Kelly 1990. See also Tritle 1988, 67–71.

<sup>44</sup> Osborne 1982, 74–79 argues that the two texts date from the same period. In his reconstruction of the events, the Athenians first contacted Orontes to negotiate the sale of grain to the Athenians and they then returned to Athens together with Orontes' envoys. Because of Orontes' favourable response the Athenians gave him citizenship and instigated further diplomatic relations regarding judicial conventions and the creation of *symbola* between Athens and Orontes. Only after establishing these facts,

related decrees inscribed on the same stone, not an uncommon practice, with several examples existing from Athens.<sup>45</sup>

With a date in the 360s, fragment (a) shows that Orontes courted Athens and that Athens was interested in pursuing diplomatic relations with Orontes during the satrapal revolts. Even more to the point is that fragment (a) follows a similar structure as the decree that honours Straton, discussed above, and demonstrates that the mechanisms by which each polity pursued the forging of the alliance were similar. Just as Straton, the Sidonian king, had provided a service to Athens by helping its ambassadors, so Orontes had shown his personal favor of Athens in some specific way not explicit in the text. Perhaps, just as Straton, Orontes had performed a service involving the Athenian ambassadors mentioned in the text. Both Straton and Orontes sent envoys to Athens after the help they had provided to the state to negotiate an alliance. Athens in both cases responded by awarding personal honours to the rulers, *proxenia* to Straton and citizenship to Orontes, and followed up the personal awards with further agreements to regulate interactions between citizens of each state that resided or travelled through the other's territory. In one instance, Athens gave exemptions to Sidonian merchants who lived in Athens but retained their citizenship in Sidon in order to facilitate their contributions to the economy. In the other, Athens defined the legal procedures that Athenian citizens would follow when in Orontes' territory (his *arche*, mentioned in line 13). Regardless of whose jurisdiction they fell under, the need to clarify the legal standing of citizens who travelled or lived abroad is clear.

Once again, Athens did not pursue an aggressive policy towards the Persian king but it did cultivate diplomatic relations and even honour several of the rebellious rulers and their envoys, including, as we have seen Straton, Tachos and now Orontes. The method with which Athens did this was through an increasingly popular tool in Athens's diplomatic arsenal, the award of personal honours. Through the grant of *proxenia*, which started to become prevalent in the 4th century BC, and the rarer grant of citizenship, and through giving these awards not to individual citizens but to heads of state, Athens further solidified diplomatic relations and pursued alliances with the rebels. But its actions never violated the King's Peace to which it was bound and it was only individual Athenians, without official state support, who fought in the armies of the rebels.

does the text detail the arrangements for the purchase of grain from Orontes, followed by the honours given to the ambassadors. Moysey (1987, 97–99) also thinks that fragments (a–d) all belong together and that they date from 349/8 BC. He argues, however that Orontes was not the satrap but one of his descendants since the satrap was mostly probably dead by 349 BC.

<sup>45</sup> See Develin 1988. Examples of this practice are not infrequent. See, for example, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 360, which records five different decrees that honoured a certain Herakleides from Salamis, on Cyprus, each with various awards given to him over many years, from 338 to 325 BC.

#### IV: Ariobarzanes and his sons, Satrap of Phrygia

Athens's policies towards rebellious figures in the Persian empire in the 360s were consistent. The decrees honouring Straton and Orontes can be supplemented with some literary references that claim that during the same period (368–366 BC), Athens gave citizenship to Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Phrygia, as well as to his three sons and to two of his subordinates, Philiskos and Agauos of Abydos. Ariobarzanes was one of the satraps who revolted against Artaxerxes, and Athens had even sent Timotheos to help him, as discussed above (Demosthenes 15. 9). Demosthenes says that Athens had naturalised Ariobarzanes and his sons, together with Philiskos in the recent past, though he does so in a tirade against the practice of honouring crooked men with citizenship (Demosthenes 23. 141, 23. 202). He implies that the reason for awarding Philiskos and Agauos with citizenship was that they and their satrap Ariobarzanes were in control of the Hellespont (Demosthenes 23. 142). This would correlate well with Athenian attempts to maintain friendly relations with that region and whoever controlled trade with the Black Sea.<sup>46</sup> At the same time, it is quite possible that Ariobarzanes solicited an alliance, looking to garner military support from Athens in preparation for his rebellion. Ariobarzanes' overtures resulted not only in the awards he, his family and his subordinates received but also in Athens sending Timotheos to help the satrap. In granting citizenship to Ariobarzanes, Athens might have been exploring the possibility of an alliance with a satrap who was about to rebel against the Persians, just as they did with Orontes, the satrap of Mysia, and Straton, the king of the Sidonians. In this instance, the result of the citizenship award granted to Ariobarzanes, his sons and his subordinates must have led to an official alliance between him and Athens. Yet, in the complex political arena of those years, Athens could forge alliances with the rebelling satraps and even send them some help, but ultimately it did not risk breaking the King's Peace. They sent off Timotheos to help Ariobarzanes, their newly minted Athenian citizen, with the instructions that he would do nothing to jeopardise Athens's agreements with the Persian king. Therein lies the crux of Athens's policies towards several of the rebel factions: they used soft forms of diplomacy, such as honorary awards, to cultivate, establish and maintain relations with the satraps and other rulers who rebelled but officially they did not participate in the revolts.

<sup>46</sup> See also Osborne 1983, 50–53. Philiskos is known to have visited Delphi in 368 BC, as an envoy from Artaxerxes, to effect a common peace. His attempts were unsuccessful: Xenophon *Hellenika* 7. 1. 27; Diodorus 15. 70. 2.

### Hedging Bets; Abetting Rebellions

Sources are silent as to the outcomes of the Athenian alliances with Orontes or Straton, and Athens's attempts to help Ariobarzanes and Tachos were either limited or without public Athenian sanction. All the decrees that honour these individuals or their ambassadors are rather reticent in the information they give regarding the nature of the alliances that they pursued with Athens. The vague language that characterises the forging of diplomatic relations with the purpose of forming alliances is not surprising. On the contrary, it befits the turbulent and uncertain times experienced not only by the satraps who were preparing to rebel but also Athens, a state that received unfavourable terms under the King's Peace. For its part, Athens could have cultivated positive and reciprocal relations with many satraps in order to test the waters: if the satraps were successful then Athens would gain from its alliances with them but it did not have to declare openly its support of the rebellion or even join it. A famous document dated to 362/1 BC, discovered in Argos but now lost, records the response that Greek city-states – none named but it would make sense that Athens was one of them – gave to an envoy who had come from a group of satraps – none named. The Greek states resolved not to disrupt the Common Peace, since they considered that no war existed between themselves and the Persian king, unless the king himself acted in a way that violated the agreement (*IG IV 556*).<sup>47</sup> Scholars suppose that this decree was issued in response to a request from the rebellious satraps for help in their revolt, and have seen the collective Greek decision as a statement of neutrality.<sup>48</sup> That may be the case, but it is also possible that the Greeks outwardly claimed that they would adhere to the Common Peace imposed by the king, while some of them entertained the idea of assisting in the rebellion, as did Athens who saw it more expedient to hedge its bets than openly abet the satrapal revolts.

### Bibliography

#### *Abbreviations*

- ADRTB* A.J. Sachs and H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia 1: Diaries from 652 BC to 262 BC* (Vienna 1988).  
*OGIS* W. Dittenberg, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, 2 vols. (Berlin 1903–05).

<sup>47</sup> The decree is also written in the Attic dialect. Dušanić (1979, 336–39) argues that the decree dates instead from 371 BC, after the Battle of Leuctra rather than after the Battle of Mantinea.

<sup>48</sup> Bauslaugh 1991, 211–14. Weiskopf (1989, 84–86) has instead seen this document as an expression of Greek posturing against the Persian king.



- Alessandri, S. 1982: 'Alcune osservazioni sui segretari ateniesi nel IV sec. a. C.'. *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 12, 7–70.
- Austin, R.P. 1944: 'Athens and the Satraps' Revolt'. *JHS* 64, 98–100.
- Barag, D. 1966: 'The Effects of the Tennes Rebellion on Palestine'. *BASOR* 183, 6–12.
- Bauslaugh, R.A. 1991: *The Concept of Neutrality in Classical Greece* (Berkeley).
- Briant, B. 2002: *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*, transl. P.T. Daniels (Winona Lake, IN).
- Cawkwell, G. 1962: 'The Defence of Olynthus'. *Classical Quarterly* 12, 122–140.
- Culasso Gastaldi, E. 2004: *Le prossenie ateniesi del IV secolo a.C. Gli onorati asiatici* (Alessandria).
- Develin, R. 1988: 'Once More about IG II<sup>2</sup> 207'. *ZPE* 73, 75–81.
- Dušanić, S. 1979: 'L'Académie de Platon et la paix commune athénienne de 371 av. J.-C.'. *REG* 92, 319–47.
- . 1980–81: 'Athens, Crete and the Aegean after 366–365 B.C.'. *Talanta* 12–13, 7–29.
- Dusinberre, E. 2013: *Empire, Authority, and Autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia* (Cambridge).
- Elayi, J. 2005: 'Abd'āstart Ier/Straton de Sidon: Un roi phénicien entre Orient et Occident' (Paris).
- . 2006: 'An Updated Chronology of the Reigns of Phoenician Kings during the Persian Period (539–333 BCE)'. *Transeuphratène* 32, 11–42.
- Elayi, J. and Elayi, A.G. 2004: *Le monnayage de la cite phénicienne de Sidon à l'époque perse (Ve–IVe s. av. J.-C.)*, 2 vols. (Paris).
- Foucart, P. 1896: 'Note sur deux inscriptions d'Athènes et de Priène'. *Revue de Philologie* 20, 84–88.
- Gauthier, P. 1972: *Symbola: Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques* (Nancy).
- Glassner, J.-J. 2005: *Mesopotamian Chronicles* (Leiden).
- Grayson, A.J. 2000: *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, 2nd ed. (Winona Lake, IN).
- Hansen, M.H. 1983: 'Rhetores and Strategoi in Fourth-Century Athens'. *GRBS* 24, 151–80.
- . 1984: 'The Number of Rhetores in the Athenian Ecclesia, 355–322 B.C.'. *GRBS* 25, 123–55.
- Harrison, T. 2011: *Writing Ancient Persia* (London).
- Hill, G.F. 1926: 'Tachos, King of Egypt'. *BMQ* 1, 24–25.
- Hornblower, S. 1990: 'The Great Satraps' Revolt'. Review of Weiskopf 1989. *ClRev* 30, 363–65.
- Howan, V. 2010: 'Chabrias and Egypt'. *Ancient History Bulletin* 24, 45–61.
- Hyland, J.O. 2017: *Persian Interventions: The Achaemenid Empire, Athens, and Sparta, 450–386 BCE* (Baltimore).
- Kelly, D. 1990: 'Charidemus' Citizenship: The Problem of IG II<sup>2</sup> 207'. *ZPE* 83, 96–109.
- Lambert, S.D. 2006: 'Athenian State Laws and Decrees, 352/1–322/1: III Decrees Honouring Foreigners. A. Citizenship, Proxeny and Euergesy'. *ZPE* 158, 115–58.
- Lewis, D.M. 1977: *Sparta and Persia* (Leiden).
- Mack, W. 2015: *Proxeny and Polis: Institutional Networks in the Ancient Greek World* (Oxford).
- Marek, C. 1984: *Die Proxenie* (Frankfurt).
- Miller, M.C. 1997: *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC: A Study in Cultural Receptivity* (Cambridge).
- Moysey, R.A. 1976: 'The Date of the Strato of Sidon Decree'. *American Journal of Ancient History* 1, 182–89.
- . 1987: 'IG II<sup>2</sup> 207 and the Great Satraps' Revolt'. *ZPE* 69, 93–100.
- . 1989: 'Observations on the Numismatic Evidence Relating to the Great Satrapal Revolt of 362/1 BCE'. *REA* 91, 107–39.
- . 1991: 'Diodoros, the Satraps and the Decline of the Persian Empire'. Review of Weiskopf 1989. *Ancient History Bulletin* 5, 111–20.
- . 1992: 'Plutarch, Nepos and the Satrapal Revolt of 362/1 BCE'. *Historia* 41, 158–68.
- Osborne, M.J. 1971: 'Athens and Orontes'. *BSA* 66, 297–321.
- . 1973: 'Orontes'. *ZPE* 22, 515–51.
- . 1975: 'The Satrapy of Mysia'. *Grazer Beiträge* 3, 291–309.

- . 1981–83: *Naturalization in Athens: A Corpus of Athenian Decrees Granting Citizenship*, 4 vols. (Brussels).
- . 2008: 'A Ghost Archon?'. *ZPE* 164, 81–84.
- Parke, H.W. 1935–37: 'On *Inscriptiones Graecae*, II<sup>2</sup> (=IG II 108)'. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 43, 367–78.
- Pittakys, K.S. 1835: *L'ancienne Athènes, ou La description des antiquités d'Athènes et des environs* (Athens).
- Pope, H. 1935: *Non-Athenians in Attic Inscriptions* (New York).
- Rangabé, A.R. 1842–55: *Antiquités helléniques, ou, Répertoire d'inscriptions et d'autres antiquités découvertes depuis l'affranchissement de la Grèce*, 2 vols. (Athens).
- Ruzicka, S. 2012: *Trouble in the West: Egypt and the Persian Empire 525–332 BCE* (Oxford).
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. 1992: Review of Weiskopf 1989. *Mnemosyne* 45, 129–32.
- Sekunda, N.V. 1988: 'Some Notes of the Life of Datames'. *Iran* 26, 35–53.
- Tracy, S.V. 1995: *Athenian Democracy in Transition: Attic Letter-Cutters of 340 to 290 B.C.* (Berkeley).
- Trittle, L.A. 1988: *Phocion the Good* (London).
- Van der Spek, R.J. 1998: 'The Chronology of the wars of Artaxerxes II in the Babylonian Astronomical Diaries'. In Brosius, M. and Kuhrt, A. (eds.), *Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis* (Leiden), 239–56.
- Walbank, M.B. 1988: 'IG II<sup>2</sup> 207 Again'. *ZPE* 73, 83–85.
- Waters, M. 2014: *Ancient Persia: A Concise History of the Achaemenid Empire, 550–330 BCE* (Cambridge).
- Weiskopf, M.N. 1989: *The So-Called 'Great Satraps' Revolt,' 366–360 B.C.: Concerning Local Instability in the Achaemenid Far West* (Stuttgart).
- Will, E. 1960: 'Chabrias et les finances de Tachôs'. *REA* 62, 254–75.
- Zgusta, L. 1964: *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague).

Department of History  
University of California, San Diego  
9500 Gilman Drive  
La Jolla, CA 92093-0104  
USA  
dedemetriou@ucsd.edu

# THE SOUTH NECROPOLIS OF SAMOTHRACE: *TOPOS HIEROS* OR AN ORDINARY CEMETERY?\*

PETYA ILIEVA

## Abstract

The South Necropolis of Samothrace, situated in immediate proximity to the renowned Sanctuary of the Great Gods, offers a number of peculiarities in regard to its location, grave-goods and a sudden change of burial customs in the 4th century BC. The grave-goods from the Archaic period suggest that the cemetery was a focal point for luxurious items rather than the nearby Sanctuary. The presence of graves with *post-mortem* mutilation adds another unusual feature. These aspects of the Archaic graves reflect the co-existence between native Thracians and Ionian settlers which led to the emergence of the colonial ‘Samothracian’ Greek identity.

The majestic island of Samothrace has attracted the scholars’ interest for more than a hundred years. Situated in the north-eastern corner of the Aegean basin (Fig. 1), it lies in the contact zone where the southern Thracian tribes met the Aegean sailors, traders and settlers, mainly Greeks, but also Tyrrhenians, people from North-Western Anatolia and most likely Phoenician merchants. It was the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, however, which remained the main focus of archaeological, philological and epigraphic research. The other elements of the ancient *polis* of the Samothracians, such as the town itself, its *chora* and cemeteries, received far less attention if at all.

## Introduction

The sacred grounds of the Sanctuary appear to have been attractive not only for the modern research, but for the Greek settlers on Samothrace as well. The *polis* of the Samothracians, including the town and its cemeteries, was established in close proximity to the Sanctuary, in the foothills of Ai-Giorgis peak in the northern part

\* A preliminary version of this paper was presented at session T01S019, ‘A Globalisation of Death? Re-interpreting burial practices of the Eastern Aegean, 9th–4th centuries BC’, during the 20th EAA meeting in Istanbul 2014.

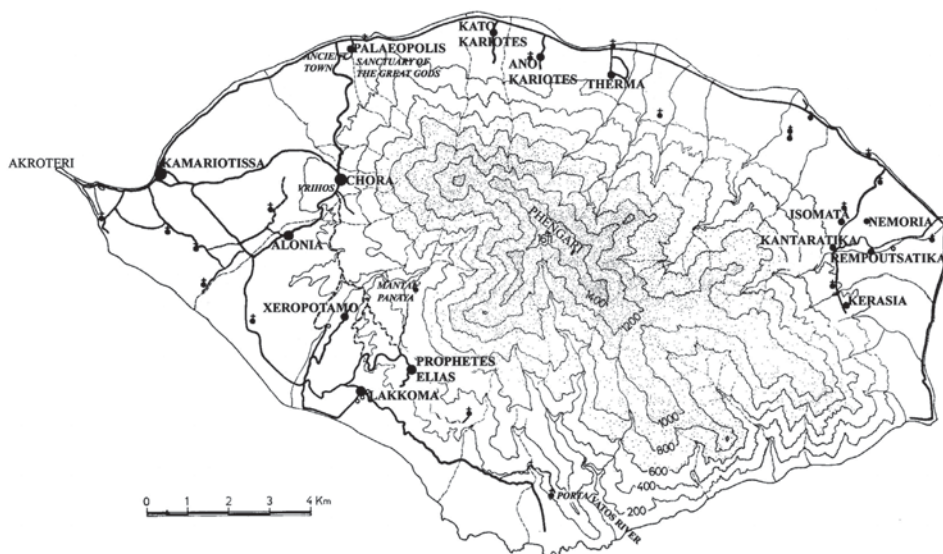


Fig. 1. Map of Samothrace with local place-names and the location of the ancient *polis* and the nearby Sanctuary of the Great Gods (adapted by author after Matsas and Bakirtzis 2001, fig. 2).

of the island (Figs. 1–2).<sup>1</sup> Two major burial grounds, developed to the west of the ancient town, figure in relevant studies with the geographical terms North and South Necropolis. These descriptive names reflect the location of each cemetery in relation to the Sanctuary of the Great Gods (Fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> The much smaller and compact South Necropolis is situated in a close proximity to the Sanctuary, by its south-eastern corner. It occupies the steep western bank of the stream that frames

<sup>1</sup> Ai-Giorgis (1448 m) forms the north-western projection of the main mountain massif crowned by Phengari peak (1611 m) which dominates the landscape of Samothrace. Ai-Giorgis stretches in south–north direction sloping down to the narrow coastal strip in the north-western part of Samothrace. The ancient town, the Sanctuary of the Great Gods as well as the two cemeteries are located on its northern slopes.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 2 presents an adaptation of the plan published by Matsas and Bakirtzis 2001, fig. 13. While the original plan includes the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, the ancient town and the South Necropolis, I have added the North Necropolis and the possible route connecting the ancient town to the Sanctuary. The last two features are provisional and intended to provide a general visualisation for the reader. The precise size and borders of the North Necropolis will hopefully be clarified by future research. Plotting of the ancient way connecting the town to the Sanctuary is based mainly on knowledge regarding the entrance to the Sanctuary in antiquity. It has been established that, unlike today, when the Sanctuary was active pilgrims entered it near the point of the circular area where introductory rites and sacrifices were performed before proceeding to the sacred initiation ceremonies. At a later date (3rd century BC) a monumental *propylon* was built not far from the circular area and it marked the end of the road from the city and the official entrance of the Sanctuary (Matsas and Bakirtzis 2001, 63–67).

the Sanctuary from the east.<sup>3</sup> Most of the activities that took place in the South Necropolis – burials and funeral pyres – were confined to a roughly rectangular area less than 300 m<sup>2</sup>. Despite its restricted size this cemetery was in use for centuries, between the middle of the 6th century BC to the 2nd century AD as the date of the grave-goods indicates. The South Necropolis was fully excavated in four archaeological campaigns in 1957 and 1962–64 conducted by the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, supervised by E. Dusenbery who is the author of the final publication of the results from these excavations.<sup>4</sup>

By contrast, the North Necropolis occupies a much larger area, spreading north of the Sanctuary and west of the town wall, down to the sea (Fig. 2). It has never been a subject of systematic archaeological approach and all the available evidence results from rescue excavations conducted on various occasions. Despite the lack of an overall picture regarding the characteristics of this cemetery, the burial finds indicate that its *termini* are contemporary with these of the South Necropolis with the earliest grave datable to the 6th century BC and the latest to Roman times.<sup>5</sup> In the final publication of the Samothracian necropoleis, Dusenbery refers to several small cemeteries separately designated as K Necropolis,<sup>6</sup> W (Waterpipe),<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> There has never been a *peribolos* wall around the Sanctuary. Its core area with the earliest remains of human activity (pre-Greek and early Greek of the 7th and 6th centuries BC) is framed by two streams running to the east and west of the sacred grounds. These streams meet north of the Sanctuary to form a small river which runs into the sea (see Fig. 2).

<sup>4</sup> A substantial two-volume corpus of the burials and the burial finds, represented by categories, is currently the last of the Samothrace series: see Dusenbery 1998.

<sup>5</sup> An infant inhumation in an SOS amphora was found during the 1992 rescue excavation of the North Cemetery (Karadima and Koutsoumanis 1992, 679 – see n. 9 below). The excavators suggest a general date for the grave container in the 7th–first half of the 6th century BC (Karadima and Koutsoumanis 1992, 679), while Graham is inclined to follow a more precise dating in the second quarter of the 6th century BC (Graham 2002, 245–46). His dating means that the beginning of the North Cemetery is contemporary with that of the South Necropolis, unless earlier, securely datable graves come to light in the future. The latest graves discovered by Karadima and Koutsoumanis date to the 1st century AD (Karadima and Koutsoumanis 1992, 677), and graves discovered much earlier, during French campaign,s are described as of ‘Roman aspect’ (Dusenbery 1998, 5).

<sup>6</sup> The graves of Dusenbery’s K Necropolis were located west of the wall of the ancient town and discovered in 1938 by the American team of the Institute of Fine Arts. In 1866 G. Deville and E. Coqart excavated six graves of ‘Roman aspect’ in the same area, just south of the church of Ag. Paraskevi (Fig. 2). Dusenbery reports that the materials from the French excavation have disappeared and nearly all of the finds of the American team were lost or damaged during the Second World War occupation of Samothrace: Dusenbery 1998, 5.

<sup>7</sup> The graves of the W group were excavated in 1965 during the course of repairs to a pipe bringing water to the village of Palaiaipolis. The fieldwork was supervised by the Greek archaeologist A. Vavritsas and the material is included in the final publication of the cemeteries: Dusenbery 1998, 5. E. Dusenbery recognises these graves as probably part of the same necropolis discovered by Deville and Coqart and that called K Necropolis (Fig. 2).

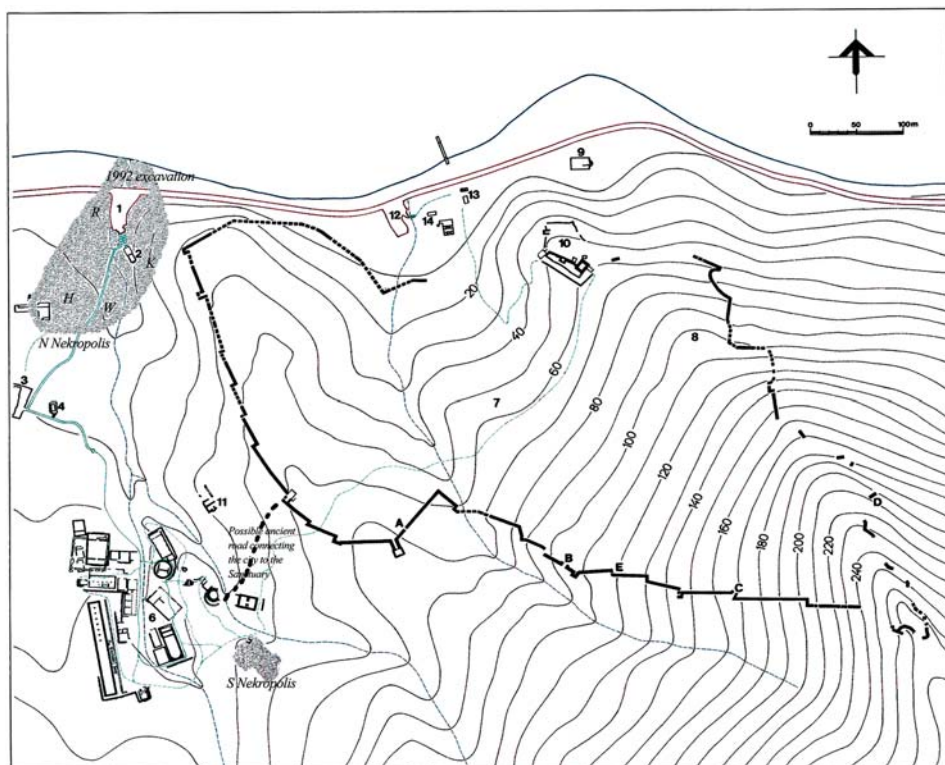


Fig. 2. Plan of the ancient *polis* with the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, the South and North Necropoleis to the west of it (adapted after Matsas and Bakirtzis 2001, fig. 13. Location of North Necropolis added by author).

H (Hotel)<sup>8</sup> and R (Road)<sup>9</sup> which are now unified under the general term North Necropolis.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Additional graves, designated as H group were discovered in 1954 during the digging of foundation ditches for a small hotel at the site of the modern Guest House and later during the course of maintenance works (Fig. 2). The excavation was supervised by A. Vavritsas and members of the American team. Dusenbery (1998, 5) suggests that 'some burials must still be under the modern structure'.

<sup>9</sup> A group of burials was discovered during road construction on the western side of the stream bed, opposite the K Nekropolis (Fig. 2). Dusenbery (1998, 5) recognises them as 'almost certainly part of the H Necropolis, but have been kept separate as the R (Road) Necropolis'.

<sup>10</sup> In 1992 rescue excavations held in a restricted area west of the wall of the ancient town, on the shore, were supervised by Karadima and Koutsoumanis (Fig. 2). In their ensuing report (1992) they refer to only two cemeteries distinguished as North and South and assign the excavated graves to the North Cemetery. This unifying term that recognises all the burials discovered to the west of the city wall and to the north of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods as belonging to one large burial ground was adopted by Graham 2002. It is not only more convenient, but also acknowledges the fact that all the small, scattered grave groups registered previously belong to a single cemetery.



## The Cemeteries

Although both cemeteries, the North and the South, overlap in terms of chronology, they exemplify two contrasting patterns of use of a burial ground and the funerary practices chosen by the members of the Archaic and Classical Samothracian community.

The South Necropolis, located in immediate relation to both the ancient town and the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, lies in a close proximity to the road taking pilgrims from the town to the Sanctuary (Fig. 2). It occupied a kind of a shelf thinly filled with earth. Originally the shelf sloped gently to the north and more abruptly to the south where it met the hillside. The initial activity, beginning in the second quarter of the 6th century BC,<sup>11</sup> was confined to the higher ground at the centre of this area (Fig. 3).<sup>12</sup> Late in the 6th century BC the northern slope of the Necropolis shelf was raised and levelled, held along the edge of the ravine by a retaining wall. This was obviously to increase the available space and accommodate more burials in this core zone of the cemetery.<sup>13</sup> The date of this reorganisation of the burial ground is supported by the fact that graves of *ca.* 500 BC and later were found in the northern section, where no earlier burials have been identified. Secondary cremation appears to have been the principal method of disposal in the South Necropolis in the Archaic and Classical periods. The funeral pyres were placed in the central part of the burial ground, as evidenced by thick layers of soot and ashes accumulated in some places to a depth of almost 2 m. The burning of the body and the performance of the accompanying rites were restricted to this core area, followed by collecting and placing the ashes in a ceramic vessel, which was then buried in virgin ground outside the pyre zone. Closed medium-to-large

<sup>11</sup> The chronology of the earliest datable Attic vases in the second quarter of the 6th century BC provides the basis for dating the beginning of the South Necropolis to that time: Dusenbery 1998, 6, 702; followed by Graham 2002, 245. This date contrasts with the earlier chronology in the 7th century BC suggested by Dusenbery in the preliminary reports of the excavation campaigns: Dusenbery 1967, 117, 122.

<sup>12</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to the American excavation team (New York University, Institute of Fine Arts), in particular Bonna Westcoat, who kindly informed me about the existence of the plan of the South Necropolis and provided a copy and permission to use it. The original 1998 publication did not include a plan of this cemetery. A copy of the original excavation plan sheets, each one representing a section, was found by the American excavation team. The sheets were brought together by matching their corner points in order to produce a full plan of the cemetery. This reconstructed map was then scaled to fit the current survey of the area and checked through some key tombs which can still be seen today. According to the annotation to the reconstructed site map 'The plan presented here captures the character and complexity of the South Necropolis. The tombs are in correct relationship to one another, but their precise position in the Necropolis should be understood as approximate.'

<sup>13</sup> The description of the physical characteristics of this cemetery follows the one provided by Dusenbery 1998, 7.

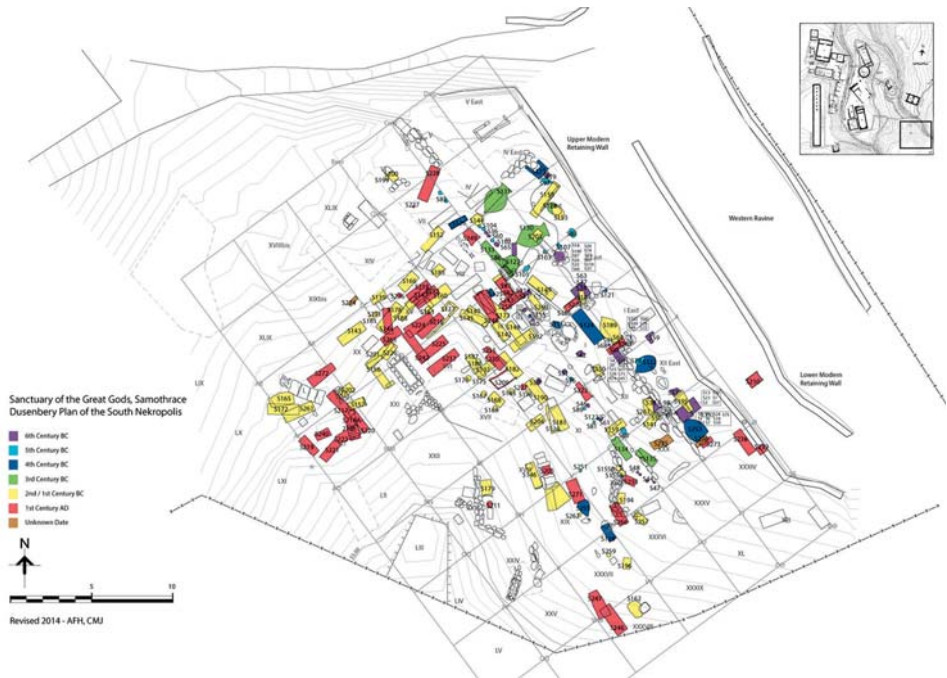


Fig. 3. Plan of the South Necropolis (courtesy of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University).

size vases such as stamnoi, amphorae or jugs were the preferred shapes for housing the ashes, chips of bone and (rarely) small cups and items such as pieces of jewellery (burials S21, S29, S35, S37, S38)<sup>14</sup> or terracotta figurines/heads (burial S25).<sup>15</sup> Amongst the earliest pots used as ash containers were Lemnian stamnoi (burials S2–S5),<sup>16</sup> usually covered by their own lid (Fig. 9.1–2). Similarly, a rather unusual deep handmade pot resembling kitchen ware must have come with a lid of its own (burial S19).<sup>17</sup> This last piece, although not found *in situ* but in fragments scattered in the vicinity, fitted the mouth of the pot and most likely belonged to it. On the other side, finer tableware shapes such as amphorae or long-necked jugs were often closed by small open vessels (band cups, skyphoi, lekanides, blind-spout cups, a deep bowl and even bronze phialae) of predominantly Attic origin,<sup>18</sup> but

<sup>14</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 87–106.

<sup>15</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 90–91.

<sup>16</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 74–78.

<sup>17</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 84–86.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, burials S1 (Attic black-figure amphora covered with a band cup), S7 (unidentified amphora with an Attic skyphos), S9 (a Lemnian type long-neck jug with an Attic lekanis placed on its mouth), S22 (a Lemnian type long-neck jug with an Attic band-cup placed on its mouth), S24

local ones are not unknown.<sup>19</sup> The excavator reports that quantities of vessel debris were found intermingled with the soot of the pyres, obviously left there after the vases were used and broken, purposely or unintentionally, during the burial rites.<sup>20</sup> The significant number of fibulae found in the pyre area (Fig. 7) is taken by Dusenbery as an indication that the bodies were dressed and not shrouded for the funeral ceremony. Pieces of jewellery must have complimented the burial garment judging by the earrings, finger rings, fragments of necklaces and pins discovered mixed with the soot of the pyres. It is possible, however, that some of the jewellery was not worn during the cremation, at least not in a practical way, but rather offered as a votive or just given to the body as suggested by a silver ring and fibula linked together and 'certainly unwearable as they were found'.<sup>21</sup>

This burial rite was replaced by inhumation in the 4th century BC, when the whole core area of the South Necropolis was levelled, with clean earth used to cover the deep soot of the pyre places. Although most inhumation burials were placed in new ground outside the pyre area, many were still dug into it, often through the new clean soil into the older soot layer left from the cremation rituals. As a consequence the debris of the Archaic and Classical cremations was frequently disturbed by the inhumation burials. The ash containers of the earlier burials appear to have been removed from their original position and placed in groups in little compartments or straight into a hole by the diggers of the inhumation graves. Nine such groups of urns of variable dates were discovered during the archaeological campaigns in the cemetery and called by Dusenbery 'accumulations'<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 4). While the respect paid to the earlier remains is remarkable, the actual attempt to rescue and preserve them was often careless. Handles and feet of vases obviously fell off during the transfer and were discovered in the fill of the cemetery, suggesting that some of the cremation graves may not have survived during the reorganisation of the burial ground. These circumstances make it impossible to estimate what percentage of all the Archaic and Classical graves has survived and was registered during the excavation of the cemetery. It would be conjectural, too, to associate all the

(a Knipovitch class amphora with an Attic lekanis placed on its mouth), S32 (an Attic amphora and a C-cup associated with it), S34 (an Attic black-figure amphora and a C-cup on the top), S40 (unidentified amphora with an Attic skyphos placed on its mouth) and S46 (a Lemnian type long-neck jug with the foot of an Attic C-cup placed on its mouth): Dusenbery 1998, 73–111.

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, burials S13 (a Lemnian type long-neck jug with a blind-spout cup placed on its mouth) and S28 (unidentified amphora with a deep bowl set on the mouth): Dusenbery 1998, 82, 93–94.

<sup>20</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 8.

<sup>21</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 12.

<sup>22</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 8.



Fig. 4. Example of an 'Accumulation' of cremation urns created by later digging activities in the cemetery (after Dusenbery 1998, 76).

material from the Necropolis with specific graves,<sup>23</sup> thus depriving many of the finds of their original context. In addition, the association of an ash container and a smaller vase used to cover its mouth results entirely from the activity of the diggers of the inhumation graves. If we assume that they kept the existing grave complex as an entity and restricted their activities just to its transfer then the burials discovered during the excavation repeat the original context. Such an assumption, however, is impossible to verify and the likelihood that some of the capping vases have lost their original ash containers cannot be ruled out.

An intact clay sarcophagus decorated with Ionian *kymation* in relief and covered with an architectural-type lid (burial S245)<sup>24</sup> and a number of fragments from several more such burial containers (XS536–539)<sup>25</sup> were scattered through the fill of the South Necropolis (Fig. 5).<sup>26</sup> They were dated to the late 6th or early

<sup>23</sup> In recognition of these difficulties Dusenbery uses the letter X to mark the artefacts which cannot be attributed to a grave, but are published in her catalogue of finds by categories (1998, vol. 2).

<sup>24</sup> This burial container was reused in the late 1st century AD obviously to accommodate a much longer body and one end was broken away: Dusenbery 1998, 1138–40.

<sup>25</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 1140–43.

<sup>26</sup> The excavator reports that four fragments from similar containers were found in the surface layers of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods. These were originally interpreted as parapets, but Dusenbery





Fig. 5. Clay sarcophagus and fragments from two more sarcophagi (adapted by author after Dusenbery 1998, 1140–41).

5th century BC; their presence indicates that inhumation burials before the middle of the 4th century were also practised, though rarely. The dimensions of the surviving example<sup>27</sup> suggest that the sarcophagi may have been originally used for the inhumation of children. Traces of red paint in the interior of the intact sarcophagus and on one of the fragments may indicate that they were all painted. The excavator notes that all the surviving examples were made of very coarse, pebbly and micaceous clay, which points to a most likely local/regional manufacture. Numerous contemporary examples from coastal sites of Thrace (Akanthos, Galepsos, Oisyme, Thasos, Abdera, Stryme and Zone)<sup>28</sup> are very similar in fabric, structure and decoration to the Samothracian ones,<sup>29</sup> and they seem to belong to the same artistic milieu

suggests that ‘the fragments might have found their way from the adjacent S Necropolis’ (1998, 1138). Two additional fragments were found in a ruined church south of Paliapoli (in the close vicinity of the Sanctuary and the South Necropolis) and in a garden east of the *chora*: Dusenbery 1998, 1138.

<sup>27</sup> Dimensions of chest: length 1.384 m., height 0.39 m., width at top 0.535 m., at bottom 0.48 m.

<sup>28</sup> For an overview of sarcophagi and large basins on stands (*louteria*, *perirrhantheria*, bowls) decorated with Ionian *kymation* in relief from sites (cemeteries and settlements) on the coast of Thrace, see Ilieva 2009; 2012 (with discussion and full bibliographical references).

<sup>29</sup> A specific centre of manufacture (if there was one) is yet to be identified amongst the Greek settlements on the Thracian coast. Given the stylistic dependence of the Thracian sarcophagi and basins (*lekanai*, *louteria*, *perirrhantheria* and their stands) decorated with Ionian *kymation* in relief on the earlier products of similar shape and decoration from North Ionian workshops, Chian and Klazomenian in particular, their *apoikiai* Maroneia and Abdera appear as plausible candidates for the manufacture of these products in Thrace. This implies that such large and heavy items such as

inspired by leading North Ionian centres such as Klazomenai and Chios through their colonial establishments in Thrace (Abdera and Maroneia respectively). The intact sarcophagus from the South Necropolis has irregular sides because the chest sagged before firing. Despite this small imperfection it was still used (and reused in Roman times), suggesting that it was probably perceived as a valuable item given the rarity of this type of funerary containers on the island.

Another exception to the 6th-century cremations raises many more questions. It was the inhumation burial of a young adult male enclosed in a pithos (burial S252).<sup>30</sup> Many large stones were piled on the jar, severely damaging it. Nearby were five roughly shaped, long, slender stones set on an edge like markers. It is not clear if they were associated with this grave. The skeleton was drastically dislocated from the hips down, which, the excavator believes, is evidence of difficulties in fitting the body in the jar. Nevertheless, the most extraordinary feature was the condition of the skull. The top of the cranium has been split away and the top of another cranium was identified above the left shoulder. The grave-goods are limited to a single monochrome *karchesion*<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 9.3). This exceptional treatment of the cranium finds an interesting continuation in other examples, of Roman date, of bodies with *post-mortem* mutilation found in the same necropolis.<sup>32</sup> Setting the

sarcophagi and *louteria* on high stands were a subject of import despite their awkwardness as cargo (see Dusenbery 1998, 1138). Nevertheless, the possibility of *in situ* production, especially on Samothrace, should also be considered (see Ilieva 2009).

<sup>30</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 409–10.

<sup>31</sup> Dusenbery describes the burial as ‘probably Classical’ (1998, 409). Graham revised the date to the period between late 7th and the end of the 6th century BC (2002, 246–47). His argument is based on the presence of the *karchesion* which finds numerous parallels from the Kabeirion and the Sanctuary at Hephaestia on Lemnos, dating to this period (Beschi 1996, 61–69; 2003; Graham 2002, 247). The Samothracian example has been assigned to the G 2–3 Ware group by I. Love (1964) and Graham follows this attribution. Although the monochrome *karchesia* do not belong to the G 2–3 Ware group, they can be seen as its 6th-century BC continuation in regard to the fabric (purification of the clay, hard fired with clear fracture). The monochrome *karchesia* of the type familiar from Samothrace (burial S252, more examples from the South Necropolis with no clear context and some from the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, see Love 1964) must have been products of a Lemnian workshop and together with the long-necked jugs (the early ash containers from the South Necropolis, abundant examples from Lemnos and possibly one from Thasos) and pear-shaped kantharoi (currently restricted to Lemnos) form a very distinctive group of 6th-century BC vases easily recognisable by their standardised fine, pinkish fabric, clear fracture and surface finish (matt slip, usually red, but could be black or even both colours can be seen on one vase, depending on firing conditions). The characteristics of the fabric resemble very closely those of the G 2–3 Ware and the 6th-century BC pots are often mistakenly attributed to G 2–3 Ware (for an overview, see Ilieva 2008).

<sup>32</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 35–39, with description of the Roman period burials evidencing dismemberment of corpses. Burial S252 may not, actually, have been the only such burial, but the nature of the preservation of the early graves does not allow further assessment. Evidently, the practice would have remained archaeologically invisible in the Archaic and Classical cremation burials (see Ilieva 2010).



evidence from these unusual graves from the South Necropolis of Samothrace in a wider Thracian regional context would suggest a Thracian-related origin to the practice.<sup>33</sup> *Post-mortem* mutilation and burials in non-anatomical order appear often as a characteristic feature of the burial practice in the Thracian mainland from the Late Bronze Age, continuing during the Iron Age.<sup>34</sup> The presence of such non-Greek practice in the necropolis of the Greek *polis* of Samothrace may suggest that local Thracians were also buried there.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps it is not mere coincidence that Thracians were buried in the South Necropolis, considering its location close to the sacred grounds of the Sanctuary. The earliest cult activities in the Sanctuary predate the Greek establishment on the island, and, according to Diodorus, the native language continued in use as a liturgical one down to Hellenistic times. A corpus of non-Greek votive inscriptions<sup>36</sup> may be evidence of its importance for the local people.<sup>37</sup>

The nature of the grave-goods from the Archaic period implies that, contrary to the established practice in the Greek world where sanctuaries were the main recipients of luxurious offerings, in the case of Samothrace the cemetery developed

<sup>33</sup> In an attempt to explain the circumstances in burial S252 Dusenbery recalls 'the famous Scythian custom related by Herodotus 4. 65' (1998, 409). Graham (2002, 247), on the other hand, refers to Herodotus 5. 5 and archaeologically registered Thracian parallels. Although he is reluctant to attribute this grave to a Thracian, because 'a single grave is an insufficient basis for historical hypothesis', he is confident that 'this was surely not a Greek grave'.

<sup>34</sup> For a detailed discussion with examples and further bibliographical reference, see Georgieva 2003, 313–23.

<sup>35</sup> See Graham, who, despite his reluctance to call grave S252 Thracian, admits that 'it may have held a Thracian burial' (2002, 249). The identity of the pre-Greek inhabitants of Samothrace is controversial in the ancient literary testimonies (Diodorus 5. 47. 2 recognises them as autochthonous; for Ps.-Scymnos 690–695 they were Trojans by descent, but called Thracians because of their location; according to the Aristotelian *politeia* they were Thracians, *FGH* 548 F5b; and Herodotus 8. 80. 1–3 calls them Pelasgians). Nevertheless, the abundant archaeological data relevant to the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, represented by megalithic tombs (dolmens) and mainly ceramics from multiple sites on the island show a clear connection with mainland Thrace (Matsas 2004; 2007; 2009) and suggests that Thracian population probably moved to the island towards the end of the Late Bronze Age (see also Ilieva 2010).

<sup>36</sup> Diodorus 5. 47. 3 reports that the language of the autochthonous was in use in the Sanctuary; *μέχρι του νυν* taken as a reference to 3rd century BC at the earliest (Graham 2002, 254). A number of 6th- and 5th-century BC votive inscriptions on ceramic vases and a 4th-century BC stone inscription from the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, as well as three more graffiti from the open-air Sanctuary at Mandal Panaya, have adopted the Greek alphabet to express a non-Greek language identified as Thracian (Bonfante 1955; Lehmann 1960, 8–13). Matsas (2009, 209–10) and Ilieva (2010) follow this identification, while Graham (2002, 254–55) prefers the less ethnic term non-Greek.

<sup>37</sup> This last hypothesis is based on the simplest assumption that the non-Greek graffiti were dedications of the non-Greek people which may or may not have been the case. Since the native idiom has been adopted as a liturgical language in the Sanctuary it is quite possible that votives inscribed in the same language were used both by native and Greeks, see Ilieva 2010.

as a focal point for such gifts. The grave offerings dated to the Archaic period cover a wide range of utilitarian and luxurious items such as East Greek glass<sup>38</sup> and faience vessels,<sup>39</sup> suggesting a possible role for scented oils in the burial rites (Fig. 6.1–2). In addition, a group of aryballoi, probably locally made in the north-eastern Aegean, compliments the corpus of containers used for aromatic liquids.<sup>40</sup> They appear to be adaptations of Corinthian football aryballoi on a much larger scale, with a total height estimated close to 20 cm. The excavator comments that ‘if they were filled with perfumed unguents, they represented lavish offerings’.<sup>41</sup> The list of burial offerings includes lamps (Fig. 6.3),<sup>42</sup> terracotta figurines (Fig. 6.4),<sup>43</sup> jewellery (Fig. 6.5),<sup>44</sup> silver fittings, probably for perfume vases (Fig. 6.7),<sup>45</sup> fragments of nine bronze phialai (Fig. 6.8) and bronze fittings for vessels of other, obviously

<sup>38</sup> For the glass vases, see Dusenbery 1998, 1061–65. The number of the Archaic and Classical examples is very small and they are represented by fragments of alabastra, jugs, aryballoi and amphoriskoi not associated with a particular grave. The state of preservation (deformed by heat) suggests that the glass containers were discarded into fire, obviously during the cremation ceremony.

<sup>39</sup> Only four fragments of faience vases, two of which obviously belong to the same vessel in the shape of a hedgehog, were found in the fill of the South Necropolis: Dusenbery 1998, 1143–44. The exterior of the hedgehog fragments preserves traces of blue glaze.

<sup>40</sup> These vases were associated with three ritual deposits (RDS1–RDS3): Dusenbery 1998, 744. The excavator comments that the fine fabric of the aryballoi resembles that of the *karchesia* (see above n. 29) and they could be products of the same area, which found their way to Samothrace together as a single group. No traces of glaze are preserved.

<sup>41</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 746.

<sup>42</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 817–36. Many fragments of Archaic and Classical lamps come from the fill of the cemetery and only few are associated with a burial. These objects apparently had their place in the burial ceremony and after it was over they were left in the cemetery.

<sup>43</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 837–43. Most of the surviving figurines and heads have no burial context. All belong to female figurines and the recognisable parts represent a woman seated on a throne which must have been the most common type. The specifics of the fabric suggest that the terracottas probably came from various centres.

<sup>44</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 958–69. Precious jewellery in the Archaic and Classical periods is confined to silver and is represented mainly by earrings (tapered hoops or spiral earrings), a few finger rings (made of silver, bronze and iron), some pins, two bronze bracelets, bronze necklace pendants and a silver chain. Most of the silver jewellery has been rescued from the soot of the pyre and included in the ash containers, while bronze ornaments have been abandoned and are not associated with a particular burial. Although most of the jewellery bears traces of exposure to fire, obviously from the cremation ceremony, some items were untouched by fire and may represent offerings rather than personal ornaments used to adorn to corpse. An interesting example is cremation burial S21 for which a Lemnian type long-necked jug was used as an ash container with a corroded iron ring mixed with the bones, Dusenbery 1998, 85–87. The excavator comments that ‘iron ornaments may have been more plentiful than the survivors suggest’: Dusenbery 1998, 960.

<sup>45</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 1144. Only three silver fittings for vessels belong to the Archaic period. They have been carefully collected and included in the urn (burials S37, S38 and S69), while the actual vases that they adorned were abandoned. The surviving silver fragments are rims and necks of perfume containers (one is identified as lekythos and the other two as probably coming from alabastra).

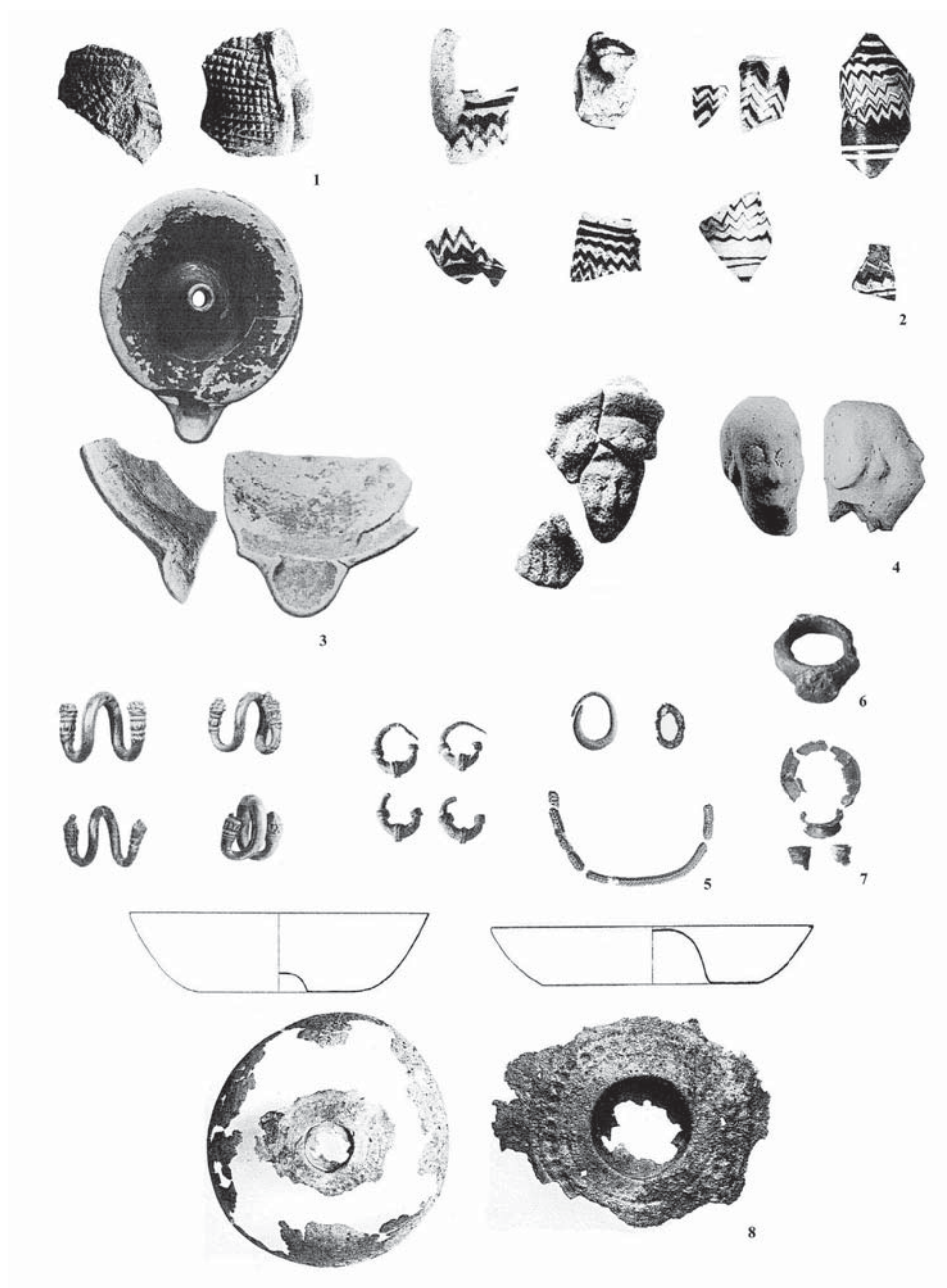


Fig. 6. Grave-goods (faience and glass vessels, terracotta lamps and figurines, iron ring, silver jewellery and bronze phialae) from the South Necropolis (plate arranged by author after original publication of finds by Dusenbery 1998, 817–1145).

perishable, material such as wood,<sup>46</sup> as well as a significant number of various types of bronze safety pins (Fig. 7).<sup>47</sup> A great number of fibulae was found in the soot of the pyre areas, suggesting that they were worn during the cremation rather than offered later as burial gifts.

The ceramics used as ash containers represent a diversity of shapes, decoration and centres of manufacture. The multiplicity of vase styles in the South Necropolis consists of amphorae identifiable as Enmann and Knipivitch classes, imitations of Attic horsehead amphorae and C cups, decorated and undecorated amphorae combining the morphological and stylistic features of different ceramic classes (Fig. 8), as well as Lemnian stamnoi (Fig. 9.1–2) and long-necked jugs (Fig. 9.4).<sup>48</sup> Imported and some perhaps locally made small cups and bowls were found either on the mouth of the urn<sup>49</sup> or inside it mixed with the ashes. An interesting group of small vases is represented by blind-spout cups,<sup>50</sup> which were probably designed in such an impractical way to serve specific burial rites or beliefs.<sup>51</sup> The general impression is that all the amphorae from the South Necropolis look as if they were products of potters who knew well and could imitate Attic and North Ionian prototypes and combine characteristic features of both in a single vase. I have already suggested

<sup>46</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 1021–25. The bronze phialai, dating to the late 6th century BC, were very badly burnt and only three survived in a recognisable shape. When associated with a burial the fragments are mixed with the ashes in the urn (burial S58), but there are indications that they may have covered the mouth of the ash container (burial 37, which also contains the silver rim of a lekythos and a pair of silver earrings). In addition, a few 5th-century BC bronze jugs were identified and a number of handles, especially omega-shaped ones, of possibly the same date, were discovered in the fill of the cemetery and in areas where fires have been burnt.

<sup>47</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 969–84. It was already commented that a significant number of bronze fibulae were found in the South Necropolis. Only eight of these were associated with a burial while the rest come from the soot deposits in the pyre area and the state of their preservation (scorched and burnt) indicates that they were part of a funerary or ritual fire. The excavator suggests a possible function of the safety pins not only to hold the garment of the body but as offerings too. Although the fibulae appear as a popular offering in the Greek sanctuaries (the Sanctuary of the Great Gods is an obvious exception) their exact function as part of the grave-goods is open to discussion.

<sup>48</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 700–39.

<sup>49</sup> For examples see above, nn. 18–19.

<sup>50</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 742–43. These have a small triangular handle and a spout opposite it. The wall behind the spout, however, has not been pierced and the spout is apparently not functional. Similar vases have been found in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods and considering the fabric of these vases the excavator suggests that they were imports from the same unknown centre which has produced the imitations of the Attic horsehead amphorae.

<sup>51</sup> The Archaic cemetery of Hephaistia on the neighbouring island of Lemnos provides a good parallel of the practice (see Mustilli 1932–33). Few amphoriskoi have blind mouths. Their necks have been ‘closed’ with a sort of a convex base during the shaping of the vase. As a result a small, shallow bowl is formed in the neck, but it can be noticed only if the vessel is seen from above. This way the only receptacle for liquids would have been this shallow bowl, which was perhaps designed to reduce the cost of the offering, while the desired shape of the amphoriskos was kept.

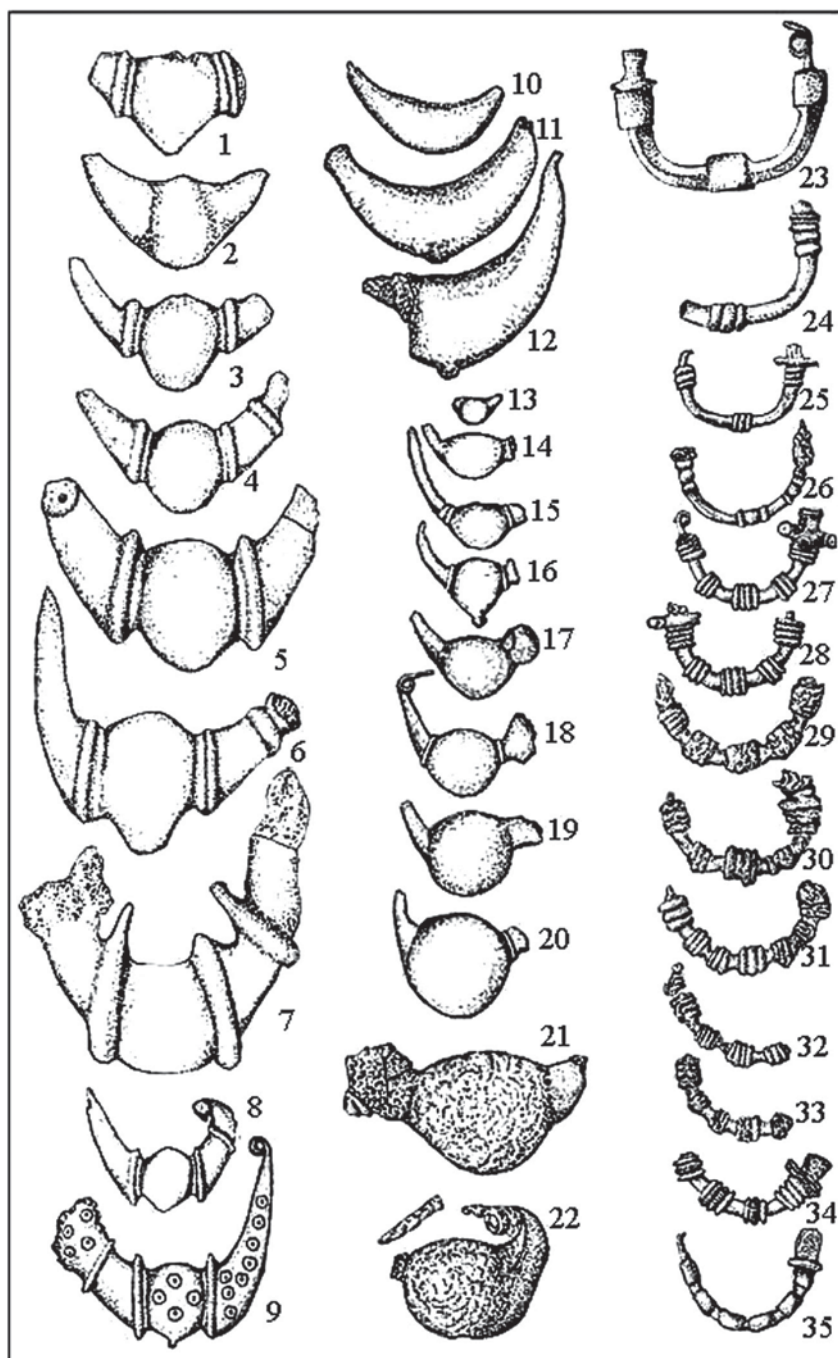


Fig. 7. Bronze safety pins from the South Necropolis  
(drawings and plate by author after original publication of fibulae in Dusenbery 1998, 969–84).



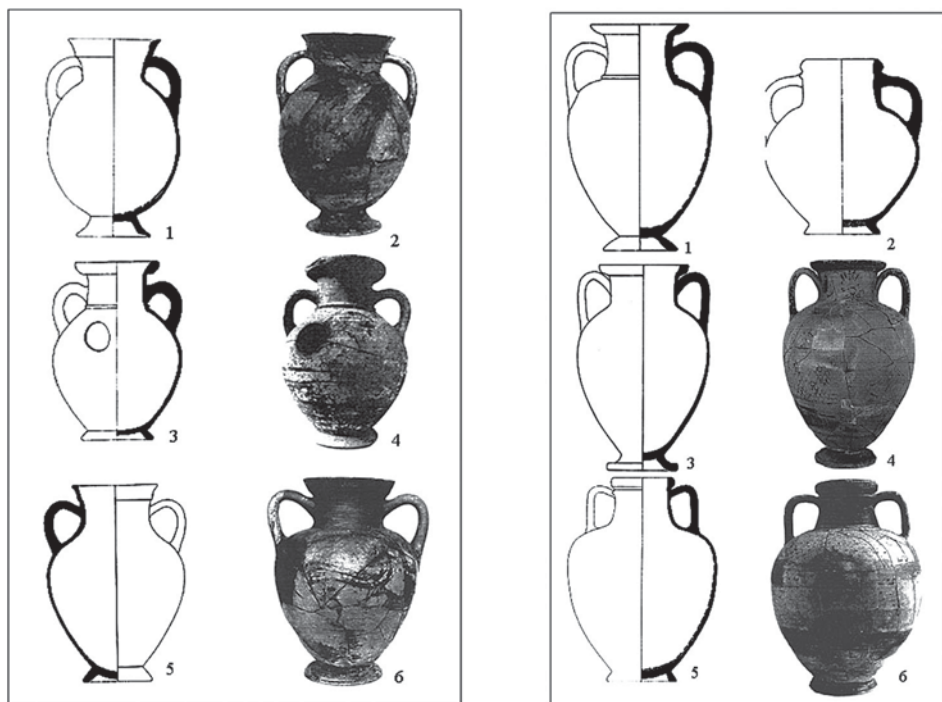


Fig. 8. Table amphorae used as ash containers (plates by author after Dusenbery 1998, 708–32).

elsewhere that the neighbouring Hellespontine area, where Greek colonists from Aeolia, Ionia and Athens met, could be a probable candidate for the creation and inspiration of the discussed pottery types.<sup>52</sup> The strong connection with Lemnian ceramics suggests one more direction of the locally developed contacts of the *polis* of Samothrace.

### North Cemetery

By contrast to the cramped South Necropolis, the North one occupies far more extensive area west of the city walls and the available space allowed it to spread horizontally. It has been already emphasised that its precise borders and organisation are not clear since it has been a subject of limited systematic archaeological research. The earliest recorded burial, an Archaic inhumation in an SOS amphora indicates that the beginning of this cemetery is more or less contemporary with that of the

<sup>52</sup> Ilieva 2010.

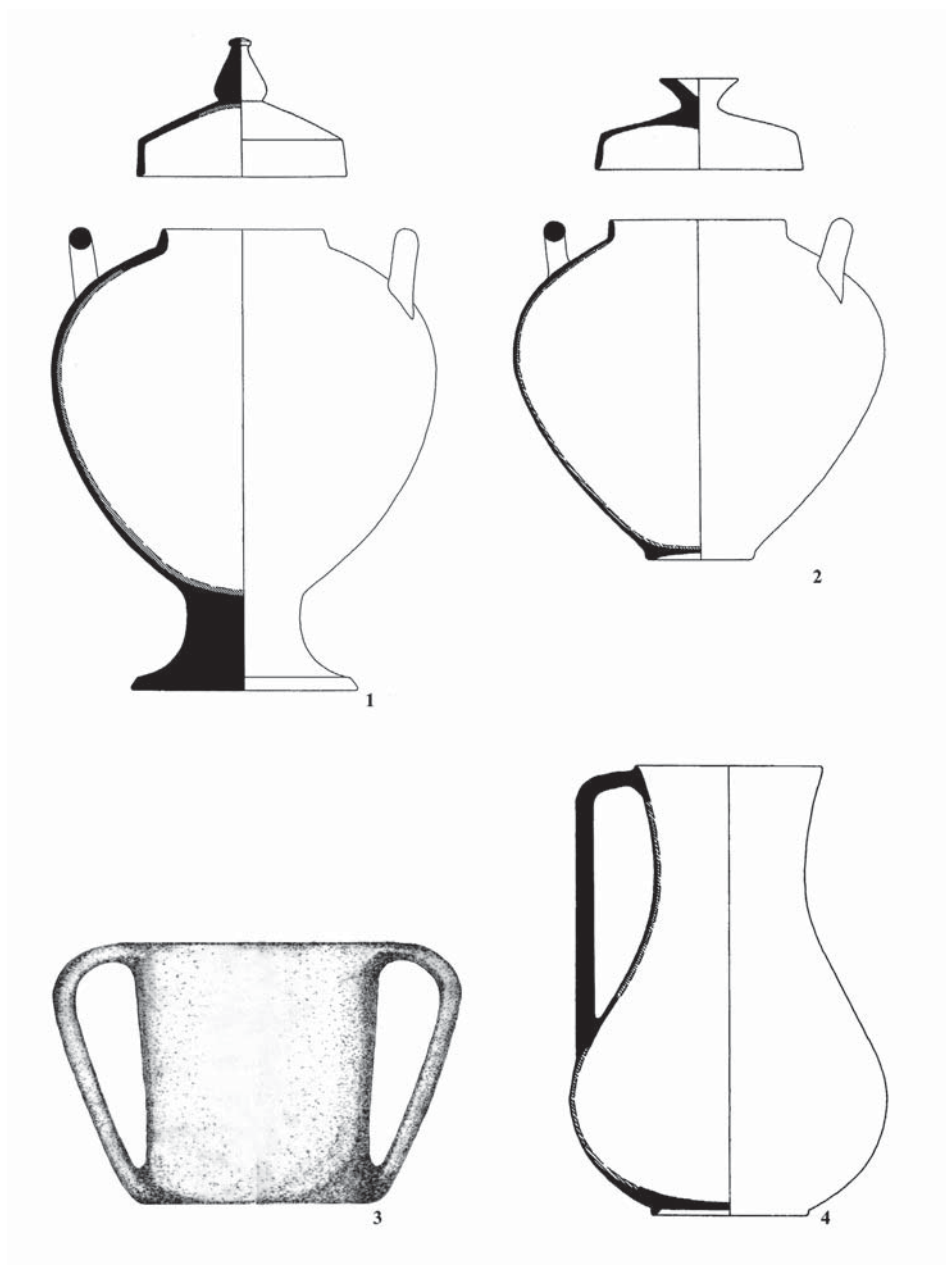


Fig. 9. North Aegean ceramics (Lemnian stamnoi and long-necked jugs, karchesion) used as ash containers and grave-goods (plate by author after Dusenbery 1998, 701–07, 731–39, 743–45).

South Necropolis.<sup>53</sup> The prevailing method of disposal here appears to be the inhumation. Traces of fires have been identified in three locations during the 1992 excavation, but it is not clear if they reflect ritual fires or pyre areas.<sup>54</sup> According to the report of this last excavation campaign of the North Cemetery a number of finds were discovered in the fill and between the graves which cannot be associated with a specific burial. The excavators suggest that these finds may come from older burials which have been destroyed by the more recent ones. If this was the case, then the North Necropolis illustrates not only a horizontal development of the burial ground, but a vertical one as well.

### Interpretation

Two contrasting models of development and use of the burial grounds of the ancient *polis* of Samothrace are well illustrated by the South and North Necropoleis. On one side is the very restricted, extensively used and reused area of the South Necropolis which housed the remains of men, women and children for centuries and developed vertically *versus* the much more spacious, contemporary burial grounds of the horizontally spread Northern one. The abnormal pattern of use of the South Necropolis suggests that a burial there was perhaps desirable and very important or even distinguished. The excavator has already suggested that a reasonable explanation would be the proximity of the cemetery to the sacred grounds of the Sanctuary.<sup>55</sup> This spatial relation of the South Necropolis to the Sanctuary and the road taking the pilgrims into it appears to have been a major factor for the attractiveness of the former.<sup>56</sup> It is uncertain, however, if a burial in the South Necropolis was allowed or affordable for everyone. Despite the spatial relation between the cemetery and the Sanctuary almost nothing in the nature of the burial gifts indicates a special association of the buried members of the community with the Sanctuary. The grave-goods do not appear to indicate the possible existence of any religious

<sup>53</sup> For a discussion of the chronological termini see above n. 4. Most of the excavated graves seem to belong to the Hellenistic and Roman times (see Karadima and Koutsoumanis 1992, 677–79), although some Classical-period graves have also been reported (burial T14: Karadima and Koutsoumanis 1992, 680, H8; or, for example, lamp XH-26, an accidental find dated to 475–425 BC: Dusenbery 1998, 819).

<sup>54</sup> Karadima and Koutsoumanis 1992, 677.

<sup>55</sup> See Dusenbery 1998, 6; followed by Graham 2002, 245.

<sup>56</sup> The close proximity of a cemetery to an extra-urban sanctuary which enjoyed an international fame, especially in the Hellenistic period, appears to be rather unusual for the Greek world. By contrast, the example of the Delian Sanctuary of Apollo provides an opposite model where the ground was cleared from the *miasma* of the death and the burials. The case of Samothrace suggests that the closeness of the South Necropolis has not been perceived as polluting the Sanctuary. One may speculate that the nature of the mysteries of Samothrace intended to protect from real death (drowning at sea, see Burkert 1985, 284; 2002) may account for the apparent lack of fear of the dead.

group identity which would have had the privilege of a burial immediately next to the Sanctuary. Nevertheless, a small find such as the iron ring (Fig. 6.6) found in the Archaic burial S21<sup>57</sup> may hint at a person initiated in the mysteries<sup>58</sup> and the possibility that more such elements of the grave equipment existed is not unlikely, given the faith of the Archaic and Classical burials. Another vague possibility for identifying groups of people buried in the South Nekropolis could be suggested by the preferred ash containers. These can be divided into two major groups: Lemnian (represented by stamnoi and long-necked jugs<sup>59</sup>) and Greek-style amphorae (Attic, East Greek, imitations of Attic, amphorae from an uncertain centre of manufacture). The relation between Samothrace and Lemnos is complex and long lasting, attested in mythology, in the archaeological record and the cult of the Great Gods on Samothrace and the Kabeiroi on Lemnos. The preference to Lemnian ceramics may reflect a wish to express a shared culture and an association with the island and its Kabeirion.

Although social identity, especially in regard to wealth and status is hardly recognisable in the cremation burials, examples such as burials S37 and S38<sup>60</sup> may house the remains of wealthier and/or distinguished members of the Samothracian *polis*. It is not unreasonable to guess that the graves which had the faience and glass perfume containers, and the terracotta figurines<sup>61</sup> may have belonged to people of similar status, reflecting either a wealth or special position in the community.

The lavishness of the various groups of burial gifts from the South Necropolis is striking considering the fact that similar or analogues artefacts have not been discovered in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods. The material record of Archaic date from the Sanctuary is represented predominantly by rather plain ceramics, very often made of not very good quality fabric suggesting a most likely local origin. These vases must have been functional, serving the requirements of the cult practices rather than being purely votive offerings. The reverse roles of the cemetery and the Sanctuary regarding the demonstration of wealth and the offering of luxurious

<sup>57</sup> See above n. 44.

<sup>58</sup> The Roman authors (Lucr. 6. 1044, Pliny *NH* 33. 23, Isidor Orig. 19. 32. 5) inform us about the use of an iron ring during Samothracian ritual. Iron rings have been found in various locations in the Sanctuary (Lehmann and Spittle 1982, 403; Lehmann 1998, 30, fig. 9) and one ensemble 'found together, probably handled by the priests within the Sanctuary, has not yet been published' (Burkert 1993, 188; see also Burkert 2002, 60).

<sup>59</sup> A handle from such vase has been discovered in the foundation ditches of the Hall of Votive Gifts in the Sanctuary (see Love in Lehmann 1962, 118, n. 2).

<sup>60</sup> For both burials an East Greek amphora was used as an urn. The dead in S37 was accompanied by a pair of silver earrings, a silver vessel rim and a bronze phiale on the mouth of the urn. In a similar way the remains in S38 are associated with a silver earring, a silver fibula, a silver chain and a silver vessel rim and neck: Dusenbery 1998, 103–06.

<sup>61</sup> For these finds see above, nn. 38–39, 43.

gifts some of which, such as the glass and faience vessels were objects of a long-distance trade, is rather unusual. It is well known that the Archaic Greek sanctuaries were a major recipient of valuable and luxury offerings while the Samothracian one illustrates an obvious departure from this practice. In addition, examples from the neighbouring, contemporary aristocratic societies of Thrace and Macedonia employ similar way of displaying certain status through grave-goods.<sup>62</sup>

The archaeological record from the South Necropolis does not provide sufficient evidence to explain the sudden change in the funerary rite and the replacement of cremation burial by inhumation. One may speculate that it reflects the considerable changes and the new building program started by Phillip II of Macedon in the neighbouring Sanctuary of the Great Gods. These led to the complete reshaping of the Sanctuary in regard to its architectural appearance and sculptural decoration, and continued for several centuries.<sup>63</sup> This was also the time when, due to the activities of the Macedonian rulers, the Sanctuary began to gain an international fame. Whether the change in the physical appearance of the Sanctuary was accompanied by enrichment of the ritual which became more complex and ceremonial is hard to say, but it is not unlikely.

## Conclusions

I argue that the extensive, long-lasting use of the very restricted burial ground of the South Necropolis, instead of the much more spacious, contemporary Northern one, was a matter of a conscious choice predetermined by the proximity to the sacred area of the Sanctuary. Contrary to the prevailing pattern, it seems that on Samothrace the nearby burial ground was not perceived as polluting the sacred area of the Sanctuary. Whether the buried there belonged to any religious community is not illuminated by the grave-goods, but the possibility that at least some of them were initiated in the mysteries is not unlikely. While some of the Archaic-period graves may belong to people of a certain status (based on wealth or position in the community), other appear to have more ethnic resonance and suggest a burying of native Thracians in this *polis* cemetery. Such scenario would add support to the idea for the co-existence between the local Thracians and the Ionian settlers, already witnessed by the archaeological record and the written testimonia regarding the Sanctuary of the Great Gods.

<sup>62</sup> See, for example, the cemetery at Sindos which concentrates 84 bronze phialai and the comment that this number is comparable to the amount of such vessels discovered in South Greece where, however, these appear as votives in sanctuaries: Despoine 2016, 256, n. 56. For a discussion with bibliographic reference, see also Ilieva 2010.

<sup>63</sup> See McCredie 1988, 119–23; Burkert 2002, 52.



The conservatively applied cremation burials during the 6th and 5th centuries BC, the numerous ceramics and the metal finds discovered in the South Necropolis suggest that local traditions and regionally developed contacts characterised the activities of the Archaic Samothracian community rather than a wider Aegean connection. The presence of luxury items in the Archaic-period graves, some of which indicate the possible use of scented unguents in the burial rites, contrasts to the rather austere contemporary finds from the Sanctuary. It seems that the cemetery rather than the Sanctuary was the focus of valuable or prestigious offerings.

The data from the South Necropolis does not make it clear why in the middle of the 4th century BC the funerary rite suddenly changed to inhumation. Perhaps this change and the whole programme of levelling and extending the area of the cemetery somehow reflect the novelties in the nearby Sanctuary initiated by Phillip of Macedon.

## Bibliography

- Beschi, L. 1996: 'Cabirio di Lemno: testimonianze letterarie ed epigrafiche'. *ASAtene* 74–75, 7–192.
- . 2003: 'Ceramiche arcaiche di Lemno: alcuni problemi'. *ASAtene* 81, 303–49.
- Bonfante, G. 1955: 'A note on the Samothracian language'. *Hesperia* 24, 101–09.
- Burkert, W. 1985: *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* (Oxford).
- . 1993: 'Concordia Discors: the literary and the archaeological evidence on the sanctuary of Samothrace'. In Marinatos, N. and Hägg, R. (eds.), *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches* (London/ New York), 178–91.
- . 2002: 'Greek Margins: Mysteries of Samothrace'. In Αβαγιανού, Α. (ed.), *Λατρείες στην «περιφέρεια» τον αρχαίον ελληνικόν κόσμον* (Athens), 31–63.
- Despoine, A. 2016: 'Μεταλλικά αγγεία'. In Despoine, A. (ed.), *Σίνδος II. Το Νεκροταφείο. Ανασκαφικές έρευνες 1980–1982* (Athens), 247–321.
- Dusenbery, E. 1998: *Samothrace 11: The Necropoleis*, 2 vols. (Princeton).
- Georgieva, R. 2003: 'Sépultures insolites de Thrace (fin du IIe–Ier mill. av. J.C.)'. *Thracia* 15, 313–23.
- Graham, A.J. 2002: 'The colonization of Samothrace'. *Hesperia* 71.3, 221–60.
- Ilieva, P. 2008: 'Οινοχόες με μακρύ λαιμό από τη Σαμοθράκη και η υπογεωμετρική κεραμική παράδοση του βορειοανατολικού Αιγαίου'. In Dordanas, S. (ed.), *Σαμοθράκη: ιστορία, αρχαιολογία, πολιτισμός* (Salonica), 45–61.
- . 2009: 'Vogue and Utility: Terracotta products with Ionian kymation in relief from the Aegean shore of Thrace'. In Deligiannakis, G. and Galanakis, Y. (eds.), *The Aegean and its Cultures* (Oxford), 69–80.
- . 2010: 'Samothrace: Samo- or Thrace?'. In Hales, S. and Hodos, T. (eds.), *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World* (Cambridge), 138–71.
- . 2012: 'Altar or Perirrhanterion: were there water purification rites in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace?'. In Rabadjiev, K., Shalганova, T., Marazova, V. and Stoychev, R. (eds.), *Izskustvo i Ideologiya / Art and Ideology* (Sofia), 487–502.
- Karadima, C. and Koutsoumanis, M. 1992: 'Αρχαιολογικές εργασίες Σαμοθράκης 1992'. *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη* 6, 677–83.

- Lehmann, K. 1960: *Samothrace 2.2: The Inscriptions on Ceramics and Minor Objects* (New York).
- . 1998: *Samothrace: A Guide to the Excavations and the Museum*, 6th ed. (Salonica).
- Lehmann, P. and Spittle, D. 1982: *Samothrace 5: The Temenos* (Princeton).
- Love, I. 1964: 'Kantharos or Karchesion? A Samothracian contribution'. In Sandler, L. (ed.), *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann* (New York), 204–22.
- McCredie, J. 1988: 'Samothrace in the classical period'. In *Πρακτικά του XII διεθνούς συνεδρίου κλασικής αρχαιολογίας, Τόμος Α* (Athens), 119–23.
- Matsas, D. 2004: 'Η Σαμοτηράκη στη πρώιμη εποχή του Σιδήρου'. In Stampolidis, N. and Giannikouri, A. (eds.), *Το Αιγαίο στην πρώιμη εποχή του Σιδήρου* (Athens), 227–57.
- . 2007: 'Archaeological evidence for Greek-Thracian relations on Samothrace'. In Iakovidou, A. (ed.), *Thrace in the Graeco-Roman World* (Athens), 387–402.
- . 2009: 'Η Σαμοθράκη πριν την άφιξη των Ελλήνων αποίκων'. In Perreault, J. and Bonnias, Z. (eds.), *Greeks and Thracians in Coastal and Inland Thrace during the Years Before and After the Great Colonization* (Thasos), 205–36.
- Mustilli, D. 1932–33: 'La necropoli tirrenica di Efestia'. *ASAtene* 15–16, 1–278.

Institute for Bulgarian Studies and Centre of Thracology  
13 Moskovska St.  
Sofia 1000  
Bulgaria  
petia76ilieva@gmail.com

# A LOT OF PEPPER AND A LITTLE GARUM: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF THE ROMAN PRESENCE AT BERENIKE AND ARIKAMEDU\*

MARIKE VAN AERDE AND DANIELE ZAMPIERIN

## Abstract

This paper investigates, by means of comprehensively comparing two archaeological datasets and related ancient textual sources, what differences and/or similarities can be observed about the Roman presence and participation in trade exchanges at the ports of Berenike (Egypt) and Arikamedu (India) during the 1st–2nd centuries AD. These findings are then used to raise new points of discussion concerning patterns of exchange and connectivity across the Indian Ocean, and the role of Rome within these processes. Rather than offering a basic comparison of two individual ports, this study takes a bottom-up approach to all currently available evidence from both sites, on which its wider interpretations are subsequently based. Main interpretative aspects include the geography, infrastructure and economic contexts of the port sites, and a second point of focus pertains the possible connections between the archaeological materials of ancient Tamil provenance at both sites.

## Introduction: A Note on Methodology

The port of Berenike on the Red Sea coast of Egypt and the port of Arikamedu on the Indian coast of the Bay of Bengal are two well-known archaeological sites related to ancient maritime trade. In the past, both sites have been specifically linked to the history of Roman commerce within as well as beyond the established boundaries of the Roman empire. Berenike, on the one hand, functioned as one of the empire's nodal points for maritime import and export; a gateway, by way of the Red Sea, to the Mediterranean region in the North as well as to the wider Indian Ocean in the East. Arikamedu, on the other hand, seemed to have yielded archaeological evidence of Roman trade activity farthest known from the control sphere of the Roman empire itself.

This paper investigates this Roman presence and/participation at both ports by turning to all currently available data. When we regard Berenike and Arikamedu

\* This research was supported by the Byvanck Postdoctoral Fellowship (2017–2019) at Leiden University. The authors would like to thank Steve Sidebotham for his feedback, and Martin Pitts and the Centre for Connectivity in the Roman World at Exeter University where parts of this research were discussed.

strictly as individual port sites, in terms of their structure and development as individual archaeological complexes, not to mention their different geographical contexts, a direct comparison between these two sites, as sites, may not seem immediately viable or even necessarily valuable. The purpose of investigating wider patterns of exchange and connectivity, however, such as two ports within the same intricate web of ancient Indian Ocean trade, is to look beyond the (literal and figurative) boundaries of isolated site studies.<sup>1</sup>

Naturally, archaeological studies rely on the documentation of a specific context, and in the cases of Berenike and Arikamedu a substantial amount of expert work has been done to unearth the structural remains and diverse finds that have been and continue to be discovered at these sites, respectively.<sup>2</sup> However, in most cases the subsequent step of connecting and comparing data from different sites within related/contemporary webs is still missing, mostly due to practical reasons of access and compatibility.<sup>3</sup> In part due to this, too, many studies currently concerned with ancient global connectivity tend to start out from a specific theoretical hypothesis or a predetermined perspective, such as globalisation theory, and as a result they often refer to only a selection of examples or test cases to illustrate their initial ideas and theories.<sup>4</sup> In the past, moreover, many historical studies relied on textual sources, such as the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, when searching for and interpreting archaeological contexts related to Indian Ocean trade, and even today the field is still marked by these origins.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To that purpose, this article links to van Aerde's project at Leiden University ('Routes of exchange, roots of connectivity', 2016 onwards), investigating archaeological datasets related to exchange and connectivity between multiple Afro-Eurasian trade centres throughout the 1st millennium AD. On the project's approach to the archaeology of ancient trade routes, see most recently van Aerde 2019.

<sup>2</sup> Documentation of the Berenike excavations as reported in Sidebotham and Wendrich 1995; 1996; 1998; 1999; 2000; 2007. See also: Sidebotham and Zych 2011; 2016; cf. Sidebotham 2011. Documentation of the Arikamedu excavations as reported in Wheeler *et al.* 1946; Casal 1949; Begley 1983; Begley *et al.* 1996; 2004.

<sup>3</sup> One main obstacle is the use of entirely different cataloguing systems and/or databases (or a lack thereof) per individual site/campaign/specific researcher or project, which makes comparative studies of the archaeological records difficult. Access and permits for field surveys and/or excavations at Arikamedu have not been obtained since Begley's campaigns of 1989–90. This also makes the temporal gap between excavations a potential issue (at Berenike campaigns still continue, whereas Arikamedu has been inaccessible for the past 30 years).

<sup>4</sup> This approach (in some cases taken out of necessity due to the lack of material available) has yielded many fruitful insights into global connectivity in the ancient world and remains a valuable tool to think with on a theoretical level of how to approach these wider questions. See especially Hodos 2016. On globalisation and the Roman world, see Pitts and Versluys 2015 (especially 3–31).

<sup>5</sup> Wheeler *et al.* 1946; Wheeler 1955. Reliance and/or emphasis on information gleaned from the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* is also evident still in, for example, De Romanis 1982–87; Sidebotham 2011; Tomber 2008; Seland 2014; 2016; Cobb 2013; 2018.

A truly bottom-up approach, however, can only be achieved by investigating the available data in full, including ceramics databases and excavation reports in their entirety and from multiple sites, in order for inherent patterns to become apparent – on which hypotheses and/or interpretations should be based. For this paper, we turned to such a bottom-up methodology to interpret the Roman presence and/or participation in Indian Ocean trade as evident from the current archaeological records of Berenike and Arikamedu. We did not start out with a specific hypothesis or perspective, but created an overview of the currently available archaeological evidence from both sites, and by comparing these data we looked for interpretative patterns, which are briefly presented here. To be as comprehensive as possible, we also included all relevant textual sources from both Mediterranean and Indian origin in our data tables for analysis. Based on these combined sources, certain overall patterns became evident concerning three interpretative aspects: geography, infrastructure and economy. For clarity's sake, we have structured some of our findings according to these three aspects. In this way, we hope to contribute certain new insights to the ever-growing expertise concerning these two ancient ports in specific – as well as to our understanding of Roman trade both within and beyond the limits of the Roman empire in a wider sense. In other words, we did not set out to compare Berenike and Arikamedu as two different site contexts only. We also wish to ask what the archaeological records of both sites can contribute to our understanding of the Roman role within the larger scope of Afro-Eurasian exchange networks (and their resulting processes of connectivity) in the ancient world in the early 1st millennium AD.

### **Berenike**

The Red Sea port of Berenike was founded by Ptolemy II Philadelphus in the mid-3rd century BC and seems to have flourished as a nodal point for trade from its creation up until the Late Roman and Byzantine era: after the 5th century AD there is no evidence of the port's continuation or its international traffic.<sup>6</sup> During the early Islamic era (7th century) the site appears to have discontinued as an active port altogether.<sup>7</sup> The archaeological site remained buried beneath the desert until its discovery in 1818 by Giovanni Belzoni. Since then many campaigns continue to unearth a complexity of harbour structures and a town that seems to have

<sup>6</sup> Sidebotham and Wendrich 1995; 1996; 1998; 2000; 2007; Sidebotham and Wendrich 1999, 91–94; *cf.* Sidebotham 2011.

<sup>7</sup> In contrast to the nearby and also originally Ptolemaic port of Myos Hormos, which was revived as the port of Quseir al-Quadim in the early Islamic era (see Peacock and Blue 2006 for main site documentation from the 1999–2003 excavations).





from the Mediterranean basin. For most goods arriving at its harbour, Berenike would not have been the final destination, but rather a nodal point to maintain the comings and goings on which the economy of the wider region relied. While perhaps an outpost, Berenike held a strategic position for importing and transporting foreign goods efficiently across the Nile Valley, from where they could also be distributed across the regions of the Roman empire. At the same time, Berenike would have functioned as a collection point for the export of Mediterranean trade-ware towards Sub-Saharan Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, and the Indian Subcontinent.<sup>10</sup> The maintenance of this economic importance, in turn, would have relied predominantly on the development of an efficient infrastructure. In Berenike, this concerned the actual working harbour and its facilities and storage capacities, as well as the availability and safety of road networks for transport. It is important to note here that, from 30 BC onwards, the maintenance of this infrastructure in Berenike had become under direct political Roman control.

The structure of the archaeological site is generally divided into three areas (Fig. 2). The western and south-western areas have been identified for Ptolemaic and Early Roman industrial activities and the harbour location.<sup>11</sup> Moving east towards the centre of the town, early Roman waste material has been found, seemingly on top of the older Ptolemaic town. On top of these wastes, in turn, religious buildings were constructed and were kept in use until the Late Roman period.<sup>12</sup>

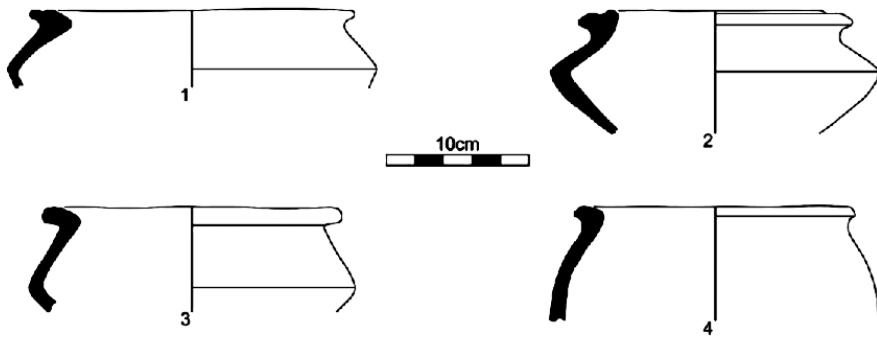


Fig. 2. Rice husk tempered pottery from Berenike, identified as Indian utility vessels (after Tomber *et al.* 2011, 362).

<sup>10</sup> A more comprehensive approach to the role of (Egyptian) Roman trade posts in relation to Indian/Eastern regions and trade-ware is fairly recent, see especially Tomber 2008; Sidebotham 2011; Cobb 2013; 2016.

<sup>11</sup> Sidebotham and Zych 2011, 175–77.

<sup>12</sup> Sidebotham and Zych 2011, 178; Sidebotham and Wendrich 2007, 365.

At the south, large buildings were excavated of which the function is not completely understood, but they are suggested to relate to harbour activities.<sup>13</sup> At the east, near the Serapeum, excavations have unearthed the Late Roman town centre, Late Roman public and religious buildings constructed on top of earlier Roman waste material, and harbour facilities, such as piers and wharfs, to the north and east.<sup>14</sup> Table 1 below presents a summarised overview of the archaeological evidence from the site of Berenike as well as textual sources concerning the Roman presence and activity at this port town from *ca.* 30 BC to AD 500, presented according to site structure, object findings, and the origin of written sources.

As summarised in Table 1, the archaeological evidence of Roman presence and activity at Berenike includes large structural remains, harbour facilities, residential and religious structures in the town centre, and large quantities of mainly ceramics objects, of which so far selected assemblage and/or statistical analyses have been conducted.<sup>15</sup> The data offered by the textual sources only sporadically mention Berenike specifically, but they do sketch a general background for the wider trade networks within which Berenike functioned during the Roman era. The vast amounts of amphora sherds discovered at the site, especially, strongly emphasise the port's influx and efflux of goods, which aligns with most of the structural remains found, as attested by many scholars to date.<sup>16</sup>

When we focus on finds from the Roman phase of Berenike, there appears to have been an increase in scale and quantity throughout the port town. Compared with the preceding Ptolemaic phase, as far as can be determined from the archaeological data, there is a higher capacity for the harbour and warehouses, and subsequently an extended infrastructure towards the Nile Valley and the Red Sea. This would confirm Berenike's importance as nodal point within the Roman trade networks from the 1st century AD onwards. Not only, it seems, did the Romans recognise the importance and strategic benefit of Berenike; the subsequent Roman administration of the port town appears to have significantly extended both its practical infrastructure and economic growth, which in turn led to an increase of the residential town.

<sup>13</sup> Sidebotham and Zych 2011, 178–79.

<sup>14</sup> Sidebotham and Wendrich 2007, 365–69.

<sup>15</sup> Finds are categorised per type and (in part) listed in the annual excavation reports from the 1994–2011 campaigns. For Roman ceramics, so far only one assemblage analysis has been undertaken (Sidebotham and Wendrich 1995, 33).

<sup>16</sup> See n. 15 for detailed references.

<sup>17</sup> Sources concerning the East side: Sidebotham and Wendrich 2000, 73–75; 2007, 146–49. Town centre: Sidebotham and Wendrich 1996, 15; 2000, 44–73; 2007, 76–78. West side:

BERENIKE		Summary of Roman finds		Archaeological structures: west side	Object finds	Textual sources
Archaeological structures: east side	Archaeological structures: town centre					
Early sea wall/harbour facility	Early Roman waste dump (covering Ptolemaic town levels)	Large transport road with SW-NE orientation (west of main town site), originally late Ptolemaic, converted to early Roman	Very large <b>ceramics deposits</b> dated to Roman era, (a) utility amphorae, (b) cooking vessels, (c) cups, (d) various. Average of 420kg per 46m <sup>2</sup> . No catalogue or exact number of finds provided.			<i>Periplus Maris Erythraei</i> (PME): Berenike as starting point for Indian Ocean trade towards India in Roman era (PME 6: 3-5, 14: 5-7; 49: 16-31, 56: 18-28-29).
1 <sup>st</sup> century CE structure (hypothetical harbour building)	Serapeum. Ptolemaic origin but expanded with subsequent Roman phases from 1 <sup>st</sup> century CE.	Large <b>building structures</b> alongside road, originally late Ptolemaic, converted to early Roman	Selected Roman-era ceramic <b>assemblage analysis</b> : 82.9% Egyptian amphorae; 8.1% Campanian wine amphorae; 4.4% other types or unknown.			PME: Roman exports from Berenike: metal, wine, textile, silverware, glass, coral, ornaments and slaves (PME 26.8-31, 39-13.8, 49-16, 56-18, 60-20, 10-11).
Large coastal architectural complex including (a) Basilica built on marine sediments, (b) 1 <sup>st</sup> century CE pier (trench BE-22), (c) early Roman waste dump	1 <sup>st</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE <b>public and private Roman buildings</b> (north and west of Serapeum), have been interpreted as residences of wealthy merchants.	Late Ptolemaic/early Roman <b>industrial structures</b> (trench BE-54 and BE-55) including: (a) storage facilities, (b) platforms for ship maintenance	Reported even distribution of Roman oil-lamps and eastern/Italian <b>sigillata</b> tableware at Roman-era town structures (no catalogue, exact quantity or assemblage analysis).			Pliny the Elder: Berenike as link between Roman Egypt and India, special tariffs for using roads connecting the Nile and Berenike ( <i>Nat. Hls.</i> 6, 101; 104). Copper, bronze and red coral are main Roman exports leaving the ports ( <i>Nat. Hls.</i> 35, 163).
Large 1.5 <sup>th</sup> century CE coastal architectural complex: including (a) 1 <sup>st</sup> century pier and waste dump (trench BE-17), (b) 1-3 <sup>rd</sup> century building (storage), (c) Late Roman temple structure	3 <sup>rd</sup> -5 <sup>th</sup> century CE <b>public and private Roman buildings</b> (east of Serapeum)	Roman-era <b>waste dump and cemetery</b> (west of main town, recent excavations 2014-2015)	<b>Indian pottery</b> (utility, cooking vessels), from early (8%) and late Roman structures (9%) <b>20</b> individual sherds identified as fine ware. Estimated 9%+ of total assemblage. Organic remains of <b>black pepper</b> in Indian storage jars from Roman private structures, ca. 7.5kg (north of Serapeum)			Strabo: every year 120 ships left the Egyptian ports of Berenike and Myos Hormos towards Indian ports ( <i>Strab. II V</i> , 12)
	Large early Roman <b>industrial facilities</b> (north of Serapeum), including (1) wealthy residences and (2) bath installations (trench BE-10).		Partial <b>bronze statue and inscription</b> (dedication by Roman soldier) at Palmyrene shrine (trench BE-6) Roman <b>osetra's inscription</b> detailing that external water was imported to Berenike and was managed by the Roman military.			Vienna papyrus (2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE): a Koptos company loaning long-distance ships from Myos Hormos and Berenike ( <i>Morelli</i> 2011, 3-6; Casson 1989, 32).
	2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE <b>Palmyrene Roman legionnaires' religious shrine</b> (west of Serapeum).		Recent finds from 2014-2015: <b>1 bronze coin</b> of Caligula, <b>2 intaglio gems</b> , <b>5 wooden garnets and dowels</b> of Hellenistic/Roman ships (from harbour area)			Tamil poem <i>Akananuru</i> : arrival of 'amazing Yavanan' (Romans/foreigners) ships come with gold and leave with pepper' in Muziris ( <i>Aka.</i> 149, 7-16), possibly linked to pepper import in Berenike.

Table 1. Summary of Roman finds at Berenike<sup>17</sup>

The presence of the Roman *auxilia* legions at Berenike may have played an important role in the maintenance of this effective administration; as also suggested by their role in water management.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, the presence of the Palmyrene *auxilia* legion at Berenike is paralleled by the presence of Palmyrene archers at the site of Koptos in the same period (*ca.* 2nd century AD), and can be considered as indication of the Roman administrative effort to develop and control trade networks within their empire, even (or perhaps especially) at these extremities of the Eastern Desert routes.<sup>19</sup> The Roman addition of *presidia* and *hydreumata* along these desert roads functioned as support and protection for the transportation of goods from the Nile to the coast or vice versa, and as such were a crucial Roman innovation for the growth of Berenike's infrastructure and economy; and those roads were taxed for use accordingly.<sup>20</sup> Some of the larger town structures, like the temple and baths, may likewise have been public Roman investments.<sup>21</sup>

While the public Roman administration enabled Berenike's economic growth, the actual transactions were conducted by a wide variety of private merchant groups and companies. The amount of money needed and the relatively high risk intrinsic to the nature of long maritime voyages led people to joining their resources, often by loan mechanisms, such as also evident from the Vienna papyrus.<sup>22</sup> Interestingly, some Roman-era residential structures in Berenike have in the past been attributed to belong to wealthy private merchants based on what has then considered evidence of luxury goods (in this case ceramics) imported from the Indian Subcontinent.<sup>23</sup>

Sidebotham and Zych 2011, 14–17, 175–77. Ceramic finds: Sidebotham and Wendrich 1999, 123–26; 2000, 160–64; Sidebotham and Zych 2011, 115–16. Ostraca: Sidebotham and Zych 2011, 56–57. Ceramics assembly analysis: Sidebotham and Wendrich 1995, 33. Note that the Berenike reports do not provide any exact numbers or complete catalogues for their ceramics (or other finds). Estimates are given per trench, and only certain types are highlighted in the reports 1995–2007. The reported sigillata and lamp finds are likewise not numbered, only mentioned as highlights that were 'evenly distributed' (Sidebotham and Zych 2011, 115–16). The estimate for pottery finds from the Indian Subcontinent are based on Sidebotham and Wendrich 1999, 161–81; Tomber 2008, 75–76; Tomber *et al.* 2011, 360–66 (which mention a significant amount of finds but no recorded number of sherds). Based on the average weight per trench given, we could speak of a 50,000+ sherds per trench, of which *ca.* 9% was identified as manufactured in the Indian Subcontinent (Begley and Tomber in: Sidebotham and Wendrich 1999, 161–63). Most recent finds from the 2014–15 campaign are referenced in Zych *et al.* 2016. References to Tamil poems are from Zvelebil 1975; Hart 1999; Seland 2016.

<sup>18</sup> Sidebotham and Zych 2011, 56–57; see also n. 15.

<sup>19</sup> For comparisons with the Roman Palmyrene legions at Koptos, see Sidebotham 2011, 65–67.

<sup>20</sup> Sidebotham 2011, 174 (*cf.* Pliny *NH.* 6. 101, 104).

<sup>21</sup> Sidebotham 2011, 68–86.

<sup>22</sup> The Vienna papyrus (2nd century AD) mentions a Koptos company loaning long-distance ships from Myos Hormos and Berenike. See Morelli 2011, 3–6; Casson 1989, 32.

<sup>23</sup> Sidebotham and Wendrich 1996, 15. Indo-Roman trade was traditionally seen as luxury exchange (see also Gibbons 1993, 64; McPherson 1995, 78). As Tomber outlines in her 2008 publication,

Prior to the Roman control of Berenike, evidence of pottery or trade-ware from the Indian Subcontinent is almost negligible; but from the Augustan era onwards, significant ceramic assemblages have been found.<sup>24</sup> Many of these Indian ceramics, however, are of a generally coarse and plain type, and have been convincingly identified as utility and cooking pots, and have so far been linked with pottery from both the Gujarat region and the site of Arikamedu, in particular (Fig. 2).<sup>25</sup> Rather than exclusive or luxury imports for trade, then, these pots may indicate a (residential) presence of traders from the Indian Subcontinent, for example while awaiting favourable winds to sail home.<sup>26</sup> As such, these utility ceramic types would differ from Indian goods intended for trade at Berenike, such as pepper and glass beads (both found in large quantity).<sup>27</sup> The former indicate the diversity of merchants that would have visited/stayed at the town, while the latter indicates the diversity of the trade-ware that led them there in the first place.

Thus, according to both the archaeological and textual sources, Berenike had already become a lucrative, efficiently administrated and widely connected Roman trade hub in the 1st century AD, with large warehouses where great amounts of amphorae (mostly local/Egyptian-made) could be stored, to suit a wide variety import and export, ranging from Mediterranean to Indian goods. And among the Roman houses and harbour structures, its (temporary) inhabitants could have arrived from as far as the south-eastern coasts of India. A recently discovered Tamil Brahmi inscription, dated to the 1st century AD, in the residential area of Berenike is a striking example of this.<sup>28</sup> It then becomes tempting to speculate that, perhaps, it was through increased and direct contact with these South Indian merchants in

the archaeological data reveals a majority of utility ware and cooking pots, rather than luxury goods, as is also the case in Berenike records (Tomber 2008, 16–17).

<sup>24</sup> Tomber 2008, 75–76; Sidebotham and Wendrich 1999, 161–81. See n. 15 for detailed references concerning the Indian pottery assemblage.

<sup>25</sup> Tomber (2008, 71–77, 132–34) links them specifically with Arikamedu type pottery. See also Tomber *et al.* 2011, 360–66 for archaeometric evidence of Berenike ceramics compared with ceramics from several Gujarati ports, including Kamrej and Baroda (Tomber *et al.* 2011, 363).

<sup>26</sup> At present there is no comprehensive overview or catalogue of Indian ceramics found at Berenike. Tomber *et al.* 2011 provides an analysis of selected sherds only. A more comprehensive and detailed study of Indian ware at Berenike (and Myos Hormos) therefore remains an important venture for future interest. (See also this paper's conclusion.)

<sup>27</sup> A large amount of South Pacific-type glass beads, which can be dated to the southern Indian Subcontinent, were recently found at the Berenike harbour temple (Then-Obluska 2017). These beads were not included in the summary of Table 1 because they are, as object finds, not particularly Roman evidence.

<sup>28</sup> Sidebotham and Zych 2008, 107–10; Begley *et al.* 1996, 291. The ostraca's Tamil-Brahmi inscription translates as 'Korra the chieftain' (perhaps referring to the leader of a merchant party that had travelled to Berenike from South India, or at least indicating the more specific provenance of the imported amphorae).

ports like Berenike that the Romans learned of the southern ports of the Indian Subcontinent, like Arikamedu, and chose to set out across the Indian Ocean with their own ships for that reason. But only a close examination of the archaeological record of these South Indian ports can shed more light.

### Arikamedu

The archaeological site of Arikamedu, also known as Poduke, was first discovered by local children in 1937, who brought an inscribed gem and some small artefacts to the then colonial French authorities in Pondicherry.<sup>29</sup> The first excavation was led by British archaeologist Sir Mortimer Wheeler between 1944 and 1946, followed by projects conducted by Jean-Marie Casal from 1947 to 1950.<sup>30</sup> These first explorations of the site focused on the collection and analysis of the large quantities of Mediterranean materials, such as ceramics and glass. Arikamedu was generally concluded to be a *Yavanar* (foreign/Mediterranean) trade colony and town, initiated by Greek traders until taken over and greatly expanded by Romans, from the reign of Augustus onwards in the early 1st century AD.<sup>31</sup> This interpretation remained unchallenged until the later campaigns led by Vimala Begley from 1989 to 1992; unlike her predecessors she conducted wider architectural analyses and geological studies and collected a much broader spectrum of data.<sup>32</sup> She suggested that Arikamedu included a Roman settlement or outpost within a much older and well-established Indian port town – a clear contrast to Wheeler’s identification of Arikamedu as a 1st-century foreign colony.<sup>33</sup>

The earliest known evidence of human presence at Arikamedu comes in form of megalithic pottery, and subsequent ceramic assemblies dating to the 3rd–2nd century BC, during which time the majority of the Indian Subcontinent was under the rule of the Mauryan empire while the southern tip of the continent was divided into smaller, semi-independent states that (mainly because of increase in international trade) were able to enhance their independence during the following centuries.<sup>34</sup> But even this interpretation of a specific Roman outpost inside an

<sup>29</sup> Wheeler 1955, 173; Seland 2016, 70.

<sup>30</sup> Wheeler *et al.* 1946; Casal 1949; Begley 1983; Begley *et al.* 1996; 2004.

<sup>31</sup> Wheeler based his interpretation of a Roman emporium at Arikamedu, and the general division of the entire site’s occupation, on his finds of Arretine ware – amounting to a total of 38 sherds, as analysed during the 1945 campaign. Wheeler *et al.* 1946, 18–40; Wheeler 1955, 173. Cf. Begley *et al.* 1996, 351–68; Tomber 2008, 134.

<sup>32</sup> All finds and analyses are gathered in the two volumes Begley *et al.* 1996 and 2004, which include structural documentations as well as in-depth ceramics analyses.

<sup>33</sup> Begley *et al.* 1996, 18–22.

<sup>34</sup> Begley *et al.* 1996, 1–15.



Indian port town, which relied on pottery analysis, has since been challenged; for example, a substantial amount of Italian sigillata were also excavated at the 1st-century AD port site of Khor Rori/Sumhuram in Oman, similar to those found at Arikamedu, yet no scholars have interpreted this site as a specific Roman settlement, in the way that Arikamedu was traditionally assumed to be, despite this clear similarity of each site's data.<sup>35</sup> More recently, Italian sigillata dated to the 1st century AD were also recovered at the sites of Pattanam in Kerala and Alagankulam in Tamil Nadu, near Arikamedu, with no additional indications of a Roman settlement at either site.<sup>36</sup>

Historical narratives have tended to put Arikamedu on a par with Berenike as one of the main ports linked to the Roman empire, but its interpretation remains uncertain. One reason for this is the fact that since Begley's 1989 campaign, no subsequent surveys or excavations have been conducted at Arikamedu. Because of continuous agricultural activities at the site, the degree of preservation and conservation is currently relatively low, with a high level of disturbance of the top layers.

In terms of its geography, Arikamedu is located on the south-eastern coast of the Indian Subcontinent, facing the Bay of Bengal. The town was situated along the meandering river Ariyankuppam, a location originally chosen and subsequently maintained, it would seem, to enable inland transport of goods. Without this river connection the town itself would have appeared an isolated outpost (not unlike Berenike). Like most ancient ports of the Indian Subcontinent, in fact, Arikamedu's location seems primarily aligned with the presence of specific resources and already existing economic entities rather than a favourable natural landscape, *per se*.<sup>37</sup> The resulting infrastructure, focused on maintaining and expanding the port's economic role via the Bay and the connecting inland rivers, would then have been both a consequence of and a necessity for the growth and survival of the town from the time of its earliest urban phases, most likely from the early Maurya period onwards. In all these aspects, of course, the most important contrast with Berenike is the well-established fact that, while Berenike came under the political and administrative control of the Roman empire in 30 BC, this was never the case for Arikamedu nor its wider region along the Bay of Bengal.

<sup>35</sup> Ceramic finds from Khor Rori/Sumhuram were first reported by Comfort 1960, 15–20; for a more recent ceramics analysis of both Mediterranean and Indian ware found at the site, see Pavan 2015. *Cf.* Seland 2016, 70.

<sup>36</sup> Tomber 2008, 137, 161. Pattanam excavations: Cherian 2011; 2015. Alagankulam excavation: Sridhar 2005.

<sup>37</sup> Sidebotham and Wendrich 2007, 293–94.

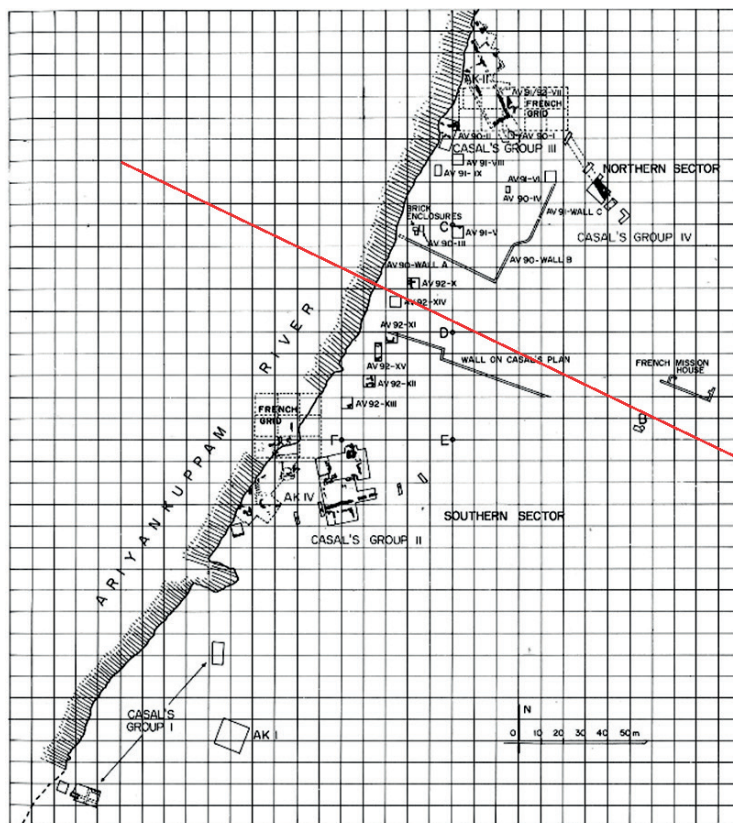


Fig. 3. Arikamedu excavation plan, showing north and south area sections (after Begley *et al.* 1996, 5).

The archaeological site of Arikamedu is structurally divided into a north and south sector; Begley's campaign focused primarily on the north sector, while Wheeler and Casal had focused extensively on the south sector. Even though the data remain incomplete, some characteristics could be hypothesised for the two sectors; the commercial activities seem to have mainly focused in the north sector, while evidence of industrial activities was found at the south sector.<sup>38</sup> Throughout all three campaigns, the dating of the structures and finds from the trenches was based on the presence or absence of specific Mediterranean material, and as a result remains in many cases unreliable. Most structures are poorly preserved, including some residential and commercial areas in the north sector, along with wells and a foundry, and possible industrial areas, such as a dying facility and food preparation

<sup>38</sup> Begley *et al.* 1996, 111–12.

area in the south sector.<sup>39</sup> Originally, Wheeler associated some of the larger brickwork structures at the site with Roman manufacture; especially the large oblong warehouse in the north sector was identified by him as a 'Roman Emporium'.<sup>40</sup> However there is no concrete indication that any of the Arikamedu structures can, in any way, be recognised as Roman architecture: the brick types used are all local, square-shaped, and none of the structures show distinct signs of known Roman brickwork architectural practices or patterns. To consider them in any way as Roman would therefore be purely speculative, and for that reason we have not included structural remains from Arikamedu in our summary of Roman evidence, in Table 2. It does include all known archaeological finds from the site as well as textual sources concerning the Roman presence and/or activity at this port town from *ca.* the 1st century AD onwards.

As summarised in Table 2, all currently known archaeology evidence of Roman/Mediterranean provenance in Arikamedu consists of pottery sherds and other smaller objects. In 1945, Wheeler used a selection of only 38 Arrentine/sigillata sherds to devise a basic chronology for the entire site (Fig. 4).<sup>41</sup>

The textual evidence of any Roman presence at Arikamedu is also very slim, even contradictory to the archaeological data. According to the *Periplus*, there was no direct connection at all between Roman traders and Arikamedu/Poduke, and any Mediterranean trade-ware would have arrived there via different ports.<sup>42</sup> But Wheeler and, to a degree, Begley cite the presence of the Roman *garum* fish sauce, as well as wine and olive oil, and a handful of Italian lamps, as main indication of an actual Roman presence or even residence at Arikamedu.<sup>43</sup> It should be noted, though, that only eight sherds contained traces of *garum* – against a total of 300,000 ceramic sherds found at the north sector, of which only 531 sherds were securely identified as having a Mediterranean origin (making up only 0.18% of the assemblage).<sup>44</sup>

The traces of Italian pozzolana are likewise mentioned in favour of a Roman presence, or even Roman cement construction; but these amount to very small traces on only 15 sherds, and in the excavated brickwork structures in both the north and south sectors no additional evidence for Roman building techniques or

<sup>39</sup> Wheeler *et al.* 1946, 32–34; Begley *et al.* 1996, 112–13.

<sup>40</sup> Wheeler *et al.* 1946, 24–32. *Cf.* Tomber 2008, 133–39.

<sup>41</sup> Wheeler *et al.* 1946, 18–40; Wheeler 1955, 173. *Cf.* Begley *et al.* 1996, 351–68; Tomber 2008, 134. See also n. 31.

<sup>42</sup> *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 60 (*cf.* Casson 1989, 89).

<sup>43</sup> Wheeler *et al.* 1946, 34–45, 93; Begley *et al.* 1996, 112–13, 317–19.

<sup>44</sup> Begley *et al.* 1996, 116.

ARIKAMEDU		Summary of Roman finds		Textual sources
Object finds (Wheeler 1945)		Object finds (Begley 1989-90)		
<b>116</b> reported Mediterranean <b>amphora</b> sherds, at north and south sector. 82 sherds are securely identified: (a) 22 sherds from Roman Campania, (b) 5 sherds from Augustan-era Istrian peninsula, (c) 4 sherds from Roman Iberia (Spain), (d), 39 sherds from Greece/Greek islands, 2 <sup>nd</sup> century BCE-1 <sup>st</sup> century CE, and (e) 9 unknown sherds, suggested Punic.		<b>449 ceramic sherds</b> of Mediterranean origin, at the north sector. Of these 87.8% are Greek, 10.6% Italian (Campanian), 1.5 % Southern France (ca. 1 <sup>st</sup> century CE).		<i>Periplus Maris Erythraei</i> (PME): mentions Arikamedu, as Poduke, stating that foreign goods could only reach it via the different Indian ports, incl. Muziris, Nelkynda and Limyrike. The descriptions of South India and Sri Lanka in the PME are overall scarce, vague and mostly deemed incorrect (PME 56: 21-22; 58: 59; 60; 61; 62).
<b>54</b> out of 82 Mediterranean ceramics from the north sector (residential structures) contained traces of <b>wine</b> . <b>8</b> sherds contained organic traces of Italian <b>garum</b> . <b>7</b> sherds contained traces of <b>olive oil</b> .		<b>15</b> ceramic sherds with traces of Italian <b>pozzolana</b> , at the north sector, interpreted as remains of unknown Roman-built harbour structures, such as piers, wharves and jetties.		Tamil poem <i>Silappadikaram</i> : 'homes of Yavana' (Romans/foreigners) who came as 'traders from distant lands' (Sil. 5.11-15), which may indicate a foreign settlement or temporary residences of foreign traders.
<b>38 Arretine</b> sherds/Italian sigillata, from north and south sector (no assemblage analysis)		<b>12</b> sherds of <b>Arretine</b> ware (Italian sigillata) found at mainly the north sector, including Italian and Eastern sigillata, and <b>4</b> sherds of sigillata featuring <b>Egyptian faience</b> dated to the 1 <sup>st</sup> century CE (Roman Egypt)		Tamil poem <i>Puranānuru</i> : arrival of Roman ships in South India bringing 'golden gifts' (Pur. 343, 1-10).
<b>1</b> Roman oil <b>lamp</b> , dated to early 1 <sup>st</sup> century CE, north sector. <b>3</b> Roman <b>glass bowls</b> , of Italian pillar-moulded and blue ribbed types, at north sector.		<b>3</b> clay Italian moulded <b>lamps</b> , <b>2</b> bulbous <b>unguentaria</b> , and <b>2 cup</b> rims of Mediterranean manufacture dated to the 1 <sup>st</sup> century CE, at residential structures of the north sector.		
		<b>10 glass sherds</b> of Mediterranean/Roman bowls or flasks, at residential structures of the north sector.		
		Unknown number of <b>Egyptian amphorae</b> (from Mareotis and Nile Valley), Roman era.		
		<b>3</b> denari <b>coins</b> of Tiberius, <b>1</b> copper <b>coin</b> of Constantine I (both of questionable provenance)		

Table 2. Summary of Roman finds at Arikamedu<sup>45</sup>



Fig. 4. Sample sherd of ribbed Arretine pottery from Arikamedu (after Begley *et al.* 1996, 353).

materials, like pozzolana, has been found, nor of any recognisable Roman architectural patterns or methods. The finds of Roman glass are also often highlighted for Arikamedu, yet again these 13 fragments (when combined from both Wheeler's and Begley's campaigns) should be seen in the context of multiple thousands of glass fragments and beads of local South Indian manufacture that were found during the same campaign.<sup>46</sup>

An interesting link with Berenike may be the Egyptian amphora sherds found; however at present their exact number or more details about their assemblage are

<sup>45</sup> Sources as listed in the reports Wheeler *et al.* 1946; Casal 1949; Begley 1983; Begley *et al.* 1996; 2004; and additional notes from Singh 2008, 415–17, and the ASI Arikamedu record (ASI 2015, Ministry of Culture, India). Concerning ceramics assemblage, for a full listing: Begley *et al.* 1996, 323–26. The 82 sherds from Wheeler's catalogue that were securely re-identified by Begley as Mediterranean constitute 42% of all the amphorae identified by Wheeler as Mediterranean during the 1945 campaign. The remaining 68% (not securely identified) are listed in Wheeler *et al.* 1946, 34–48. Concerning terra sigillata: Wheeler *et al.* 1946, 34–41; Casal 1949, pl. XV A; with additional pieces identified by Comfort 1991; Begley *et al.* 1996, 8. Concerning oil lamps: Wheeler 1955, 172–76; Begley *et al.* 1996, 366–67. Wheeler interpreted all roulette ware as Roman, but this has since been debunked (Begley 1988; cf. Tomber 2008, 132–39), so the Arikamedu roulette ware is not included here as Roman evidence. For the most recent ceramics studies of Arikamedu roulette ware in particular, see Krishnan and Coningham 1997; Coningham and Shoebridge 2011. N.B. Wheeler reports that 'reference has been made to the casual discovery of a gem said to bear the head of Augustus in intaglio' (Wheeler *et al.* 1946, 101), but there is no record of its find-spot or circumstances. No photograph or drawing exists and no further details have since been known. For that reason, this gem has also been excluded here.

<sup>46</sup> Wheeler *et al.* 1946, 102; Begley *et al.* 2004, 518–19.

not published.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, the absence of Roman coins (apart from four unconfirmed coins) from the record may be an indication that, while the Romans might have indeed participated in trade at Arikamedu, they would not have maintained a presence there that was substantial enough for a noticeable impact on the economy, currencies, or indeed the already established infrastructure.

Based on the currently known archaeological record and textual sources, therefore, Arikamedu cannot be identified as a Roman trade outpost. Even the hypothesis of a specific settlement for Roman traders within the port would be supported by *ca.* 100 sherds out of a total of 300,000 found.<sup>48</sup> In 1945, Wheeler focused almost exclusively on these Roman/Mediterranean finds; but when placed in the context of Arikamedu's archaeological record as a whole, they are far from sufficient to support the view of Arikamedu as a Roman trade emporium, or even as home to a substantial settlement for Roman traders.

As Seland pointed out more recently, the Mediterranean finds from Arikamedu could have simply been imported via other Indian ports, as the *Periplus* suggests.<sup>49</sup> However, the fact that the *Periplus* is consistently and grossly incorrect about all South Indian regions, it would be illogical to trust it as a direct source. It also remains a fact that Arikamedu has so far yielded by far the most Roman/Mediterranean finds from any Indian site.<sup>50</sup> This would suggest that, if there was any direct Roman participation in the trade networks of these regions, based on all currently available archaeological data, Arikamedu may still be a very likely candidate. In other words, as a port town, Arikamedu seems to have, indeed, functioned as a dynamic and well-connected South-Indian harbour under the rule of the Tamil kingdoms, since the Maurya era, revolving primarily around the southern Indian Ocean and Bay of Bengal. Evidence of a Roman participation in these processes statistically makes up only a small percentage of the currently available record of the site – but is still remarkable when compared to the archaeological evidence of all other, so-far known ancient Indian ports from this period. For that reason, future excavations and/or surveys at the site of Arikamedu would be needed to continue these investigations properly.

<sup>47</sup> Roberta Tomber mentions that she has identified Egyptian amphorae from both the Nile Valley and Mareotis (Tomber 2008, 137), but no publication is provided, nor an (estimate of) the number of relevant sherds. They are not mentioned by Elizabeth Will in Begley *et al.* 1996, 317–20, nor listed in the catalogue of Mediterranean amphorae (Begley *et al.* 1996, 321–49). Only four pieces of sigillata decorated with Egyptian faience are mentioned in the reports (as listed by Kathleen Slane in Begley *et al.* 1996, 352).

<sup>48</sup> Begley *et al.* 1996, 116. During the 1989–90 campaign sherds were counted and not weighed; it should also be noted that not every sherd stands for a separate vessel. This is likely to be also the case for the Mediterranean sherds.

<sup>49</sup> Seland 2016, 70.

<sup>50</sup> Tomber 2008, 133–35; Seland 2016, 69–70.



### Comparison and Conclusion

Berenike and Arikamedu have frequently been mentioned together in reference to Roman trade across the Indian Ocean. But when we compare their currently known archaeological records, distinct differences come to the surface. Berenike seems on all accounts a dynamic trade port that benefited greatly from Roman economic and infrastructural additions and increases from the 1st century AD onwards. At Arikamedu, however, the evidence of any Roman presence or participation in trade processes is very slim and can, based on the so-far known data, not support theories that it may have been a Roman outpost or, indeed, would even have housed a Roman settlement from the 1st century AD. At the same time, the comparison also yields remarkable similarities between both ports, and it is through these, we have found, some interesting insights are gained.

In terms of geography, both Berenike and Arikamedu are situated in seemingly outpost locations, but through a carefully developed inland infrastructure that relies on river transport (the rivers Nile and Ariyankuppam, respectively), both sites turned their locations to clear economic advantage. In the case of Berenike the port was founded by the Ptolemaic dynasty (*ca.* 300 BC) and then greatly improved under Roman rule (1st century AD). Arikamedu grew and flourished under the rule of its local kingdoms from the Maurya era onwards (*ca.* 300 BC), when Indian trans-continental trade, as well as connections with Sri Lanka, began to increase on a much larger scale than before. And this growth did not diminish after the fall of the Maurya, but steadily continued even throughout the Gupta dynasty, 4th century AD.

Although Berenike and Arikamedu are directly comparable as dynamic and highly efficient ports, which were founded during the same time period, they were maintained and influenced by different political contexts: the Roman empire in the West, and the complex dynamics of Indian dynasties and kingdoms in the East. The practical outcome of these different political administrations, however, in terms of the efficiency of both ports, economic growth and infrastructure, are remarkable similar. So, while Arikamedu's role as 'trade emporium' was in the past incorrectly attributed to a Roman presence and influence, it should instead be attributed to the administration of the local kingdoms and, in wider context, the influence of the Maurya empire. But in terms of its functioning and strategic position, its economic development and river-based infrastructure, Arikamedu was indeed highly reminiscent of the most efficient Roman ports, such as Berenike, although it was not Roman itself. This, in turn, seems to tell us something about the basic characteristics of nodal points and main port sites of international trade networks, rather than about Roman administration specifically. Thus these characteristics of infrastructure and economic development, even the diversity encountered at these ports, seem almost to transcend political contexts and can be seen as particular variables for

any main sites across the wider range of ancient Indian Ocean trade. Whether administrated by Roman emperors or Tamil kings, both Berenike and Arikamedu developed these similar traits and their successes seem indeed linked to these same variables.

If we speculate about why Romans might have chosen Arikamedu specifically as a port to sail to (based on the fact that it has still yielded more Roman evidence than any other Indian port), this seems the most logical answer. As evident from Berenike, Rome was very well aware of the importance of these particular variables needed for a successful trade centre, and excelled in developing them within the boundaries of its own empire. Thus, perhaps we could (with inherent hesitation) speculate that they sought out such similar characteristics for potential trade destinations beyond their Imperial boundaries – which would have made Arikamedu a likely candidate. Based on the data we currently have, this knowledge of a suitable port as far away as Southern India could have reached Romans from basically any nodal port or trade centre within the network, from East Africa to the Arabian Peninsula (where sites such as Palmyra and Khor Rori clearly evidence a Roman presence, within and beyond the Imperial boundaries, and where their encounter with a diverse range of merchants would have logically led to an equally dynamic range of information exchange). But – if we remain in the speculative realm for a moment – perhaps the Romans learned about Arikamedu directly from Tamil merchants, whose presence in Roman Berenike is after all well-documented. It has been pointed out, in fact, that the recent Tamil inscription found at Berenike, mentioned above, shows a remarkable similarity with one found at Arikamedu, dated to the same period (Figs. 5 and 6).<sup>51</sup>

Naturally, the presence of Tamil merchants was only logical for Arikamedu. While so far a Roman connection has been actively sought between Berenike (and the Roman Egyptian Red Sea coast in general) and Arikamedu, in fact it may be more aligned to the currently available data to suggest a Tamil connection linking Arikamedu's region to Berenike (and the Egyptian Red Sea coast), instead. The archaeological evidence for the presence of South Indian merchants in Berenike and their participation in the wider trade processes is, at present, already significantly more numerous than the evidence of a Roman presence (or even participation) at Arikamedu; although at present no detailed attention has been paid to interpreting the total amount of Indian pottery (and other Indian finds, such as glass, beads, etc.) at Berenike, which would be an important next step for future research of this kind.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Sidebotham and Zych 2008, 107–10; Begley *et al.* 1996, 291, 314–15.

<sup>52</sup> The main obstacle here is the fact that, in the current documentation of Berenike, the ceramics of Indian provenance are not numbered or weighed or, in fact, catalogued, but only mentioned as interesting highlights/examples (Sidebotham and Wendrich 1995; 1996; 1998; 1999; 2000; 2007).

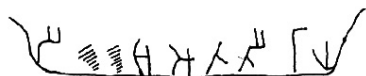


Fig. 5. Tamil graffito from Arikemdu (after Begley *et al.* 1996, 314).



Fig. 6. Tamil graffito from Berenike (after Sidebotham and Zych 2008, pl. 4).

We should also keep in mind here that the site of Berenike has been excavated far more extensively already than Arikamedu, and as a result its known archaeological record is much more substantial. New excavations at Arikamedu would therefore be important, and significantly add to our further understanding of the site. But for now, based on the currently available sources – archaeological as well as textual – we can speak more securely of an Indian presence at Roman Berenike, than of a Roman presence at Arikamedu. For that reason, a more in-depth investigation into Tamils in Berenike, rather than the previously dominant focus on Romans in Arikamedu, would be a worthwhile future addition to and expansion of our knowledge of both the western and eastern ends of the Indian Ocean trade networks.

In sum, while Berenike and Arikamedu cannot be identified as two Roman ports, they each share remarkably similar characteristics in terms of their geography, infrastructure, and economic diversity and development. The data studied so far may lead us to speculate that such specific variables might be applicable to other nodal points in the international trade networks of this period of antiquity, beyond their specific/local political contexts – with Berenike and Arikamedu being two well-documented examples. Of course, only when significantly more analyses are conducted of said nodal points/other ports, can we really start to identify such patterns concretely. Nevertheless, these insights from both Berenike and Arikamedu can already help us in pursuing and identifying the most feasible future studies that will allow us, eventually, to gain better knowledge of the remarkable diversity (as we saw documented at Roman Berenike) that seems another distinct characteristic of and variable for Roman trade centres specifically – and, perhaps, for ancient Afro-Eurasian networks in general, as well.

To that purpose, future research should not only turn to new excavations at Arikamedu, in particular, but also towards a more comprehensive inclusion of the archaeological records of many more, widespread sites across these relevant regions. Through this brief study, the comparison of the records of Berenike and Arikamedu has, hopefully, shown that in this way new insights are still to be gained even (or perhaps especially) concerning such well-known archaeological sites. Studies like this, in turn, will lead us closer to concretely mapping out and interpreting the wider networks that these sites were part of, too.

Tomber (2008) provides a more comprehensive provenance overview of Indian ceramics in the context of Roman trade, but she does not include any numbers/weight or specific assemblage statistics either. These issues hinder a detailed analysis of the archaeological record, for which a database would be needed. The documentation for Arikamedu and Khor Rori, however, do provide the necessary statistics, and may therefore be a more feasible next step towards such a wider comparative, bottom-up study of ceramics trade networks.

## Bibliography

- Begley, V. 1983: 'Arikamedu Reconsidered'. *AJA* 87.4, 461–81.
- . 1988: 'Rouletted Ware at Arikamedu: A New Approach'. *AJA* 92.3, 427–40.
- Begley, V., Francis, P., Mahadevan, I., Raman, K.V., Sidebotham, S.E., Slane, K.W. and Will, E.L. 1996: *The Ancient Port of Arikamedu: New Excavations and Researches 1989–1992*, vol. 1 (Pondicherry).
- . 2004: *The Ancient Port of Arikamedu: New Excavations and Researches 1989–1992*, vol. 2 (Paris).
- Casal, J.M. 1949: *Fouilles de Virampatnam-Arikamedu: rapport de l'Inde et de l'Occident aux environs de l'ère chrétienne* (Paris).
- Casson, L. 1989: *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Princeton).
- Cherian, P.J. 2011: *Report of the Fifth Season Excavation at Pattanam* [Trivandrum].
- . 2015: 'Pattanam Represents the Ancient Urban Periyar River Valley Culture: 9th Season Excavation Report (2014–15)'. *Heritage: Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies in Archaeology* 3, 738–59.
- Cobb, M.A. 2013: 'The reception and consumption of Eastern goods in Roman society'. *GrRom* 60.1, 136–152.
- . 2015: 'The chronology of Roman trade in the Indian ocean from Augustus to early third century CE'. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 58, 362–418.
- . 2018: *Rome and the Indian Ocean Trade from Augustus to the Early Third Century CE* (Leiden).
- Comfort, H. 1960: 'Some Imported pottery from Khor Rori (Dhofar)'. *BASOR* 160, 15–20.
- . 1991: 'Terra sigillata at Arikamedu'. In Begley, V. and De Puma, R.D. (eds.), *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade* (Madison), 134–50.
- Coningham, R.A.E. and Shoebridge, J.E. 2011: 'Arikamedu Type: the potential of a single ceramic type towards the tracking of Indian Ocean networks of contact'. *Journal of Indian Ocean Archaeology* 6, 125–41.
- De Romanis, F. 1982–87: 'Roma and the Notia of India: relations between Rome and southern India from 30 BC to the Flavian period'. *Helikon* 22–27, 143–210.
- Hart, G. 1999: *The Poems of Ancient Tamil: Their Milieu and Their Sanskrit Counterparts* (New Delhi).
- Hodos, T. (ed.) 2016: *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization* (London/New York).
- Krishnan, K. and Coningham, R.A.E. 1997: 'Microstructural analysis of samples of Rouletted ware and associated pottery from Anuradhapura'. In Allchin, B. and Allchin, F.R. (eds.), *South Asian Archaeology, 1995* (New Delhi), 925–37.
- Morelli, F. 2011: 'Dal Mar Rosso ad Alessandria: il verso (ma anche il recto) del "papiro di Muziris"'. *Tyche* 26, 199–234.
- Pavan, A. 2015: 'Trade and commercial routes along the Indian Ocean from the early centuries BC to the beginning of the Christian era'. In Gerlach, I. (ed.), *South Arabia and its Neighbours: Phenomena of Intercultural Contacts* (Wiesbaden), 121–33.
- Peacock, D. and Blue, J. 2006: *Myos Hormos-Quseir al-Qadim: Roman and Islamic Ports on the Red Sea 1: Survey and Excavations 1999–2003* (Oxford).
- Pitts, M. and Versluys, M.J. 2015: *Globalisation and the Roman World: World History, Connectivity and Material Culture* (Cambridge).
- Seland, E.H. 2014: 'Archaeology of Trade in the Western Indian Ocean, 300 BC–AD 700'. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 22, 367–402.
- . 2016: 'The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea: A network approach'. *Asian Review of World Histories* 4.2, 191–205.
- Sidebotham, S.E. 2011: *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Rout* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London).
- Sidebotham, S.E. and Wendrich, W.Z. 1995: *Preliminary Report of the 1994 Excavation at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert* (Leiden).

- . 1996: *Preliminary Report of the 1995 Excavation at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert* (Leiden).
- . 1998: *Report of the 1996 Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert* (Leiden).
- . 1999: *Report of the 1997 Excavations at Berenike and the Survey of the Egyptian Eastern Desert, including Excavations at Shenshef* (Leiden).
- . 2000: *Report of the 1998 Excavations at Berenike and the Survey of the Egyptian Eastern Desert, including Excavations in Wadi Kalalat* (Leiden).
- . 2007: *Berenike 1999/2000. Report on the Excavations at Berenike, including Excavations in Wadi Kalalat and Siket, and the Survey of the Mons Smaragdus region* (Los Angeles).
- Sidebotham, S.E. and Zych, I. 2011: *Berenike 2008/2009. Report on the Excavations at Berenike, Including a Survey in the Eastern Desert* (Warsaw).
- . 2016: 'Results of the Winter 2014–2015 Excavations at Berenike Egypt and Related Fieldwork in the Eastern Desert'. *Journal of Indian Ocean Archaeology* 12, 1–34.
- Singh, U. 2008: *A History of Ancient and Early Medieval India: From the Stone Age to the 12th Century* (New Delhi).
- Sridhar, T.S. 2005: *Alagankulam, an Ancient Roman Port City of Tamil Nadu* [Madras].
- Then-Obluska, J. 2017: 'Beads and pendants from the late Harbor Temple and harbour temenos in the Red Sea port of Berenike (seasons 2010–2013): materials, techniques, functions and affiliations'. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 26.2, 193–210.
- Tomber, R. 2008: *Indo-Roman Trade: From Pots to Pepper* (London).
- Tomber, R., Cartwright, C. and Gupta, S. 2011: 'Rice temper: technological solutions and source identification in the Indian Ocean'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 28, 360–66.
- van Aerde, M.E.J.J. 2019: 'Routes beyond Gandhara: rethinking early Buddhist rock carvings'. In Yang, L.E., Bork, H.-R., Fang, X. and Mischke, S. (eds.), *Socio-Environmental Dynamics Along the Historic Silk Road* (Kiel), 455–80.
- Wheeler, M. 1955: *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (London).
- Wheeler, M., Ghosh, A. and Deva, K. 1946: 'Arikamedu: An Indo-Roman trading-station on the east coast of India'. *Ancient India* 2, 17–124.
- Will, E.L. 1996: 'Mediterranean shipping amphoras from 1941–50 excavations'. In Begley *et al.* 1996, 317–49.
- . 2004: 'Mediterranean shipping amphoras from 1990–92 excavations'. In Begley *et al.* 2004, 325–403.
- Zvelebil, K.V. 1975: *Tamil Literature* (Leiden).
- Zych, I., Sidebotham, S.E., Hense, M., Rądkowska, J.K. and Woźniak, M. 2016: 'Archaeological Fieldwork in Berenike in 2014 and 2015: from Hellenistic Rock-cut Installations to Abandoned Temple Ruins'. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 25, 315–48.

Corresponding author:

M.E.J.J. van Aerde

Faculty of Archaeology

Leiden University

Einsteinweg 2

2333 CC Leiden

The Netherlands

m.e.j.j.van.aerde@arch.leidenuniv.nl



# EASTERN AND WESTERN MOTIFS IN THE COMPOSITION WITH A SCENE OF SACRIFICE FROM NOIN ULA IN NORTHERN MONGOLIA: THE EMBROIDERED CLOTH FROM MOUND 31

KAZIM ABDULLAEV

## Abstract

The paper is devoted to iconographic analysis of the composition (a scene of sacrifice – burning incense on the altar) embroidered on the fabric from Mound 31 at Noin Ula in northern Mongolia. The priesthood itself is interpreted in a new way. The layouts of the composition as well as the decorative bands framing it show the influences of Hellenistic traditions. The characters with spears and swords in their belts represent the military nobility of Central Asia during the nomad migration. This is also indicated by the figure of a heavily armed warrior in lamellar armour. The participation of a saddled horse in the cult scene attaches special importance to the event. Many elements of the composition find their closest analogies in works of fine art of the first centuries AD. Despite the fact that the composition embroidered on fabric was used as a veil in the burial of a noble grandee (leader) of the Hsiung-nu/Xiongnu tribe, it was made in one of the centres of artistic creativity in Central Asia, possibly Bactria.

## Introduction

The discovery of the mounds of Noin Ula<sup>1</sup> in northern Mongolia, in 1925 by the expedition of P.K. Kozlov, aroused great interest throughout the academic world.<sup>2</sup> Particular attention was attracted at the time by the unique embroidered fabrics. The unusually high level of craftsmanship, the nature of the composition and ornamental motifs did not fit stylistically into the art of the region where they were found. This was especially true of the decorative borders, which included images of fantastic polymorphic creatures more characteristic of Western art.<sup>3</sup> As for the anthropomorphic images, they looked so alive and individual that the question arose about their portraiture.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The form Noin Ula follows the tradition of Russian scholarly literature; the transliteration Noyon Uul is closer to the original name.

<sup>2</sup> These fabrics were draped on the walls of the corridors of the burials of representatives of the tribal nobility or leaders; in literature, they are often called curtains. Kozlov 1925; Teplouhov 1925; Boroffka 1926; Trever 1932; 1939; Rudenko 1962a; 1962b; Umehara 1960; Elikhina 2010.

<sup>3</sup> This feature drew the attention of the British scholar Perceval Yetts (1926).

<sup>4</sup> Trever 1939, 265, 267.

Despite the fact that the characters depicted on the fabrics belonged by their appearance to a nomadic ethnic group of Central Asia, the search for a school or a manufacturing centre made scholars turn to the traditions of the Hellenistic world. There was even an idea about a Black Sea origin for the fabrics, but this interpretation, like the dating of the 4th–3rd centuries BC centuries proposed by the publisher,<sup>5</sup> did not hold water.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, even a quick glance reveals signs peculiar to the Central Asian fine art complex.

K.V. Trever, in a special study devoted to the results of excavations in northern Mongolia, gave a detailed analysis of the material, including embroidery, and suggested their Central Asian origin:<sup>7</sup> ‘the individual parts of the embroidery, like hairstyle and clothes horse and most breed of horse, also point to some sort of Central Asian Centre’. Particular attention was attracted by the image of a male head in a three-quarter turn on one piece of fabric.<sup>8</sup> The features of the face, the shape of the head and the manner of the hairstyle also indicated a Central Asian origin. Later, Trever included the woollen fabrics with embroidery from the mounds of Noin Ula, which adorned the walls of the corridor around ‘the burial of one of the leaders of the Xiongnu of 1st century AD’, in the works of Greek-Bactrian art.<sup>9</sup> This conjecture was confirmed by the remarkable discovery in the 1960s of a painted clay sculpture of Khalchayan.<sup>10</sup> Clay sculptures of the Khalchayan cycle reveal many similar signs in the external appearance of those depicted. G.A. Pugachenkova juxtaposed the image of a man’s head on a fabric from Noin Ula with a sculptural image from Khalchayan – the so-called ‘Prince of the Heraios clan’, who, in turn, was very close to portraits on Heraios’ coins.<sup>11</sup> These coins are localised mainly in the territory of southern Tadzhikistan and southern Uzbekistan (the historical and cultural region of northern Bactria).<sup>12</sup>

More recently, renewed excavation of the Noin Ula mounds, by Novosibirsk-based archaeologists under the leadership of N.V. Polosmak, has yielded brilliant

<sup>5</sup> Sobolev 1934.

<sup>6</sup> Trever 1939.

<sup>7</sup> Trever 1932.

<sup>8</sup> In particular, Trever notes: ‘From this large embroidery with the horsemen, there is a fragment with an extremely curious portrait of a man who, being interesting in itself, as a realistic image and maybe even a portrait image of a man, at the same time confirms the correctness of his comparison with the monuments of Greek-Bactrian culture, if we compare it with the reliefs of Gandhara, also in the 1st century AD, where we see the Buddha’s companion in an antique short chiton with a bearded head, then Triton is of the same type as on the fragment from Noin-Ul’ (Trever 1932, 267, pl. 1).

<sup>9</sup> Trever 1939, 267.

<sup>10</sup> Pugachenkova 1966; 1971.

<sup>11</sup> Pugachenkova 1979.

<sup>12</sup> Davidovich 1976; Zeymal 1983, 149–59.

results.<sup>13</sup> The study of these opens up broad prospects for clarifying various aspects of the material and spiritual culture of the ancient population. New examples of artistic textiles allow researchers once again to approach the issues of interaction of the steppe cultures, nomadic in their way of life, with the urban centres of artistic craft.

Since this work is mainly devoted to issues of iconography, the technical and technological features and characteristics of the fabric are not affected,<sup>14</sup> except when they are necessary for analysing aspects of the artistic reproduction of images on fabric.

One of the most outstanding finds in Noin Ula Mound 31 was an embroidered fabric ('carpet') with a multi-figured composition, constructed according to the wall-painting scheme in the form of an ornamental frieze consisting of several tiers. The central, widest tier contains a series of seven male figures: six men moving from left to right to the altar and one figure to the right, facing the other side of the altar. With the exception of the extreme left-hand figure with the head turned back, all movement and views are directed towards the altar. All walking figures are given in dynamic angles; legs are shown in an energetic step (Fig. 1).

The action takes place in the open air, indicated by both the bush, located between the third and fourth figure, and the images of butterflies and bees fluttering randomly in the free spaces between the figures. Of greatest interest is the appearance of the characters and their attributes.

### Description of Characters

*First figure* (from left to right). As noted above, the figure closes the procession to the right, while the head is turned back, as if waiting. At the level of the elbow, there is a fragment of the drawing that resembles a hand (the next character?).<sup>15</sup> The character is dressed in a long, below-the-knees dress (kaftan) of light colours. The hem and cuff of the sleeves are underlined with a dark stripe. It is possible that the kaftan had a wrap over (from right to left); anyway on the chest there is triangular, downward pointing neckline. The right hand is at the thigh, a vertical black line passes here. It is clearly visible from the bottom of the dress and passes

<sup>13</sup> Polosmak 2010a; 2010b; Polosmak and Bogdanov 2006; 2015. For a more complete bibliography, see Polosmak and Bogdanov 2016.

<sup>14</sup> These aspects is covered in Voskresenski and Kononov 1932; Kulikov *et al.* 2012; Elikhina 2010; Elikhina and Minyaev 2014; Karpova *et al.* 2016.

<sup>15</sup> In the process of excavating the mounds of Noin Ula, another piece of fabric with embroidery with images was found. Obviously, it was part of the same composition we were considering (the beginning or the end depending on the starting point). See Nasan-Ochir and Erdene-Ochir 2011.

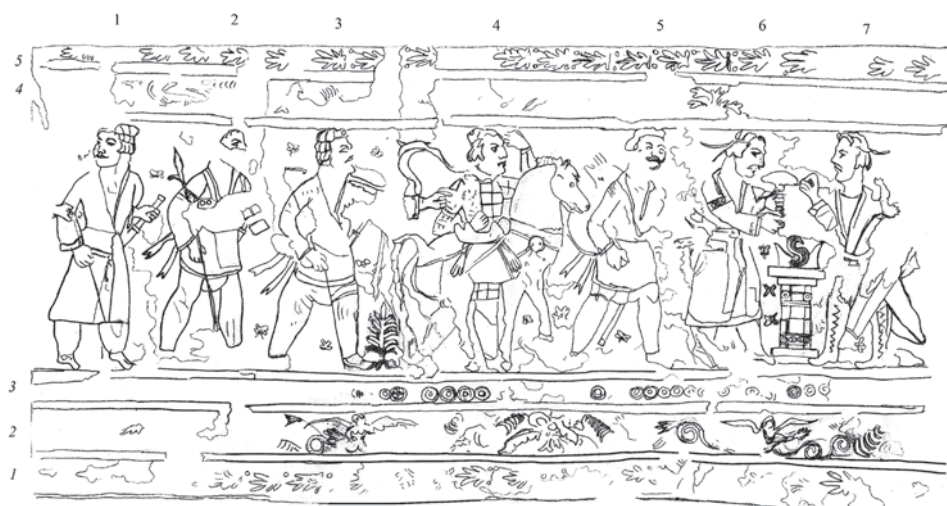


Fig. 1. (a). Fragment of composition with sacrifice scene on the embroidery from the Barrow 31. Noin Ula. Northern Mongolia (after Polosmak 2016, 142–43); (b). Drawing of same by author.

under the hand and then parallel to the character's elbow. By analogy with the subsequent character, we can assume that this is a spear(?). The left hand compresses the long handle of a sword with a rounded top and rectangular crosshair. The sword hangs on the left side and only the part with the handle is visible. Similarly shaped swords with a long handle with a cross-hair are characteristic for the images of warriors on bone plates from the burials of Orlat near Samarkand.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Abdullaev 1995b, fig. 16.13.

A dark-coloured line crosses the waist; two lines obliquely follow from the right side, one being interrupted; apparently, these are strips of the belt. The costume is complemented with wide brown bell-shaped pants, gathered at the ankle. The coiffure from dark brown hair is shown by large curls. Wide spreading eyebrows, black moustache, nose expanding downwards. Despite the wide horizontal section of the eyes, there is a slight Mongoloid appearance, consisting of wide cheekbones and a somewhat flattened nose. It is also possible that we have a mixed type, which includes both Caucasoid and Mongoloid features.

*Second figure.* The character is represented in clothes of a slightly different cut. Tight-fitting jacket or shirt (wrap over is visible, but it seems that it does not reach the lower edge) to the thighs is red-brown in colour with a darker fringing along the hem and on the sleeves. The cut expands downwards; on the chest and shoulders ornamental inserts, underlined by black lines. On the chest a triangular cut. Pants fit legs, shown in the position of a wide step. In this pose, a feature of the cut of the upper part of the pants is visible, namely, the presence of such a detail as a rope. This element gives greater freedom of movement when riding, etc. often found in the costume of a nomadic population. Another interesting detail of the pants is expressed by a dark (red-brownish?) line just above the knees. It intersects with a short line of the same colour. A clearer configuration of this detail is given by a piece of wool fabric from early material published by Trever (Fig. 2). On the fragment, the lower part of the male figure going to the right is preserved: in wide trousers that look like trousers with stripes. From the belt down wide belts supporting a cross-shaped object on the right side (case?); feet, shod in soft boots, walk on the light embroidered strip.<sup>17</sup> A similar detail is observed on a fragment of embroidery with a male image from recent excavations carried out by the Russian-Mongolian expedition in Noin Ula.<sup>18</sup> Based on the analogy with early material of Kozlov's expedition, it can be assumed that this could be a girdle around the leg for attaching the sheath of a dagger. However, it should be added here that in the Noin Ula costume complex there was a tradition to wear so-called leggings over the pants.<sup>19</sup> In this respect, the discovery of the trouser leg from the Noin Ula Barrow 6 is indicative: it is clear that such leggings were cut and worn separately, over of the main hip garment.

<sup>17</sup> Trever 1940, 143, pl. 41.

<sup>18</sup> Polosmak 2011, 123.

<sup>19</sup> Of the latest finds, a woollen leg with a sewn felt boot with a sole is of great interest. See Polosmak and Bogdanov 2016, 112–13.





Fig. 2. Fragment of a male figure (lower part) on the fabric from the P.K. Kozlov expedition (after Trever 1940, pl. 41).



Such scabbards, adorned with rounded discs on the sides, were common in the Late Hellenistic period over a wide area up to Asia Minor. A good example of this is the famous relief image from the Arsamea of the king of Kammagens, Antiochus I Theos, and Hercules (1st century BC). Recall that such a scabbard was discovered in a burial of nomadic nobility at Tillyatepa in northern Afghanistan.<sup>20</sup> It should be noted that in the composition of Noin Ula this detail is also characteristic for the third and fifth figured, i.e. for those wearing a short jacket (*kurtak*). It can be assumed that a similar detail exists in the other characters, but is hidden under the long kaftan.

An interesting find is the dagger in a scabbard in the burial of a boy from the Ak-Alaha 1 burial in the southern Altai (Pazyryk culture). The dagger lay on the right femur. The inner part of the sheath was covered with leather. Wooden round buttons were sewn onto the sheaths on both sides, possibly in imitation of plaques on the sheaths of daggers for adults(?).<sup>21</sup>

Another dark line on the pants is shown obliquely between the legs. Apparently, it represents the sword, which hangs on his left side, and this is also indicated by the strips of the belt, depicted as an arc, going from the belt. From the wrist of the right hand down (to the ground?) another black line follows, possibly representing a dart. A fragment of the dark line with a yellow pointed tip, preserved above the left shoulder, argues in favour of this assumption.

Another noteworthy detail of the suit is the waving ribbons behind the figure, representing the ends of the belt. This detail is present in almost all the characters of the composition (except for the first).

The head of the second personage is not fully preserved. Only details are visible: a protruding nose, broad eyebrows and a powerful neck, strands of black hair curled at the ends. The left hand extends forward slightly and touches the open palm of the upcoming figure.

*Third figure.* The pose is similar to the previous figure, but better preserved. A tight-fitting jacket, similar to the previous, but light in colour, reaching to the hips, emphasises the thin waist of the character. The waist is fastened, as in the previous figure, with a belt, the forked ends of which flutter behind the figure. The hem, sides and sleeves of the jacket have a dark rim, a neck with a sharp downward cut. The left hand extends forward, with the finger pointing in the direction of the action taking place in front of the altar. Pants are similar to the character described above, cut with a purse, sagging between the legs; trousers are tucked into soft shoes.

<sup>20</sup> Sarianidi 1985, 39, 247–48, figs. 159–61.

<sup>21</sup> Polosmak 2001, 60, fig. 38.

The right hand holds a long object, as did the previous figure (spear?). A sword with a long handle and a cross-hair is sheathed and hangs to the left on a belt, shown by a thin arcaded oblique line (see the first figure).

With this image we can talk in more detail about the shape of the head and facial features. The head sits on a powerful neck and the first thing that catches the eye is its shape. It has clear signs of artificial frontal-occipital deformity. In the profile view of the head, the relief of the eyebrows arches protrudes sharply, which gives a more oblate appearance to the frontal part. The nose is straight, protruding forward with a slightly pointed end. Eyes with wide slit, eyebrows arched. Black moustaches fringe the upper lip. The chin is slightly pointed and prominently forward. The hairstyle is relatively short; dark brown curly hair covers the ears and is neatly trimmed at the back of the head. In general, the character is clearly of Caucasoid type.

Of particular note in this figure is the pointing gesture – a device that is expressive and gives meaning to the event which develops in the right-hand part of the composition. The gesture is rather rare in the ancient visual art of Central Asia. More interesting is the search for analogies to such a technique. The closest is one of the fragments of a multi-figured composition of a Buddhist figurative complex from the sanctuary of the Fayaztepa monastery in northern Bactria: two characters shown half a turn to the right; heads are also turned to the right and given in profile.<sup>22</sup> Their eyes look in the same direction where their fingers point to the right. The characters of the left group of the intended composition are turned to the right, which is emphasised by the pointing gestures of the two characters described above (Fig. 3). In the centre of the composition, in all likelihood, was the figure of the Buddha himself. Thus, both the left-hand group of characters and the right could be turned towards the main object of worship, i.e. the Buddha or his symbol.

Between the horse in front of him and the third figure, in the lower part of the horizontal line, there is a bush with symmetrically located branches from a central stem. It is difficult to identify the plant – it could be coniferous or deciduous, considering that it has long, pointed leaves.

The *fourth figure* is partly hidden by the horse led by the next person. This character is noteworthy primarily because he is dressed in lamellar armour and is a heavily armed warrior. He is shown without a headdress. The torso is dressed in armour, reaching to the knees, which is a square-shaped plate, most likely sewn onto skin or dense fabric. The continuation of plate armour is shown from under the horse's belly. Below there are red-brown trousers tapering to the ankle with a strip of more

<sup>22</sup> Abdullaev *et al.* 1991, no. 119.



Fig. 3. Fragment of wall-painting with two donors from Fayaztepa. 1st–2nd century AD (drawing by author after Abdullaev *et al.* 1991, 119).

saturated colour. In the clenched right hand, the figure holds an attribute of an obscure character (plant branch?). The warrior's left hand is raised up to the level of the forehead in a gesture of greeting or worship(?). Another detail, in the form of a flowing light cloth, apparently a scarf, is shown in the space between the warrior and the subsequent figure. I tend to think that this light scarf belongs to the warrior, as many analogies show.<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, part of the neck has been lost and it is difficult to judge the shape of the protective armour, but the transverse dark line in the upper part of the neck indicates the presence of a neck chain (protector).

The warrior's head is given in profile; here you can also note large features of the face: a slightly crooked nose, wide-cut eyes, large lips and a round chin. Head and hair in many ways are similar to the previous character. Hair is cut at the level of the earlobes; the shape of the head in general outline resembles the previous image, i.e. it has an artificial deformity.

<sup>23</sup> Abdullaev 1995a, 155, fig. 3.

*Figure of a Horse.* In front of the warrior in armour (fourth figure) is a horse, led by the *fifth character*. Despite some conventionality in the image, the master was able to convey the characteristics of the breed: the horse has a relatively small head sitting on a wide neck and a peculiar form of croup: not round, but a lowered, slightly flattened back. The horse is light in colour with a black trimmed mane; a dark fringe is left at the crown. The horse's tail is braided – in the middle part emphasised by a transverse black line. The line of the horse's bridle stretches to the previous character, leading the animal to the place of sacred action. From the saddle run an under tail strap and a chest strap; on the side, a rounded plaque – a *phalera*. The saddle has four vertical protrusions in the shape of 'horns'. Such a type of saddle was common in the Roman military environment from the 1st century BC and was borrowed, in all likelihood, from the Central Asian region.<sup>24</sup> Our image clearly demonstrates the use of such saddles by heavily-armed riders.

Withal the similarity of the horse equipment to images from the Central Asian region, there are certain differences in the morphology of the horse. Horses on common Indo-Saka and Indo-Parthian coins are depicted fairly uniformly. On some coins they are squatter (so-called 'Soter Megas'), others have more elongated proportions (for example, on Heraios' coins). However, both have one form of croup – round. Meanwhile, on a number of objects, mostly of applied art, horses are depicted with the above-mentioned flattened form of croup. This is typical, for example, of images engraved on bone plates from Orlat (Samarkand region) (Fig. 4), engraved on bone from Takhti Sangin – to a lesser extent;<sup>25</sup> on gold objects from the Peter collection (State Hermitage), etc.<sup>26</sup> Is such a manner of expression casual, or did the ancient master try to convey the morphological features of the horse? In any case, such persistent repetition in the works of the nomadic style of a certain area can speak fully about the animal's anatomical features.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Somewhere around the 1st century BC the so-called four-horn saddle was introduced into the Roman army. It was thought that this was an invention of the Celts, although there is reason to believe it has Central Asian origins. Functional analysis of this form of the saddle shows that it was most suitable among horse archers and heavy cavalry. On the question, see Gawronski 2004.

<sup>25</sup> Litvinski 2010, fig. 61.

<sup>26</sup> Abdullaev 1995b, fig. 16.13; Artamonov 1973, 154, fig. 192 a–c; Rudenko 1962b, fig. 29, pl. XXII, 18.

<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, it is hard to discuss morphological features based only on the images. Evidently we may assume that it is a stylistic feature of a master or of a school to represent a horse. Here I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Vedat Onar (Istanbul University, Department of Veterinary Medicine) for valuable advice.



Fig. 4. Details from the battle composition engraved on a bone plate from Orlat barrow, Samarkand region, Uzbekistan. Very late 2nd century BC–1st AD (drawing by author after Abdullaev 1995b, Fig. 16.13).

The *fifth figure* is shown in a similar posture of movement to the right – in particular, indicated by the right leg laid back. The character's head is in a three-quarter turn, arched eyebrows, a wide eye shape; a distinctive feature of other characters is a wide face shape and expressed cheekbones, which gives a certain Mongoloid appearance.<sup>28</sup> The hairstyle is similar to the previous one, i.e. relatively short hair covering the auricles, neatly trimmed at the back of the head.

The figure's right hand holds the bridle; the left, raised to the level of the chest and slightly pushed forward, holds an attribute of uncertain character. A sword is sheathed from the left side. Between the legs there is part of the scabbard with a trapezoidal profile. The costume of this character is similar in cut to those of

<sup>28</sup> Interesting in this regard is the bearded head of a warrior from Khalchayan, who has some remote resemblance to the character on the embroidery from Noin Ula: Abdullaev *et al.* 1991, no. 186; see also Pugachenkova 1971, 67.

the second and third figures. A light-coloured, tight-fitting jacket to the thighs has a deep sharp neckline on the chest and fringes of a dark colour along the hem and edges of the neckline. In this figure we again see some elements of the pants, namely the sheathing of the scabbard, which we observed in the second figure. It should be noted that the colour of the strips on persons 2, 3 and 5 is the same as on the horse's girth – pinkish red hues. Probably, there was an attempt to convey the colour of leather belts(?).

The *sixth figure* is one of the main participants in the sacred rite. His head sits on a broad and powerful neck. He has a straight nose, big eyes under the broken lines of eyebrows, small trimmed moustache, round, slightly protruding chin. The forehead is sloping; curly hair is cut in the same manner as for the previous characters, and intercepted by a yellow ribbon, the ends of which hang back. The character wears a long golden knee-length kaftan with a wrap that forms a deep triangular neckline on the chest. The lower edge of the kaftan is slightly turned down, and the white triangle represents either a lining or a bottom of the dress. A broad band of reddish hue follows the sleeves and front. The sleeves, hem and edges of the kaftan are encircled by a dark bluish line; on the arm above the elbow there is an ornamental band in the form of yellow circles, transmitting, in all likelihood, sewn-on gold plaques. Feet are shod in soft shoes; feet and legs are shown with a solid shaded surface. The character holds an object with two hands; apparently, it is a vase on a high stem with a wide, stable base. The vessel has a thin neck, which is linked to the broad lip by an expansion in the form of a ball. Judging by the position of the fingers, it seems that such a spherical detail is present in the lower part of the vessel too – between the base and stem (Fig. 5). So, the right hand grasps the vase by the base, while the left holds it between two spherical bulges. Another element of the decoration of the vase is the bright yellow lines of semicircles, passing along the upper edge of the reservoir. In general, the yellow colour of a vase can also transmit material, namely gold(?), and in general, it is clear that the figure is holding a vase for the ritual actions. The position of the fingers of the right hand indicates that the base of the vase peeks between the index and middle fingers. This character assists his counterpart – the last and main character of the whole group, performing a sacred action over the altar.

*Seventh figure.* As already noted, this figure is turned to the left and confronts the whole group. This character's features are similar to the rest. From the back of the head there is line that follows horizontally (end of a diadem?). The face has an elongated shape with a heavy chin. Straight nose, with reliefs of eyebrows in shape of arches, wide eye slits. The hairstyle follows that of the previous characters. The





Fig. 5. Detail of composition with sacrifice scene from Noin Ula. Male holding a vase with incense (drawing by author after photograph by Polosmak 2016, 142–43).

head is planted on a high neck; the figure in general, is more subtle than the others. The right hand and forearm are raised to the level of the vase. Hand with fingers shown quite clearly. The fingers are clenched into a fist, with the thumb connected to the index finger, as if holding something like a spoon in his hand (Fig. 5). This assumption is also supported by the fact that the dark line runs obliquely above the thumb; the same colour line, but already in the form of an arc, passes under the index finger. It is as if, the character is bringing a spoon to the edge of the vase to scoop up the substance (incense) that is within. Of the left hand nothing can be said because of its loss.

The costume of this character looks the most unusual of the entire group. The upper part is quite simple and has a lot in common with persons 2, 3 and 6. There is a deep, chest-deep notch reaching the waist, forming a sharp angle. The sides, like the sleeves, are bordered with narrow stripes and underlined in dark colour. Shoulder clothing that wraps and forms a deep triangular neckline appears shorter at the front than on the other figures of the composition. The most interesting and rare part of the costume is the long projecting tails behind the figure. The edges of this costume detail are underlined in a dark colour.

The legs, covered with patterned narrow pants, are shown almost completely, i.e. the front part of the figure below the waist is not covered with a kaftan or shirt. One leg is slightly extended. The shoe looks soft, with sharp, slightly upturned toes; no details other than the outer contour are visible. The feet are smaller and delineated by a more elegant line than those of other participants. On the left side of the waist there is a rather wide and large case (quiver?). Narrowing to the bottom part it hangs down; a dividing line follows in the centre, possibly, emphasising the design feature. It hides the upper part of the 'tail coat' and reaches the character's lower leg.

This form of clothing is associated with the famous 'tail coat' from Katanda barrow (Pazyryk culture).<sup>29</sup> The unusual costume with long tails, resembling a bird's tail, clearly indicates the special status of the character. Since he is performing a sacred action, we are, apparently, looking at a priest or person (leader) discharging priestly functions.

### Analysis of Costume and Appearance of Characters

The costumes of all characters can be divided into four types, including the warrior in lamellar armour.

Type 1. The first and sixth figures are dressed in long, knee-length, kaftan-type shoulder garments, differing only in colour and some details: for example, in decorative inserts (sixth figure). This dress is of the same cut, widespread in Central Asia in the last centuries BC and early centuries AD. I would like to draw attention to the decorative stripes on the forearm, well traced in the second and sixth. The inserts are ornamented with yellow circles, which can indicate sewn golden plaques.<sup>30</sup> This method of decoration was widely practised in a vast area from the Altai to Central Asia and the Middle East.<sup>31</sup> One element of the costume of the characters should be noted; in any case, it can be clearly seen in persons 2, 3, 5 and, perhaps, 6. This is a belt tied around the waist in the form of a long ribbon, with ends fluttering from the back; each tip has a forked snake-tongue-type ending.

<sup>29</sup> Rudenko 1952, 97–98, fig. 40.

<sup>30</sup> Rudenko 1952, 92–93: 'In the second Pazyryk barrow, the back of a man's outer garment made of sable fur was found'; '... a short kaftan of a common type. The outer side of the fur of this garment is engraved as suede, and for durability it is sewn in the longitudinal direction in parallel rows with an extremely small suture with a tendon thread. The most remarkable thing about these clothes is an appliqué cut out of thin leather with gold circles pasted on it.'

<sup>31</sup> The most prominent example in this regard may be the burials of nomadic nobility in Tillyatepa necropolis. See Sarianidi 1985.

Type 2. This is shoulder-length clothing up to the hips, like a jacket (*kurtak*) with a sharp triangular cut on the chest (persons 2, 3, 5), similar to a wrap, but without continuing downwards. Bottom, sleeves, notch edge and slots on the sides are underlined by a dark line/border. The garment is tied at the waist with a narrow belt, complemented by sword belts. The jacket is combined with loose, but not too wide pants with a purse, tucked into soft shoes at the bottom. The exception is the seventh figure, whose legs are covered with pants with an ornamental stripe on the sides.

Type 3. Warrior plate armour. The visual complex of the Central Asian region provides many analogies in the form of armour with a high armoured collar (Fig. 4).<sup>32</sup>

Type 4. The most unusual and interesting costume of the dress coat on the seventh character. As already noted, this form of costume is confirmed by archaeological finds in burials in the permafrost. The well-known Katanda 'tail coat' (State Historical Museum, Moscow), thanks to its good preservation, can be considered a model of one of the forms of the costume of the carriers of the Pazyryk culture (Fig. 6). Here is what S.I. Rudenko wrote:

The second garment from the Katanda kurgan in the form of a 'coat' without a collar, like all Scythian shoulder garments in general, ... has a very long tail in the back. These clothes, made of sable fur, are covered with a dark olive silk fabric. Outside, its edge is sheathed with a wide strip of leather, on which in two rows are sewn, also carved from leather, and covered with sheet gold, jagged figures with pairs of round gold sheets between them. The same dentate, but narrower strip of skin is sewn on the back to the level of the shoulder blades.<sup>33</sup>

Careful selection of colours with an unusual cut of the dress clearly has some symbolic background. The Katanda coat was not studied specially from this point of view. As shown by subsequent studies of the frozen mounds of the Pazyryk culture, the Katanda coat is not unique, but has its own analogies, although with some differences in details.

<sup>32</sup> The high collar is represented on an image of a warrior from Khalchayan (Pugachenkova 1971, figs. 77, 80), as well as on the engraved bone plates from Orlat burials, Samarkand region, Uzbekistan (Pugachenkova 1989, 122–54, figs. 70, 71; 1987, 56–65, figs. on pp. 57, 59). I must mention in this respect the tetradrachms of Tanlismaidates, localised in the north-west of Balkh, ancient Bactres (Afghanistan), and dated to the first half of the 1st century BC. The portrait of a ruler (evidently Tanlismaidates himself) shows the high neck mail on the obverse of the coins. See Mitchiner 1975, types 681, 744–751, 769.

<sup>33</sup> Rudenko 1952, 97.

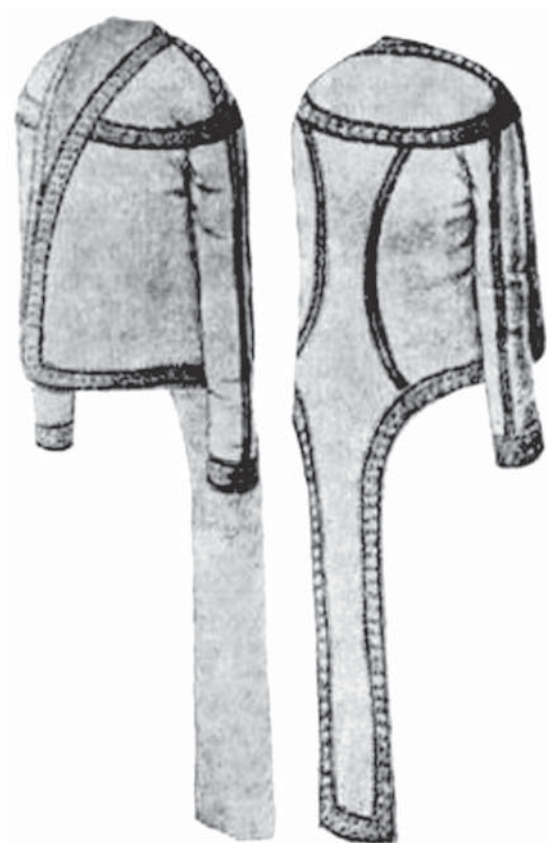


Fig. 6. So-called tail coat from frozen barrow of Katanda. Altay (after Rudenko 1952, fig. 40).

Excavations of the frozen Mound 3 of the Verkh-Kaldzhin 2 burial site in the southern Altai provided a magnificent example of upper shoulder garments – fur coats.<sup>34</sup> A remarkable feature of this fur coat is the presence of a ‘tail’ behind it. In contrast to the Katanda coat, the tail from is of a shorter form (Fig. 7). However, this element of clothing is very expressive and clearly has the same meaning as the Katanda pattern. The discoverer and publisher, Polosmak, considering ethnographic material, believes that this element of the fur coat was tucked under the wearer while sitting. Theoretically, it is possible; though it is a bit short. The author says nothing about the wear of this part of the fur coat, which should have been present in the event of such use. Photographs show none.

<sup>34</sup> Polosmak 2001, 128–29, fig. 94.

I regard this element, like the fur coat in general, from a semantic perspective. Attention should be paid to two essential features contributing to the disclosure of the symbolic meaning of the costume:

- 1) In the same (male) burial, a well-preserved headdress made of felt was found, belonging to the same person and comprising a uniform costume complex together with a fur coat. The upper part of the dress is framed in the shape of a bird's head (Fig. 8).
- 2) The colour decision in the design of a fur coat is hardly accidental. It should be noted here that the yoke, the cuffs of the sleeves stand out in a dark colour (in modern terminology); relatively narrow stripes highlighted the 'tail' and the hem of a fur coat.



Fig. 7. Fur coat. Upper shoulder garment from the frozen burial Verh-Kaldzhin 2. Southern Altai (drawing by author after photograph by Polosmak 2001, fig. 94).

Fig. 8. Headdress in shape of a bird from the frozen burial Verh-Kaldzhin 2. Southern Altai. (drawing by author after photograph by Polosmak 2001, fig. 94).





Fig. 9. Two figures before altar. Detail of composition with sacrifice scene on the embroidery from Noin Ula (drawing by author after Polosmak 2016, 146).

A headpiece crowned with a bird's head on a long neck, together with a detail in the form of a tail on the bottom of a fur coat, gives the wearer a resemblance to a bird. All the above arguments suggest that the person who was buried in Barrow 3 at Verkh-Kalgin 2 could have been a priest (*shaman*). This may apply equally to the person buried in a 'tail coat' in Katanda. Finally, confirmation that costume in the shape of a tailcoat belonged to a priest can also be considered by the composition from Noin Ula, where the character in the dress coat directly performs the functions of a priest (Fig. 9).



In general, the costume complex of the individuals represented in the composition from Noin Ula is characteristic of many nomadic peoples from the western regions of China up to the Hindu Kush in the south. It would not be a mistake to call this close cultural-ethnic circle Saco-Yuezhi, which could include both Indo-Parthian and Indo-Saka components. There is no doubt that the Noin Ula composition shows us not ordinary people, but at least a military elite.

### Anthropological Type

With the unity of many ethno-cultural indicators, fewer and fewer categories remain that can be used to distinguish ethnic groups: language, burial rite, religion, anthropological type. If we take religion, then pagan religions and cults in many nations are similar to each other, differing only in the form of worship.<sup>35</sup> In the absence of written records, the definition of a language group can rely more on hypotheses than on facts; the greater is the value of material evidence of both iconographic and craniological nature.

If we look closely at the persons woven on the carpet, the feeling persists that they are individualised and, despite all the general similarities, differ from each other. Persons 3, 6 and 7 are especially similar to each other: the type of face with an elongated oval, a nose that is thin and slightly crooked, all of them with a deformation of the skull, underlined by the ribbon ('diadem'); they have smoothly shaven faces, a slightly pointed chin, a slightly sloping forehead.

As we have already noted, in the 1960s, Pugachenkova's discovery of the clay sculptures of Khalchayan drew attention to the similarity of one of the characters of the Khalchayan cycle, whom she called the 'prince from the clan of Heraios' (Fig. 10), with the portrait of Heraios on his coins. A head on a fragment of the carpet from Noin Ula was drawn as an analogy. Indeed, the shape of the hairstyle with the frontal ribbon and the structure of the face on these objects are in many ways similar. The coins of Heraios show us the image of a decisive energetic ruler. The sloping forehead turns into a thinly contoured protruding nose (Fig. 11). The lower part of the face has somewhat shortened proportions, with a lush moustache and a round protruding smooth chin. Interestingly interpreted eyes, seemingly wide cut with reliefs on the upper eyelid without epicanthus, testify to the Caucasoid appearance of the figure. However, the outer edge of the eye is pointedly stretched and narrowed at an acute angle. In any case, to call this person Caucasoid is as difficult as Mongoloid. Before us is clearly some kind of mixed type with a hint of the Mongol.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> So, for example, characterising the Yue Chih, the Chinese chronicle (Shiji, Chapter 123) says that they are similar in custom with the Hsiung-nu/Xiongnu.

<sup>36</sup> Khodzhayov and Abdullaev 2011, 50–52.



Fig. 10. Head of the so-called 'Prince from the Heraios clan'. Khalchayan painted clay sculpture (drawing by author after Pugachenkova 1971, fig. 79).



Fig. 11. Silver tetradrachm of the Kushan king Heraios (Internet source).

The warrior in lamellar armour from the Noin Ula composition is also similar in appearance to the characters of the Orlat plates found near Samarkand. All faces presented on the plates have a protruding nose and a certain slanting of the eyes. The weapons of these warriors are similar – long swords with long handles, and even a breed of horse with lowered croup. Both battling groups of the Orlat plates represent a common anthropological type and the battle scenes convey the clash of two tribes that are not related but at least culturally similar (Fig. 12).

It is possible to make assumptions about the ethnic type of the characters in the Noin Ula composition, based on a written history and material and artistic culture. Written sources do not always give full information about the anthropological appearance of alien tribes; sometimes the information given in them is rather contradictory. Fine art objects allow us to clarify and supplement this information.<sup>37</sup> The first wave, associated with the migration of numerous Yuezhi tribes from the 2nd century BC, apparently consisted of wearers of both Mongoloid and Caucasoid features. An example is the figurative complex of Payonkurgan, an archaeological site of the same migration period in the north of Bactria.<sup>38</sup> In the Payonkutgan material, specifically terracotta sculpture, we observe mixed types combining signs of Caucasoid and Mongoloid types (Fig. 13). In all likelihood, a similar situation is presented by the composition of the Noin Ula embroidery. It would not be a mistake to assume that the processes of intensive movement of various ethnic groups and individual groups took place at a later period.

The physical appearance of the participants in the scene on the Noin Ula's embroidery is most of all European, but some of their features contain a Mongoloid admixture. Addressing the racial affiliation of the nomadic peoples of Central Asia, I am aware of the great risk of becoming entangled in the complex processes of the formation of one or another anthropological type. It suffices to mention, for example, that within the 'Mongoloid of East Asia and Siberia' there are several groups of series that are clearly geographically localised and isolated morphologically.<sup>39</sup> In his work on the ethnic anthropology of China, N.N. Cheboksarov suggested that the northern Mongoloids be called Continental (the representatives of these Mongoloids could be, for example, the peoples of Siberia), and the southern and eastern called Pacific.<sup>40</sup> According to some signs, the difference between them is the convergence of Continental Mongoloids with Caucasians, and the Pacific with Negro-Australoids. It is believed that the Caucasians participated in the very

<sup>37</sup> Khodzhayov and Abdullaev 2011, 3–4.

<sup>38</sup> About anthropological types represented in terracotta plastic art, see Abdullaev 2003, 18–21.

<sup>39</sup> Barinova 2013, 97.

<sup>40</sup> Cheboksarov 1982, 3. The same in the work of Keats 2004.

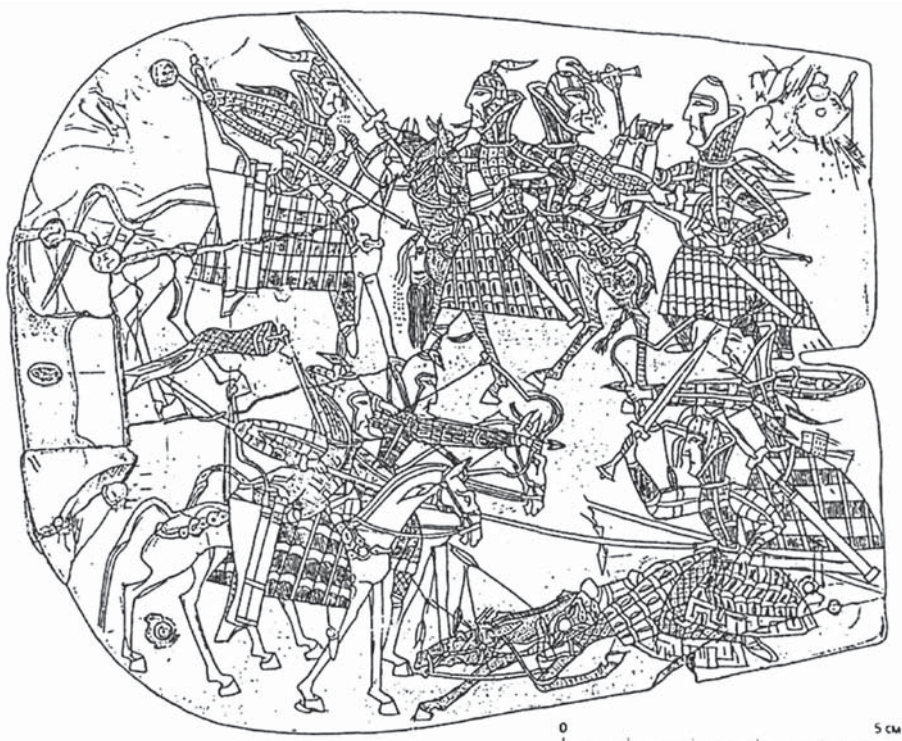


Fig. 12. Bone plate (end of belt) with engraving representation of battle scene. Orlat necropolis, barrow no 2. Samarkand region, Uzbekistan (Internet source).



Fig. 13. Anthropological types on terracotta sculpture from Payonkurgan archaeological site in northern Bactria (Baysun district, Surkhandarya region, Uzbekistan). 1st–2nd century AD (photograph by author).



formation of the Continental Mongoloids, and the Negro-Austroloids participated in the formation of the Pacific Mongoloids.<sup>41</sup>

In the middle of the 20th century, the outstanding anthropologist G.F. Debets made a craniological analysis of nomad burials. From the anthropological materials of Central Asia and Siberia, including the Hsiung-nu/Xiongnu burials, he derived the so-called 'Paleo-Siberian type of Asian trunk'. This type was a mixture of Caucasian and Mongoloid races, characterised by a 'though not flat, but not very prominent nose', which somewhat resembled North American Indians.<sup>42</sup>

Here an association with one episode from the history of the Huns arises involuntarily. In AD 350, in the southern Hun kingdom of Zhao, a usurper came to power, the Chinese Shi Min, after which he ordered the destruction of all the Huns living in the state, and in this massacre 'many Chinese with protruding noses died'.<sup>43</sup> This suggests that the anthropological type of the Hun was different from the general population. Probably, the Mongoloid features were expressed to a lesser extent. In the famous Chinese *bas-relief* 'The Battle on the Bridge', the Hunnic horsemen are depicted with pointedly large noses.<sup>44</sup> Finally, one should cite a Chinese source (Shiji 110), who, describing the founder of the Han dynasty, Kao-tsu/Gaozu, stresses that he had a 'broad forehead' and 'eagle nose'.<sup>45</sup>

### Features of Hairstyles and Headgear

The headdresses of the characters of the Noin Ula embroidery are absent as such. Nevertheless, one element in the shape of diadem or frontal ribbon represents a peculiar interest. The shape of the head of all the characters clearly bears traces of artificial deformation, underlined by the frontal ribbon tied at the base of the hair. In one instance (character 3), the hair is arranged in three rows of curls.

Works of art of a semi-official character, above all coin iconography, particularly that of the Seleucid and Graeco-Bactrian periods, give us a rather stable iconographic scheme. The diadem is always present, as an indispensable (royal) sign, even if the head is covered with a helmet (portraits of Eucratides and Demetrius).<sup>46</sup> The style of wearing a diadem is noteworthy. It lies (sometimes like a crown) on the

<sup>41</sup> Mair 2006.

<sup>42</sup> Debets 1948, 121; 1968.

<sup>43</sup> Bichurin 1842.

<sup>44</sup> Rudenko and Gumilev 1966.

<sup>45</sup> Reigned 206–195 BC; personal name Liu Bang.

<sup>46</sup> The exceptions are the coins with the image in the lion's scalp (Alexander the Great), where it is difficult to trace the presence of the diadem, as well as on the early coins of Sophitos, where the laurel crown replaces the diadem.

hair, leaving curls open above the forehead and in the temporal part.<sup>47</sup> The ear is usually also open. Another noteworthy detail is the long ends of the diadem, either fluttering or hanging down.

We find on the early Yueh Chih–Kushan coins, in particular Heraios' tetradrachms, straight hair, combed back, neatly and evenly trimmed at the level of the earlobes, covering them. It can be assumed that this manner of wearing the frontal ribbon is more traditional for nomadic nobility. In the subsequent Kushan era, most coins with portraits of kings (Wima Kadphizes, Kanishka, Huvishka, Vasudeva) show a different style of wearing a diadem. Behind the nape of the royal characters, the long ends of the ribbon are still fluttering. On the Khalchayan relief representations, the ribbon is present on many characters, including females, and it is tied as in the portrait of Heraios on his coins.<sup>48</sup>

Was the frontal ribbon in Kushan portraits a diadem – a sign of the royal distinction? On this account there may be two assumptions: first, the frontal ribbon as a mark of distinction of members of the royal family or tribal community; second, the ribbon as just an element of a headdress, often emphasising the deformation of the skull of the represented persons and, possibly, having some other symbolic meaning than royal. The Khalchayan complex does not give grounds for perceiving the frontal ribbon as an indispensable attribute – a symbol of royal power or royal origin.<sup>49</sup>

In the Noin Ula images, the ribbon is tied as on the Khalchayan reliefs and Kushan coins, i.e. it covers the upper part of the forehead at the base of the hair.

## Altar

Between the two last characters there is an altar, the design of which deserves special attention. The altar, reaching the level of the hips of the characters, is a rectangular parallelepiped mounted on a two-stage pedestal, the same element is repeated in the upper part, with the upper part wider than the bottom; all lower faces are underlined with golden stripes (Fig. 9). The altar is decorated with two horizontal ornamental belts at the top and bottom, enclosing the rings with a dash in the

<sup>47</sup> Such a manner for the diadem bearing is characteristic also for certain Parthian rulers (especially for the early period: Mithridates I, Mithridates II, Phraates II, etc.).

<sup>48</sup> According to G. Pugachenkova (1971), in Khalchayan sculpture, characters with a diadem are a female figure of 'Queen' (figs. 50, 53); male heads: 'Parthian prince' (fig. 59), 'prince of the Heraios clan' (figs. 61, 63), 'head of an elderly man of the Heraios clan' (figs. 65, 67), 'seated figure of a ruler' (fig. 68); 'head of a rider' (fig. 78) and 'head of Heraios' prince' (fig. 79).

<sup>49</sup> This was noticed during the Bilder der Macht conference, 'Das griechische Porträt und seine Verwendung in der antiken Welt' (Paris 2015) by Prof. A. Invernizzi, to whom I express my gratitude.



middle. These rings are clearly visible on the dark background. In the middle part of the design there is a square of pinkish-red hue, similar to the whole general background of the composition, similar to a through window(?).

In the upper part of the side, the altar has pointed 'horns' curved outwards.<sup>50</sup> Given the frontal angle of the altar, it should be assumed that in reality they were located at all four corners. Between these 'horns' there is an 'object' in the shape of a massive letter 'S' of dark colour (blue?) shown by parallel twisted lines. Polosmak, the publisher of the excavation, interprets the 'horns' of the altar as flames: 'On the altar, a flame burns – two tongues of fire at the edges and an S-shaped sign in the middle.'<sup>51</sup> However, in my opinion, the protrusions on the edges are the details of the altar, and the 'S' in the centre is an image of a thick stream of curly fragrant smoke. This detail is centred relative to the altar case.

This type of altar with 'horns' or 'wings' was most widespread in the Near and Middle East in the last centuries BC–first centuries AD. Let me present several examples with a similar design. The composition on a stone toilet disk of Indo-Parthian time (1st century BC) with a scene of worship at the altar with two characters in praying pose is interesting in this respect (Fig. 14). This altar has a stepped base, on which a rectangular shape (actually prismatic) is hoisted. The upper part has one step, along the edges of which are the so-called 'wings' or 'horns'. A relief with a curved top in the middle of the end conveys a tongue of flame. The reliefs, in their form resembling vessels with a spherical body, are interesting and difficult to explain. They are four: two located on the sides of the base of the altar; the other two, in the upper part, seem to be hanging in the air, just touching the ends of the 'horns'. However, this arrangement of vessels could be explained by the master's attempt to show that they were located at the corners of the altar.

The second example of a similar altar is presented on a terracotta(?) composition from Dura Europos, dated to the 2nd century AD, depicting the Arab deity Arsu riding a camel. Behind is the schematic image of a tree, over which hangs a crescent moon with horns turned upwards. In the right part of the composition, before the rider, there is an altar with two steps at the base and one step in the upper part, which is shown as two elongated reliefs along the edges, between which a flame or smoke is schematically shown (Fig. 15). Above the head of a camel is a four-petal rosette, an astral symbol.

<sup>50</sup> In the archaeological literature, a similar design element of the altar's corners is called 'horns', although they remotely resemble the 'wings'. The earliest of them were discovered in the process of excavation of monuments in the Middle East (10th–7th centuries BC). For example, altars with 'horns' were discovered in Israel (Beersheba, Megiddo, etc.).

<sup>51</sup> Polosmak 2010b, 50.



Fig. 14. Stone toilet tray with scene of worshipping on fire altar. Indo-Parthian period (drawing by author after photograph by Internet source).



Fig. 15. Composition from Dura-Europos depicting the Arab deity Arsu. 2nd century AD.

The same in Parthian art, but earlier (1st–2nd century AD), includes a *bullā* from Gebekly-depe (Turkmenistan) with the image of an altar of a similar design. The image at the altar of a bare horse is remarkable in this composition.<sup>52</sup>

A clearly presented composition with the scene of the king in front of an altar is one of the characteristic features of the coin iconography of the Kushan and especially the Great Kushan period (Wima Kadphizes, Kanishka, Huvishka, Vasudeva I). On the coins of Wima Kadphizes and Kanishka there is a fairly stable, stepped form of the altar. There is almost no image of flame or burning smoke (Fig. 16). The image of the king with a patronal gesture – the hand stretched over the altar, squeezing the attribute (in this case the insignia of power) – personifies the patronage of official religion or certain important cults. As noted above, there are no details or decorations on the surface facing the viewer. Some changes in the structure of the altar can be observed in the Vasudeva I coins. First, rather expressed protruding sharp corners ('horns') appear in the configuration of the altar (Fig. 17); in some instances, a small protrusion in the centre, smaller than the corners of the altar, possibly conveying a tongue of flame or a sacrificial object.

On some coins (Vasudeva I) on the surface of the abutment, which, apparently, could have a cylindrical shape, one can see a relief strip, bordering the trunk of the altar. This detail is very interesting in itself. Altars with garlands are characteristic of the Hellenistic Graeco-Roman world; they are clearly reflected in the visual arts.



Fig. 16. Composition with figure of king before altar. Obverse of coin of Kushan king Kanishka.

First half of 2nd century AD (drawing by author after photograph from Internet source).



Fig. 17. Composition with figure of king before altar. Obverse of coin of Kushan king Vasudeva.

Late 2nd century AD (drawing by author after photograph from Internet source).

<sup>52</sup> All the *bullae* were found in a corridor of the main building and must be dated from Parthian time, i.e. 1st–2nd centuries AD: Koshelenko 1996, 377–83, pl. 68, fig. 6.

This tradition was also successfully introduced through contact with this art, including to Gandhara, Parthia, Saka and Indo-Parthian art. On the Noin Ula representation the altar has decorations in the form of a series of circles with a stroke in the centre (perhaps the prototype for this was a garland?).

On the coins of Vasudeva the hand is lowered – this is no longer a patronal gesture, but a ritual action. Interesting in this respect is a coin on which it is clear that balls roll down from the palm of the hand to the altar (Fig. 17). Incense balls (in one of the wall-painting fragments they are white) are quite clearly shown on paintings of early mediaeval time in Pendzhikent (Fig. 18)<sup>53</sup> and Varakhsha (Fig. 19).<sup>54</sup> It should be remembered that some peoples under the authority of the Achaemenid empire presented incense as a tribute, which could be used for such rites both in everyday life and on religious holidays.<sup>55</sup>

Use of incense was widespread in ancient Eastern rituals, carrying a different meaning among different peoples.<sup>56</sup> In Central Asia this ritual continued up to our time and clearly has pre-Islamic roots. All of this suggests that this ritual is transmitted in the image. The use of incense is well recorded in the work of Bīrūnī (Bīrūnī Abu Reyhan 216, 218, 224, 237). Coin iconography, to which we are referring here, is a genre of official art, a means of propaganda, affirming the foundations of the state religion. The king, performing any rite or ritual, asserts the inviolability of his power within the borders of his state.

The subsequent Kushan-Sasanian period gives us a wonderful example of iconography with a 'story' (Varahran, Peroz, Hormizd). The king's hand is centred between the cusps; incense depicted in the shape of curls rises from the altar, as in the case of the Noin Ula carpet; such a manner of depicting smoke speaks very convincing in connection with the incense ceremony (Fig. 20).

For the Sasanian (early mediaeval) period, the relief images on ossuaries can be cited as an example. For our theme, the most interesting are the scenes in which priests take part in front of the altar (Molla-Kurgan).<sup>57</sup> Some of them (Krasnorechenskaya archaeological site) show a priest with a spoon on a long handle, with the

<sup>53</sup> The figure of the character sitting in front of the censer holds a bowl with incense in the form of white balls: *Pendzhikent* 1954, pl. XXVIII. Object III, Room 7; Belenickii *et al.* 1993, fig. 9. Object XXV, Room 28, reconstruction of B.I. Marshak; *Pendzhikent* 1954, pl. VIII. Object I, Room 10; pl. XXVI. Object III, Room 7.

<sup>54</sup> Composition in the left part of southern wall of the East Hall with scene of incense burning. Fragment represents seated figure turned to the incense burner. One of them holds in the left hand a bowl with white balls (fragrances). His right hand raised and holds a spoon to put incense in the burner: Shishkin 1963, pl. XIV.

<sup>55</sup> For example, as allies, the Arabs were supposed to deliver to the Achaemenid court 1000 talents of incense as a gift to the Persian king (Herodotus 3. 97).

<sup>56</sup> On the incense and plants used, see Pliny *NH* 13. 1–6.

<sup>57</sup> Pavchinskaya 1983, 46–49, fig. 1.





Fig. 18. Fragment of wall-painting from Pendjikent (Tadzhikistan) with seated figure before incense burner holding a bowl with balls of incense. 7th century AD (after *Pendzhikent* 1954, pl. XXVIII).



Fig. 19. Fragment of wall-painting from Varakhsha (Bukhara region, Uzbekistan) with seated figure before incense burner holding a bowl with balls of incense. 7th century AD (after Shishkin 1963, pl. XIV).



Fig. 20. Obverse of gold dinar of Kushano-Sasanian king Hormizd. Figure of king before altar (drawing by author after photograph from Internet source).

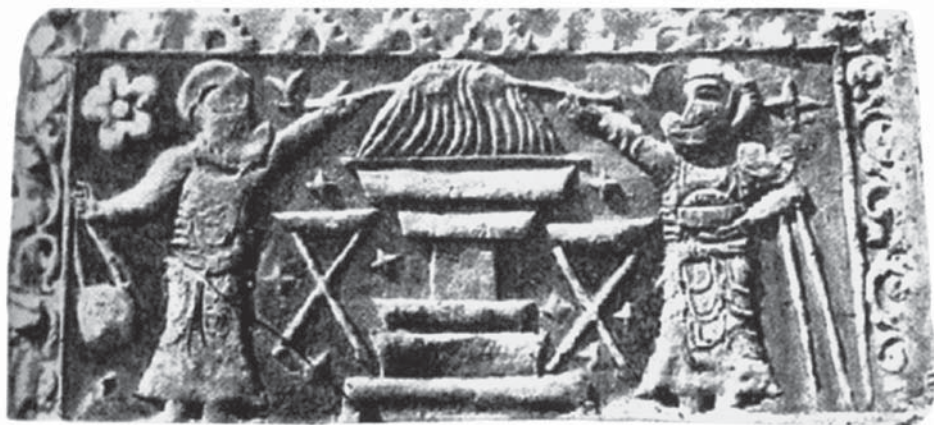


Fig. 21. Relief composition on the wall of ossuaries from the archaeological site of Krasnorechenskaya (Kyrgyzstan) with two figures (priests) before fire altar. 7th century AD (after Goryacheva 1985, fig. 1).

help of which he pours incense on the altar (Fig. 21).<sup>58</sup> Despite the large chronological gap, these scenes show us similar rituals, at least in their external manifestation, to that on the carpet from the burial at Noin Ula.

<sup>58</sup> Goryacheva 1985; 1989.



### Ritual Action

The main part of the composition conveys a ritual action that takes place in open space and through the altar. The two main participants of the ceremony are facing the altar from two sides. The left figure, with a vase containing incense,<sup>59</sup> clearly holds the status of an assistant, while the right-hand figure performs the ritual of sacrifice (incense) itself. All participants in the procession, as already noted above, are representatives of the military aristocracy; nevertheless, two of them who perform a sacrifice rite, in all likelihood, occupy a higher rank. All characters are shown with uncovered heads, no headgear, including even a warrior dressed in plate armour – this may have a certain symbolic meaning.

The character on the extreme right is the direct performer of the ritual; he scoops up incense (with a spoon) from a vase and pours it on the fire that burns on the altar. The peculiar ‘tailed’ suit of this figure contrasts sharply with the clothes of other participants. The character to the left of the altar holds a vase with incense and clearly assists in the ritual.

One cannot ignore the participation of a saddled horse in the ritual scene. This is certainly significant in the cults of a nomadic military nobility. Is the horse in this scene a sacrificial animal, or is the image purely symbolic? The white colour of the horse is associated with the statement of Herodotus that the Iranians sacrificed horses (Herodotus 1. 131; Strabo 15. 3. 13). The presence in the scene of the sacrifice of a saddled horse<sup>60</sup> causes an association with the rituals associated with the cult of Mithras, which became one of the most revered deities and penetrated the Roman military environment in the Western and Middle Eastern provinces.<sup>61</sup>

Curtius Rufus gives a vivid description of the procession of the Persian army:

The march was as follows. Ahead on silver altars carried fire, which the Persians considered to be eternal and sacred. Mages sang ancient hymns. They were followed by 365 young men clad in purple cloaks, according to the number of days of the year, since the Persians had a year divided by the same number of days. Then the white horses carried the chariot dedicated to Jupiter, followed by a horse of enormous height, called the horse of the Sun ... (*History of Alexander* 3. 8–11).

<sup>59</sup> N. Polosmak believes that the attribute in the hands of the character in front of the altar is a mushroom that is supposedly used to make *haoma* (Polosmak 2010b, 55). I consider this version unfounded and unconvincing. In the hands of the character is clearly a vase (the same opinion in Yatsenko 2012).

<sup>60</sup> Note that the horse on the *bullae* from Gobeklidepe, quoted above in connection with the altar, is not saddled and stands in front of the altar: a direct indication that it is to be sacrificed (Koshelenko 1996, 382, pl. 68, fig. 6).

<sup>61</sup> Cumont 1903; Boyce 2001; Jacobs 2006.

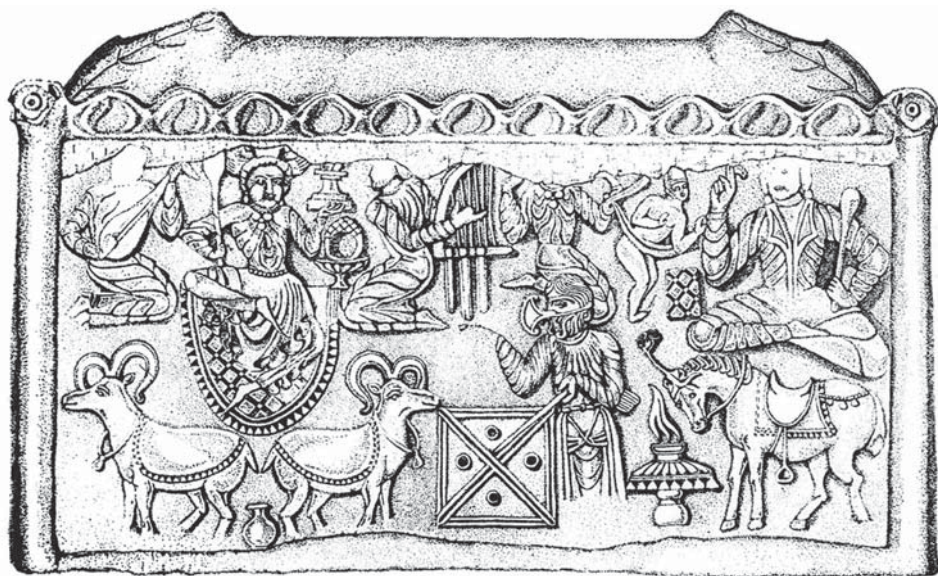


Fig. 22. Relief composition on the wall of ossuaries from Sivaz village, Kitab area of Kashkadarya region, Uzbekistan. 5th–6th century AD (after Krasheninnikova 1986).

Interesting information, despite a chronological break, is a relief composition on the wall of an ossuary from Kashkadarya (Uzbekistan). In the right part of the multi-figured composition, after the figure of the priest, a horse is depicted full furnished (Fig. 22). Its head decorated by a plume bent before the altar-censer with twisted flames on it.<sup>62</sup>

Interesting data on sacrifices in which a horse participates are provided by the ethnographic material from Khakasia (bordering in the south-west with the Altai). Dedicated patrimonial horses were called *yzykhs* and their participation in the sacrifice (*tag-tayyg*) in honour of their tribal patrons was obligatory. If the population did not hold such horses, then this could lead to the punishment of their relatives by the spirits. These horses were supposed to be hazel or bay; they were dedicated to the spirits – the owners of the mountains. However, they themselves, being indispensable participants in the ritual, were not sacrificed.<sup>63</sup>

It may well be recalled here that, in the Zoroastrian tradition, *ādhur-gushasp*, of ‘Fire of the stallion’ (colt and stallion) is an incarnation of the god.<sup>64</sup> In the Zoroastrian liturgy, for example, when it comes to the ritual of *yašt pad zōhr*, an assisting

<sup>62</sup> Krasheninnikova 1986; 1993; Grenet 1993.

<sup>63</sup> Butanaev 2008.

<sup>64</sup> Herzfeld 1934, 19.

priest participates in the sacrifice. This offering is made by the assisting priest, *fraberətar* or *frabartār*, who leaves the fence of Yasna in order to perform a certain action.<sup>65</sup> However, it is difficult to say how comparable is the liturgical terminology of the Zoroastrian texts and the scene imprinted on the fabric from Noin Ula. More confidently, it can be said that the action in a particular case (context) is connected not with fire, but with incense, although other sacrifices could have taken place on the altar. As for the ritual of burning, then, if you rely on ethnographic data, this rite is more characteristic of the ancestral cult.<sup>66</sup>

Burning was also widely used on various religious and calendar holidays, as revealed by written sources (Bīrūnī Abu Reihan) and objects of fine art,<sup>67</sup> but the Noin Ula composition most likely conveys incense in honour of the revered deity (Mithras?) or deified ancestors. The smoke visually ascends above the fire, going straight into the sky, and its fragrant properties far exceed the fire, not counting, for example, the smell of sacrificial animals. In any case, various herbs and plants and their combinations were used for burning. Often the texts recommend what kind of plant should be used on a particular holiday. The echoes of these customs were fixed by ethnographers up to the 20th century:

... It is considered desirable to make arches “*tsiruv*” brought from the juniper stick to the grave, the end of which is wrapped in cotton and dipped in melted butter. This is done from those considerations that both juniper (juniper tree, *Juniperus pseudo Sabina*) and cow oil when burning are fragrant, and therefore the smell of such patches is pleasant to the spirits of the dead.<sup>68</sup>

Extensive material on the cult of the ancestors of the inhabitants of Khorezm is given by G.P. Snesarev.<sup>69</sup>

When reviewing the *montage* of the Khalchayan complex, I suggested the memorial nature of the Khalchayan cycle and the possible dating of the events reflected in them earlier than the reliefs themselves.<sup>70</sup> M. Olbrycht disagreed: ‘It is hard to accept this theory on account of the long interval between the events commemorated and the making of the reliefs.’<sup>71</sup> I am forced to recall examples from ancient history and art that I did not cite in the above-mentioned publication, finding them generally known. I will confine myself to a few well-known examples of how rep-

<sup>65</sup> Boyce 1970, 68.

<sup>66</sup> Snesarev 1969.

<sup>67</sup> For example, the wall-paintings of Varakhsha and Pendzhikent. See above.

<sup>68</sup> Andreev 1953, 201.

<sup>69</sup> Snesarev 1969, 117–20.

<sup>70</sup> Abdullaev 2004, 29; 2007, 89–91.

<sup>71</sup> Olbrycht 2015.

representatives of the ruling dynasty knew very well about their own genealogy and carefully preserved and honoured the memory of their ancestors. In the inscription of Darius I in Behistun, along with a list of the merits of the king, his distant and close ancestors are listed; on the obverse of commemorative coins (the Pedigree Series) of the Greek-Bactrian king Agathocles (185–170 BC) portraits are given with the names of previous kings, ranging from Alexander the Great, Diodotos as satrap with Antiochus Nikatoros, Antiochus II, Euthydemus I to Demetrios I,<sup>72</sup> among the descendants of whom Agathocles counts himself. A vivid example closest to the events reflected in the Khalchayan reliefs is the inscription of the Kushan king Kanishka from Rabatak.<sup>73</sup> Diodorus Siculus reports that in the army of Eumenes, who was commander in Asia, there were Iranian contingents which had previously been part of Alexander's army. Among them, Diodorus recalls a noble officer who claimed to be a descendant of one of the six Persians who had enthroned Darius the Great (Diodorus 19. 40. 2). There are direct analogies to the creation of historical battle scenes captured many generations later: for example, a mosaic panel from Pompeii (last quarter of the 2nd century BC) illustrating the battle of Alexander the Great with the Persian king Darius Codomannus (333 BC) at Issus. I would hardly be mistaken to note that ruling dynasties were proud of the merits and victories of their ancestors, no less than their own, glorified them, embodied them in artistic works and even erected them into a religious cult. Finally, it is impossible to circumvent the grandiose Trojan cycle, in which many generations of artists drew their inspiration, including the Classical and Hellenistic periods, and further down to the New Age.

### Ornamental Bands

The peripheral elements of the composition, namely the ornamental motifs of the borders, although they are subordinate in nature, complement the basic composition. Analysing them, one can try to enter the artistic environment, and with luck, establish a centre or even a School where these works were created, because this part of the decorative frame of the main story is the most conservative. On the work we are considering, the composition is enclosed in ornamental bands, following the bottom and top of the carpet. At the very bottom and above there is a pattern of vegetative character, representing a series of horizontal palmettes with five elongated petals originating from a rectangular base (Fig. 1b: 1, 5). On some of them, thin

<sup>72</sup> Bopearachchi 1991, série commemoratives 177–179. For Alexander: série 12, pl. 8; for Antiochus II: série 13, pl. 8; for Diodotus Soterus: série 14, pl. 8; for Diodotus Theos: série 15, pl. 8; for Euthydemus I: série 16, pl. 8; for Demetrius I: série 17, pl. 8.

<sup>73</sup> Cribb and Sims-Williams 1995–96, 99–100.

lines of shoots with a rounded knob (fruit) are quite clearly visible, which together most resembles a laurel palmette. As I noted at the very beginning, the motif is not typical of the region where the carpet was found, most of all it is characteristic of the ornamentation of the arts and crafts of the Hellenistic world.<sup>74</sup> The location of the palmettes in a horizontal position is somewhat unusual, although this position is by no means an exception for Graeco-Roman art. A notable analogy is a fragment of a stone relief from Gandhara (Swat?) With the scene 'Return to Kapilavastu' (1st–2nd centuries AD), which is stored in the British Museum.<sup>75</sup> The composition depicts a scene of the birth of a baby (the future Buddha); the carpet in this case plays the role of a veil, behind which the main event takes place (Fig. 23). The floral motifs in the ornamentation of the carpet also include the image of horizontal palmettes with thin shoots topped with rounded fruits, as on the Noin Ula carpet. The difference lies only in the traditional Gandharan art manner of depicting the palmettes. Despite the fact that the term palmette implies some abstract motif, however, the image of elongated sheets with thin lines of stalks, topped with a rounded fruit, indicates that this particular plant is a laurel. The laurel wreath motif, beloved in Graeco-Roman art, is distributed in various genres of decorative and applied art in remote parts of Hellenistic world: as an example, let me give a decorative design from Tillyatepa (northern Afghanistan), dating to the 1st century BC–1st century AD.<sup>76</sup>

Ornamental bands are separated by a solid yellow line. The second ornamental strip is more complex and includes both plant motifs and images of polymorphic winged creatures (Fig. 1b.2). On the carpet, this part was poorly preserved, and it is much more difficult to talk about images. In this case, a comparative analysis with the material of the previous expeditions of Kozlov is very effective. On more-or-less well-preserved fragments of carpets one can see figures of semi-fantastic creatures among lush plant shoots. This band (no. 2) is characterised by another special element – these are spiral-shaped shoots, shown in the form of parallel arms, wide at the base and gradually diminishing. All this recalls, figuratively speaking, damped waves. These spirals are placed between bushes of lush vegetation with wide pro-filed leaves resembling acanthus leaves (Fig. 24).

<sup>74</sup> The motifs close to the palmette are nevertheless observed in the ornamentation of the mountainous Altai; although they can only be called a palmette conditionally, some of them have a rectangular base as on a Noin Ula specimen carpet (Rudenko 1952, fig. 67, y f.). It can be said that this motif was transformed and modified according to the artistic environment. It is interesting in this respect, for example, the palmette on the Gandharan relief, where the carpet is depicted. See below.

<sup>75</sup> Taddei 2015, fig. 12.

<sup>76</sup> Sarianidi 1985, fig. 141, Cat. 3, 41.



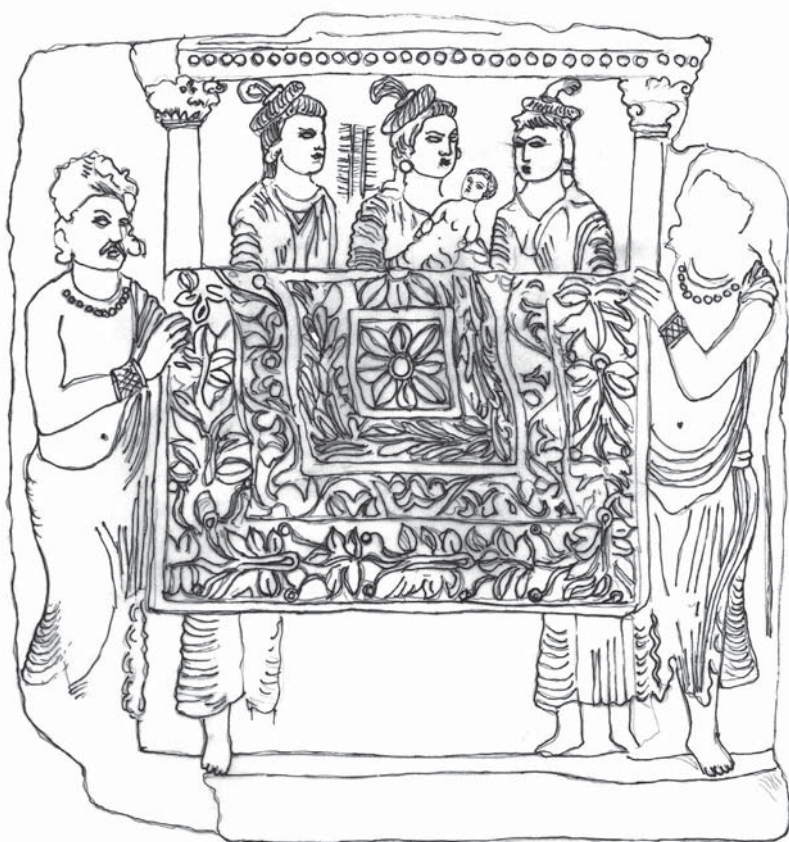


Fig. 23. Gandharan relief composition with scene of birth of the Buddha  
(drawing by author after photograph by Taddei 2003, fig. 12).

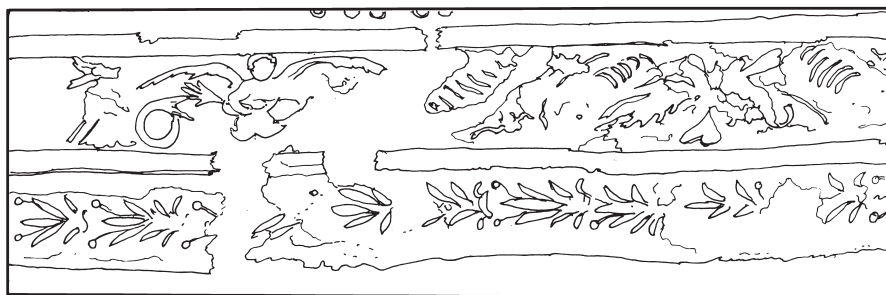


Fig. 24. Detail of broiery on fabric from Noin Ula (excavation of N. Polosmak).  
Ornamental band with image of Triton (drawing by author).



Finally, the third ornamental stripe is a horizontally arranged row of circles with a light yellow spot in the centre (Fig. 1b.3). It should be noted that, in relation to the two lower bands, this band probably already transmits the horizontal line of the earth's surface.

In the upper part of the carpet, the ornament is represented by two stripes, the upper one repeating the lower one with palmettes, but here round fruits on a thin stalk are more clearly visible (Fig. 1b.5). The row below, in all likelihood, also repeats the lower register of the composition of plant motifs, spiral-shaped shoots and birds (Fig. 1b.4), but its poor preservation does not permit comment.

The theme and nature of the embroidery design on the fabrics of the Noin Ula mounds discovered by Polosmak's excavation are quite similar to the examples from the first expeditions of Kozlov. First to notice this part of the design was Perceval Yetts, who noted the figures of dwarfs growing from the petals of a flower.

Artistic methods of depicting semi-fantastic figures, usually winged, reveal one of the features of decorative design in the art of the Graeco-Roman circle.<sup>77</sup> This style of design of the 'cornices' of the interior is especially expressed in the wall-paintings of the Roman period, in particular, one can cite the so-called Pompeian style 4 (or 3). One of the best preserved monuments is the Domus Aurea (Golden House of Nero), dated AD 64–69, where the pictorial complex shows us one of the types of polymorphic fantastic creatures depicted in an heraldic pattern. An animal (often a predatory breed) is depicted as a protome – the front part with legs thrown forward like a gallop; meanwhile the creature's hind limbs transform into vegetable shoots in the form of spirals with small curls extending backward or forward.

Despite the similarity of borders on the embroidery of Noin Ula of early excavations<sup>78</sup> and the recent discoveries, there are significant differences between them, to analyse which we have to return to the descriptions of images of early finds. The half-figure of the 'gnome', as Yetts characterises them, is in fact built according to the scheme of Eros-Tritons (term conditional): big head, rounded loose forms resembling babies (Eros), but not 'freaks'. From the top around the waist there are rounded petals of the flower, which gives the impression that the figure grows from the flower. The lower part of the body has a more complex structure. In the centre of the petals there is a trefoil depicted downwards – an element characteristic to a greater extent for creatures of the water element (Triton). On each side there is a detail of rounded shape with a crown, in its outlines resembling a poppy box (or pomegranate?). Further semicircles follow from them. The posture of these

<sup>77</sup> This motif actually occurs even earlier in the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods (Andronicos 1984, 292–93, pl. IV.5; Ustinova 2005).

<sup>78</sup> Rudenko 1952; 1962a; Trever 1932; 1939; 1940; Yetts 1926.



Fig. 25. Detail of broidery on fabric from Noin Ula (excavation of P.K. Kozlov). Representation of Triton fighting a griffin (drawing by author after photograph by Polosmak 2016, 142–43).

figures should be particularly emphasised: the right hand is raised to the level of the head and holds a three-part object – most likely, a throwing dart or trident type of weapon (it is possible that this may be a thunderbolt). In the left hand there is a small round shield (Fig. 25). In all likelihood, we have a fight scene here. There is quite a logical question: whom does the above creature fight?

The enemy is also a fantastic creature, more like a griffin. The head with an elongated and pointed form with a beak is crowned with a long (also) pointed horn and sits on a thin, slightly curved neck. Open wings create the impression of a threatening combat position. The legs are interestingly interpreted – in the form of two loops in front and behind; in the lower part they are closed, i.e. not separated. In general, the creature combines the polymorphic features of a winged four-legged animal with a long tail, with a horned head and a pointed muzzle – a kind of griffin.

The second example of the best-preserved images of Eros/Triton, which Rudenko cites in his publication,<sup>79</sup> is a similar composition. However, some differences should be noted. First, here the head of a winged fantastic predator is differently

<sup>79</sup> Rudenko 1962a, fig. 13.3.

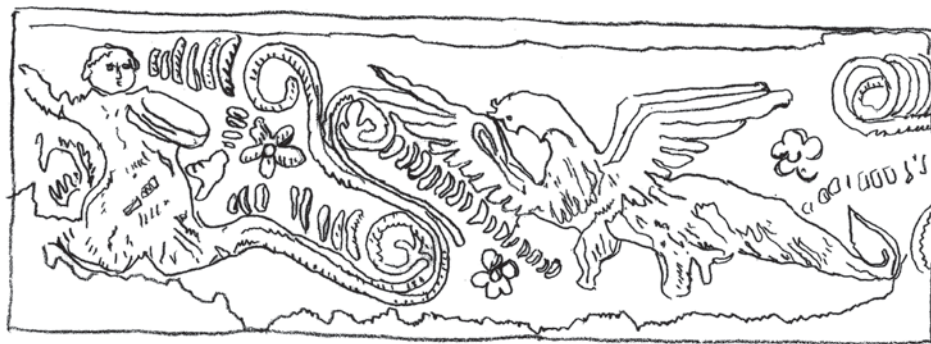


Fig. 26. Detail of broidery on fabric from Noin Ula (excavation of P.K. Kozlov). Representation of same topic; different treatment (drawing by author after Rudenko 1962a, fig. 13.3).

interpreted, and here with more confidence it can be said to be a griffin (Fig. 26). This, in particular, is indicated by an unnaturally wide open beak and small horns on the head. Secondly, the attacking Triton itself is shown differently, although the position of the hands, with the right hand pulled back and a shield in the left, is similar to the previous image. The lower part of the figure from the waist is framed in a different manner: massive hips turn into two thin parallel lines that twist into a shoot, topped with a trefoil at the end, resembling a stylised fishtail. From the curved arcs of the spirals, as in the above described example, half-arcs depart, decreasing with distance. Free spaces are filled with five-petal flowers.

Thus, both of the above fragments show us the scene of the duel of Eros/Triton with another fantastic creature – the griffin. The composition with the duel scene finds quite broad analogies in Roman art, but before turning to these, it should be noted that, in addition to the duel scenes, the Noin Ula complex conveys to us another similar topic, but with a different semantic meaning.

The latest finds of embroidered fabrics, including the large fragment which was the subject of our research, demonstrate similar borders with approximately the same composition of semi-fantastic creatures. However, the set of attributes of these figures completely changes the meaning of the composition. The creatures hold in their hands branches of the plant (palm branches?) in a pose of venerating. The object of veneration located between them is a rapidly growing shrub that combines the leaves of various plants (acanthus, palmetto) and resembles, and most likely symbolises, the tree of life (Fig. 24). The scene as a whole can be interpreted as worship of the tree of life.

### Analogies

As an analogy to this composition, I mentioned the ceiling painting in the Domus Aurea of Nero. In one of the decorative tiers of the hall of Hector and Andromache two winged figures are depicted, arranged in an heraldic scheme on both sides of a structure (Fig. 27). The lower part of the figures is transformed into plant shoots in the form of spirals. The nature of the structure is difficult to understand, as it eclectically combines various elements of decor, including those of a vegetable nature. Judging by the fact that the figures hold something like a garland in their hands and bring it to the central object, as if decorating it, it is not difficult to guess that this image symbolises the tree of life.

We have already noted that such scenes find their closest analogies in the art of the Graeco-Roman world, and motifs with semi-fantastic characters, where the upper part is shown as a human figure, sometimes winged, are combined with complex intertwined floral motifs in the form of spirals and of shoots bent in different directions. The elements covering the intimate parts of the body are depicted differently – either a simplified trefoil or larger and more magnificent forms of plants (acanthus or palmetto). Serving as motifs in wall-paintings on Roman villas or public buildings, they emphasised the architectural features of the interior, breaking up the strict uniformity of the walls. Depictions involving semi-fantastic creatures with their baroque dynamics of transformed limbs are successfully used in other genres of visual and applied art. Suffice it to recall the reliefs of Roman



Fig. 27. Fragment of wall-painting from the Hall of Hector and Andromache of the Domus Aurea of Nero. 1st century AD (schematic drawing by author after photograph from Internet source).





Fig. 28. Roman sarcophagus (after Hope 1812, 278).

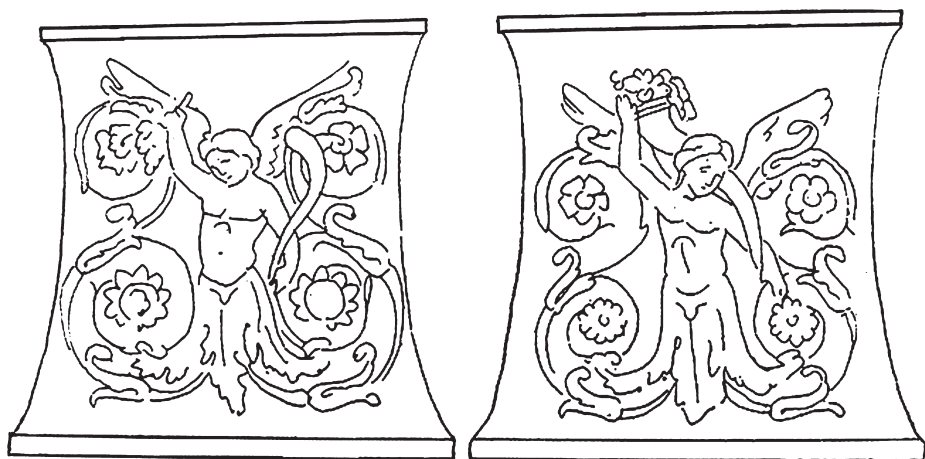


Fig. 29. Decoration of candelabrum. Roman period (after Reinach 1909).

sarcophagi,<sup>80</sup> in which both basement and cornices are decorated with these figures, often holding a cornucopia in their hands.

To show how popular this topic was, one can turn to artistic metalwork (Fig. 29), as well as to interiors of the Roman era, which received a second life in the Renaissance – for example, the decoration of the walls of the Villa Farnesina, where a winged griffin is depicted on a fragment from the triclinium, its hind limbs morphing into intricate vegetable shoots.<sup>81</sup> Images of polymorphic creatures that are widely used in Graeco-Roman art go far beyond the borders of Europe and the Middle East – the zone of direct cultural contact – and ones of a more specifically aquatic character (Tritons) are found in Bactria, Gandhara and other areas that experienced the influence of the Hellenistic culture.

Let me turn to some other depictions that constitute a close circle of images of fantastic creatures.

In Bactria, the image of the Triton along with other real (dolphins, crabs) and fantastic creatures (sea dragons, hippocampus, etc.) are successfully introduced into the local culture in the Hellenistic era. Such familiar images of Greek mythology are adapted here to the cults of rivers and reservoirs, with the cult of the Great Oxus (Amudarya) particularly notable. Among these images, the depiction of a Triton, embodied in various forms of art, became quite popular. Amongst gold objects

<sup>80</sup> Hope 1812, 278.

<sup>81</sup> The Villa Farnesina, built by renowned Renaissance architect Baldassare Peruzzi (*ca.* 1515), is also famous for its paintings by Rafael Santi.



from the burials of Tillyatepa (1st century BC–1st century AD) there is a plaque with a relief representation of a figure with a dolphin on its shoulders and an oar in its right hand.<sup>82</sup> The lower part of the figure is covered with a trefoil, and the legs are shown in the form of scaly backward-twisted limbs with a trefoil at the end. An even closer analogy to the Tritons on the embroidery from Noin Ula is a stone relief from the ancient settlement of Tali Tagora, located in the coastal part of the Surkhandarya, a tributary of the Amudarya. It coincides with the Noin Ula images of a battle posture, with raised right hand and the left holding a shield. The lower part of the creature passes into a wriggling scaly body, which ends with a fish tail.<sup>83</sup>

It is interesting to note that the image of the Triton was being introduced into the art of the so-called Greek-Buddhist art of Gandhara. Polymorphic creatures with the upper human part adorn compositions of Buddhist character. Of great interest here is the stone sculptural relief depicting the standing full-length figure of the Buddha<sup>84</sup> (Kabul Museum: Inv. K.p. or T.Sh.p. SKB. 927.26), included in the catalogue compiled by F. Tissot.<sup>85</sup> In the publication by Higuchi, the details of the framing of the relief are given on a larger scale.<sup>86</sup>

The detail of interest to us is a relief decorative frame of the standing figure of the main character – the Buddha. These reliefs follow the sides and bottom of the stone block. The composition represents half-human figures, framed at the waist with flower petals, in this case possibly lotus leaves (Fig. 30). Most interestingly, the lower limbs of these creatures are transformed into a writhing serpentine body and at the same time create the impression of boiling waves. In any case, it is beyond doubt that these creatures belong to the water element. In the hands of one of the lower figures there is an offering; the hands of another are folded in a gesture of adoration; the whole scene conveys worship of the Buddha. The shape in the upper part of the composition is built in the same way, only the tail ends in a fish fin (Triton?).

### Composition-Building

The whole composition on the Noin Ula embroidery is built horizontally: the procession moves from left to right. Despite the fact that the main event takes place in the right part of the composition, the figures seem to continue to move – almost

<sup>82</sup> Sarianidi 1985, 86.

<sup>83</sup> Abdullaev 2013, 187, fig. 7.

<sup>84</sup> The statute was discovered in 1965 by accident 33 km north of Kabul, near Sarai Khujja/Mir Bacha Kot. Earlier publications: Ghirshman 1946, 9; Motamendi 1978.

<sup>85</sup> Tissot 2006, 354.

<sup>86</sup> Higuchi 1989, 109, figs. 156–157.

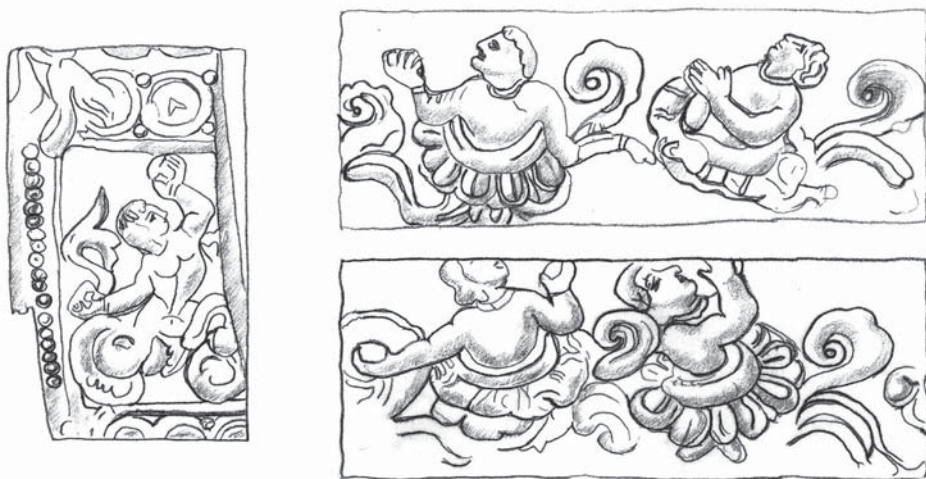


Fig. 30. Fragments of stone relief with Buddha representation. Figures of water creatures ('Tritons') in adoration postures. Kabul Museum, Afghanistan. 2nd century AD (drawing by author after Higuchi 1989, figs. 156–157).

all of them are shown in dynamic fashion, with legs pushed forward or laid back. It should be noted, for example, that frontal and static images are more characteristic in the art of the Kushan era.<sup>87</sup> This feature is observed in various categories of visual arts and crafts and persists for a long time, not only for Kushan Bactri, but also, and especially, for neighbouring Parthia.<sup>88</sup> Compositions with frontal images are most characteristic of scenes with offerings in which the king and the proximate nobility participate. Group compositions of this kind are represented in the complexes of Fayaztepa and Karatepa, dating from the first centuries AD.<sup>89</sup> This tradition is preserved later, as can be seen on the Dilberdzhin paintings, dated to the 3rd–4th centuries AD.<sup>90</sup> Let us recall another relatively recent discovery of a rather rare genre – a painting on fabric with a multi-figured composition of Kushan time with a royal character in the centre (Huvishka), apparently illuminating some historical event.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>87</sup> I shall not touch on this principle in detail in the visual arts. It is even more characteristic of Parthian art. Perhaps the principle of frontality was applied to the same extent in Kushan art. In most cases it was respected, but it was not dominant.

<sup>88</sup> On the principle of frontality in Parthian art, see Rostovtzeff 1935, 236. Discussions on this subject in Schlumberger 1960, 253–56.

<sup>89</sup> Abdullaev 2015, 117, figs. 87, 89.

<sup>90</sup> Kruglikova 1979, 122–25, figs. 2–4.

<sup>91</sup> Marshak and Grenet 2006, 947–63, figs. 1–2. See also Badanova 2010, 84–102, fig. 1.

The composition from Noin Ula, as noted above, is built from figures in one row horizontally, almost all of them deployed in a light three-quarter turn. The heads, with the exception of the first and fifth, which are shown in three-quarter turn, are in profile. This feature is of fundamental importance. Such a construction is not typical of the art of the Iranian-speaking world, which is dominated by the principle of frontality (Iran, Parthia, Kushan Bactria), although some exceptions are possible. Multi-figured compositions with various turns of characters are characteristic of Graeco-Roman art: for example, relief images with scenes in which warriors or representatives of the highest strata of society take part. Interesting in this regard is the column of the emperor Trajan. In the scene of the beginning of the Fifth Campaign, the successful crossing of a river and seizure of a fortified city are shown, and the soldiers make a sacrifice in honour of the emperor near its walls (Fig. 31). The soldiers are shown in various poses, but the heads of all are turned to the side, where the sacrificial bull is brought to the altar.<sup>92</sup> The pictorial complex of the same column shows us a dynamic picture in which warriors move to the right, figures dressed in armour are shown in motion with their legs pulled forward or laid back, figures are shown in three-quarters, and one is shown half-turned backwards (Fig. 32).

The horizontal scheme of composition as a tradition of Hellenistic art (reliefs of the Pergamon Altar) was being successfully introduced into works of a Greek-Buddhist character. A brilliant example of this is the art of Gandhara. Multi-figured compositions with the central character of the Buddha himself or his symbol show us different poses of the figures, while their heads are turned to the main object or the scene taking place. Without going into detailed analysis, we can see that the composition on the Noin Ula carpet was created under the clear influence of the artistic traditions of the Hellenistic world, preserved and developed in various centres. Often Bactria is considered one such centre, although other historical and cultural regions can also claim prominence: Gandhara, Parthia, the western regions of Parthian power and its neighbours (Dura-Europos, Hatra, Palmyra, etc.). Many traditions, as we shall see, are adjacent to those of the artistic circle of the so-called Indo-Parthian world.<sup>93</sup> These small divided kingdoms develop nevertheless in line with general pictorial traditions, in which the main course was Graeco-Roman, Gandharan art, taking into account locally introduced elements.

<sup>92</sup> Reinach 1909, 357, 81: 'Commencement d'une Cinquième campagne. L'armée traverse le fleuve et atteint une ville fortifiée, où l'on offre un sacrifice en honneur de Trajan. L'empereur officie lui-même dans une *lustralio* solennelle, puis il harangue ses troupes.'

<sup>93</sup> Similarity in costume, hairstyle and form of fire altar can be found in the art works of Indo-Parthian dynasty of the Gandophares (12 BC–AD 130), with their capital in Taxila and later in Kabul.

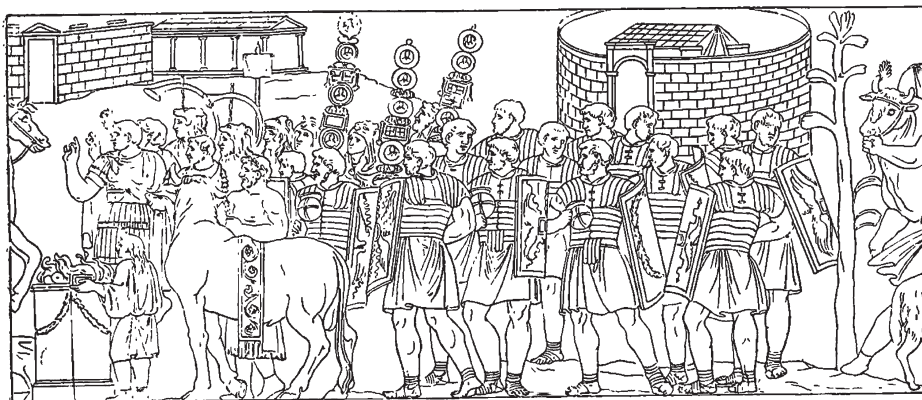


Fig. 31. Relief composition with Roman soldiers in scene of sacrifice on Trajan's Column (after Reinach 1909, 357, 81).



Fig. 32. Relief composition with Roman soldiers moving to right on Trajan's Column (after Reinach 1909).

A chronological frame for the artistic textile from Noin Ula could be established on the basis of the archaeological context of Burial 31. An important source for dating the archaeological complex in the Noin Ula mounds is lacquer ware, often carrying a specific year of execution. From analysis, it is safe to say that lacquer ware was created and was most popular in the era of the Western Han,<sup>94</sup> more specifically, within the end of the 1st century BC–1st century AD.<sup>95</sup> The cited analogies

<sup>94</sup> Lubo-Lesnichenko 1969.

<sup>95</sup> Minyaev and Elikhina 2009.

fit within this chronological framework, taking into account the length of traditions (their time dimension is difficult to determine and at the same time conditional). Some analogies (for example, the altar) belong to a later time, i.e. to the 2nd century AD. However, this can be explained either by the absence of material to date, or by the poorly developed typology.

## Conclusion

As can be seen from the analysis, the composition was built according to principles characteristic of the Hellenistic art of Central Asia, subjected to a significant influence of Graeco-Roman traditions. The movement of the characters to the right, where the cult action takes place, is underlined by the pointing finger of one of them. The figures are subordinated to rhythm, and the back half of the last figure is one of the characteristic features of the Hellenistic composition. If we take into account that one of the leading signs of Parthian and Kushan art is frontality, then the images on Noin Ula canvases are not consistent with this. It can be concluded that the composition most of all is associated with Hellenised art and was created under the influence of the ancient traditions of Graeco-Roman, of course with a strong component of the Roman fine art complex.

Another indicator of the Hellenistic pictorial tradition is the style of the borders in the form of a horizontal strip of palmettes. Special attention is attracted by the images of fantastic polymorphous creatures with limbs transformed into vegetable shoots – a characteristic feature of Roman Hellenised decorative and applied art.

We should not forget that the cult of ancestors occupied a prominent place in the religion of the nomadic population of Central Asia. The incense could equally be dedicated to idolised ancestors as to the cults of the main deities. However, these assumptions are hypothetical.

The design features of the altar, along with other iconographic signs, point to the date. In the monetary iconography of the Great Kushans, where the scene of the king in front of the altar is a common image on obverses, a similar altar to that in the Noin Ula composition appears on emissions of Vasudeva I (and further) – altar with 'horns' or 'wings' at the corners – and dates to the end of the 2nd century AD. Special work was devoted to dating the archaeological complex of Mound 31, where the analysis of inscriptions on lacquer ware made in China served as a reference point.

Where the embroidery originated remains quite vague. Iconographic features distinguish it from the circle of traditional nomadic art, but some elements are characteristic (universal) for many regions of the Hellenised East. Ancient Bactria of the Kushan era remains the most likely, although Gandhara, Parthia or some



other regions affected by this culture are also in contention. Works of such a high artistic level was most likely to have been made in court workshops, or at least in large urban centres, but even this is not without exception (recall that well-known throughout the East in the Arab Persian sources is the small village of Zandanechi near Bukhara, specialising in the production of such textiles, or the carpets, no less popular in the 19th century and earlier, of the Turkmen Teke, Yomud, Salor, Erseri, etc.).

## Bibliography

- Bīrīnī Abu Reihan**, *Pamyatniki minuvshikh pokolenii*, trans. M.A. Sal'e (Izbrannyye proizvedeniya, vol. 1) (Tashkent 1957).
- Abdullaev, K.** 1995a: 'Nomadism of Central Asia. The Archaeological evidence (2nd–1st centuries B.C.)'. In Invernizzi, A. (ed.), *In the Land of the Gryphon. Papers on Central Asian Archaeology in Antiquity* (Florence), 151–61.
- . 1995b: 'Armour of Ancient Bactria'. In Invernizzi, A. (ed.), *In the Land of the Gryphon: Papers on Central Asian Archaeology in Antiquity* (Florence), 163–80.
- . 2003: 'Nana in Bactrian Art. New Data on Kushan Religious Iconography based on the material of Payonkurgan in Northern Bactria'. *SilkRAA* 9, 15–38.
- . 2004: 'New Finds of Pre-Kushan and Early Kushan Plastic Art in Northern Bactria and the Khalchayan Reliefs'. *Parthica* 6, 27–46.
- . 2007: 'Nomad Migration in Central Asia'. In Cribb, J. and Hermann, G. (eds.), *After Alexander, Central Asia before Islam* (London), 73–98.
- . 2013: 'Images d'un dieu-fleuve en Asie central: l'Oxus'. *CRAI* 157.1, 173–92.
- . 2015: *Buddhist Iconography of Northern Bactria* (New Delhi).
- Abdullaev, K., Rtveladze, E. and Shishkina, G.** 1991: *Culture and Art of Ancient Uzbekistan* (Exhibition Catalogue) (Moscow).
- Andreev, M.S.** 1953: *Tadzhiki doliny Huf (verhov'ya Amudar'i)* 1 (Stalinabad).
- Andronicos, M.** 1984: *Ancient Greek Painting and Mosaics in Macedonia* (Salonica), 287–302.
- Artamonov, M.I.** 1973: *Sokrovishcha sakov: Amu-darinski klad, Altaiskie kurgany, Minusinskie bronzy, Sibirskoe zoloto* (Moscow).
- Badanova, E.I.** 2010: 'The Unique Monument of Painting of Kushan Period'. In Abdullaev, K. (ed.), *The Traditions of East and West in the Antique Culture of Central Asia. Papers in Honor of Paul Bernard* (Tashkent), 84–102.
- Barinova, E.B.** 2013: 'Etnicheskie kontakty narodov Sibiri i Kitaya v drevneishee vremya'. *Vestnik Rossiiskogo universiteta družby narodov, seriya Istoriya Rossii* 1, 96–110.
- Belenickii, A.M., Marshak, B.I. and Raspopova, V.I.** 1993: 'Raskopki na gorodische Pendzhikent v 1984 g.'. *Arkheologicheskie raboty v Tadzhikistane* 24 (1984 g.) (Dushanbe), 131–69.
- Bichurin, N.Y.** 1842: *Statisticheskoe opisanie Kitaiskoi imperii* (St Petersburg).
- Bopearachchi, O.** 1991: *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques: Catalogue raisonné, Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris).
- Boroffka, G.** 1926: 'Die Funde der Expedition Koslow in der Mongolei in 1924–1925'. *AA* 41, 341–68.
- Boyce, M.** 1970: 'Haoma, Priest of the Sacrifice'. In Boyce, M. and Gershevitch, I. (eds.), *W.B. Henning Memorial Volume* (London), 62–80.
- . 2001: 'Mithra the King and Varuna the Master'. In Schmidt, M.G. and Bisang, W. (eds.), *Philologica et Linguistica, Festschrift für H. Humbach zum 80. (Trier)*, 239–57.
- Butanaev, V.** 2008. 'Gornye zhertvoprinosheniya'. In Tarunova, A.M. (ed.), *Sokrovishcha kul'tury Hakasii* (Moscow), 126–39.

- Cheboksarov, N.N. 1982: *Etnicheskaya antropologiya Kitaya* (Moscow).
- Cribb, J. and Sims-Williams, N. 1995–96: 'A new Bactrian inscription of Kanishka the Great'. *SilkRAA* 4, 75–142.
- Cumont, F. 1903: *The Mysteries of Mithra* (Chicago/London).
- Davidovich, E.A. 1976: 'Pervyi klad tetradrahm kushantsa "Geraya"'. *VDI* 4, 56–78.
- Debets, G.F. 1948: *Paleoantropologiya SSSR* (Moscow).
- . 1968: 'Opyt kraniometricheskogo opredeleniya doli mongoloidnogo komponenta v smeshannykh gruppakh naseleniya SSSR'. In *Problemy antropologii i istoricheskoi etnografii Azii* (Moscow), 13–22.
- Elikhina, Y.I. 2010: 'Baktriiskie tkani iz kollektsii Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha'. In Alekshin, V.A. (ed.), *Drevnie kul'tury Evrazii* (St Petersburg), 153–55.
- Elikhina, Y.I. and Minyaev, S.S. 2014: 'Estestvennonauchnye metody issledovaniya nakhodok iz Noin-Uly'. *Rossiiskoe izuchenie Tsentral'noi Azii: istoricheskie i sovremennye aspekty (k 150-letiyu P.K. Kozlova)* (St Petersburg), 183–95.
- Gawronski, R.S. 2004: 'Some Remarks on the Origins and Construction of the Roman Military Saddle'. *Archeologia* (Warsaw) 55, 31–40.
- Ghirshman, R. 1946: *Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans* (Cairo).
- Goryacheva, V.D. 1985: 'Issledovaniya Krasnorechenskogo gorodisha i nekropol'ya'. *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiya 1985 goda* (Moscow), 575–77.
- . 1989: 'Nausy nekropol'ya Krasnorechenskogo gorodisha'. In *Krasnaya rechka i Burana* (Frunze), 85–96.
- Grenet, F. 1993: 'Scènes paradisiaques: les ossuaires de la région de Šahr-i-Sabz'. *Studia Iranica* 22.1, 60–65.
- Herzfeld, E.E. 1935: *Archaeological History of Iran* (London).
- Higuchi, T. 1989: *Archaeology of the Silk Road* (Tokyo) (in Japanese).
- Hope, T. 1812: *Costume of the Ancients*, vol. 2 (London).
- Jacobs, B. 2006: 'Mithra'. In *Iconography of Deities and Demons in the Ancient Near East* ([http://www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd/prepublications/e\\_idd\\_mithra.pdf](http://www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd/prepublications/e_idd_mithra.pdf)).
- Karpova, E., Vasiliev, V., Mamatyuk, V., Polosmak, N. and Kundo, L. 2016: 'Xiongnu burial complex: A study of ancient textiles from the 22nd Noin-Ula barrow (Mongolia, first century AD)'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 70, 15–22.
- Keats, S.G. 2004: 'Home Range Size in Middle Pleistocene China and Human Dispersal Patterns in Eastern and Central Asia'. *Asian Perspectives* 43.2, 227–47.
- Khodzhaev, T. and Abdullaev, K. 2011: *Naselenie kushanskoi Baktrii: Antropologiya, pis'mennye istochniki i izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo* (Saarbrücken).
- Koshelenko, G. 1996: 'Bullae from Göbekly-Depe. General Problems and Main Subjects'. In Boussac, M.-F. and Invernizzi, A. (eds.), *Archives et Sceaux du Monde Hellénistique* (Paris), 377–83.
- Kozlov, P.K. 1925: *Sovremennaya Mongoliya: Noin-ulinskie pamyatniki* (Leningrad).
- Krasheninnikova, N.I. 1986: 'Dva shtampovannykh ossuariya iz okrestnostei kishlaka Sivaz Kitab-skogo rayona'. In *Gorodskaya sreda i kultura Baktrii-Tokharistana i Sogda IV v. do n.e.–VIII v. n.e.* (Tezisy dokladov) (Tashkent), 45–47.
- . [Krašeninnikova] 1993: 'Deux ossuaires à décor moulé trouvés aux environs du village de Sivaz, district de Kitab, Sogdiane Méridionale'. *Studia Iranica* 22.1, 53–55.
- Kruglikova, I.T. 1979: 'Nastennye rospisi v pomeschenii 16 Severo-Vostochnogo kultovogo kompleksa Dilberjina'. In Kruglikova, I.T. (ed.), *Drevnyaya Baktriya: materialy sovetско-afganskoi arkheologicheskoi ekspeditsii*, vol. 2 (Moscow), 120–45.
- Kulikov, V.E., Mednikova, E.Y., Elikhina, Y.I. and Miniaev, S.S. 2012: 'Opyt issledovaniya tkanei iz mogilnika Noin-Ula metodom polipolyarizatsii'. *Rossiiskii arkheologicheski ezhegodnik* 2, 603–35.
- Litvinskii, B.A. 2010: *Ellinisticheskii khram Oksa v Baktrii (Yuzhny Tadjikistan) 3: Iskusstvo, khudozhestvennoe remeslo, muzykal'nye instrumenty* (Moscow).

- Lubo-Lesnichenko, E.I. 1969: 'Kitayskie lakovye izdeliya iz Noin-Uly'. In *Kul'tura i iskusstvo narodov Vostoka* (Leningrad), 267–77.
- Mair, V.H. 2006: 'Prehistoric European and East Asian Flutes'. In Anderl, C. and Eifring, H. (eds.), *Studies in Chinese Language and Culture: Festschrift in Honour of Christoph Harbsmeier on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* (Oslo), 209–16.
- Marshak, B.I. and Grenet, F. 2006: 'Une peinture kouchane sur toile'. *CRAI*, Avril–Juin, 947–63.
- Miniaev, S.S. and Elikhina, Y.I. 2009: 'On the Chronology of the Noyon Uul Barrows'. *The Silk Road* 7, 21–30.
- Mitchiner, M. 1975: *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, vol. 4 (London).
- Motamendi, H. 1978: 'Several relics related to the jataka of Dipankara'. *Art Buddhica* 117 (Tokyo), 20–40.
- Nasan-Ochir and Erdene-Ochir, 2011: 'Felt rugs, silks and embroideries of the Xiongnu'. In Eregzen, G. (ed.), *Treasures of the Xiongnu. Culture of Xiongnu, the First Nomadic Empire in Mongolia* (Ulanbaatar), 246–67.
- Olbrycht, M. 2015: 'Arsacid Iran and the Nomads of Central Asia – Ways of Cultural Transfer: Some Preliminaries'. In Bemman, J. and Schmauder, M. (eds.), *Complexity of Interaction along the Eurasian Steppe Zone in the First Millennium CE* (Bonn), 233–390.
- Pavchinskaya, L. 1983: 'Ossuarii iz Mollakurgana'. *Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane* 3, 46–49.
- Pendzbikent 1954: *Zhivopis' drevnego Pendzbikenta* (Moscow).
- Polosmak, N.V. 2001: *Vsadniki Ukoka* (Novosibirsk).
- . 2010a: 'We drank soma, we became immortal...'. *Science First Hand* 26.2, 62–71.
- . 2010b: 'My vypili Somu, my stali bessmertnymi...'. *Nauka iz pervykh ruk* 33.3, 50–59.
- . 2011: 'Istoriya, vyshitaya sherst'yu'. *Nauka iz pervykh ruk* 38.2, 112–20.
- . 2012: 'Litha iz proshlogo'. *Nauka iz pervykh ruk* 43.1, 79–101.
- Polosmak, N.V. and Bogdanov, E.S. 2006: 'Na 18 metrov v glubinu vekov'. *Nauka iz pervykh ruk* 12.6, 14–23.
- . 2015: *The Suzukteh Mounds (Noin Ula, Mongolia)*, part 1 (Novosibirsk).
- . 2016: 'Noinulinskaya kollektsiya'. In *Rezul'taty raboty rossiisko-mongol'skoi ekspeditsii, 2006–2012 gg.* (Novosibirsk), 166–71.
- Pugachenkova, G.A. 1966: *Khalchayan. K probleme khudozhestvennoi kul'tury severnoi Baktrii* (Tashkent).
- . 1971: *Skul'ptura Khalchayana* (Moscow).
- . 1979: *Iskusstvo Baktrii epokhi kushan* (Moscow).
- . 1987: 'Obraz kangyutsa v sogdiyskom iskusstve'. In *Iz khudozhestvennoy sokrovishnitsy Srednego Vostoka* (Tashkent), 56–65.
- . 1989: *Drevnosti Mianakalya* (Tashkent).
- Reinach, S. 1909: *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains 1: Les ensembles* (Paris).
- Rostovtzeff, M.I. 1935: *Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art* (New Haven).
- Rudenko, S.I. 1952: *Gorno-altaiskie nakhodki i skify* (Moscow).
- . 1962a: *Kul'tura khunnov i noin-ulinskie kurgany* (Moscow/Leningrad).
- . 1962b: *Sibirskaya kollektsiya Petra 1: Svod arkhologicheskikh istochnikov* (Moscow).
- Rudenko, S.I. and Gumilev, L.N. 1966: 'Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya P.K. Kozlova v aspekte istoricheskoi geografii'. *Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo geograficheskogo obshestva* 3, 241–43.
- Sarianidi, V.I. 1985: *Bactrian Gold* (Leningrad).
- Schlumberger, D. 1960: 'Descendants non-méditerranéens de l'art grec'. *Syria* 37.3–4, 253–319.
- Shishkin, V.A. 1963: *Varabsha* (Moscow).
- Snesarev, G.P. 1969: *Relikty domusul'manskikh verovanii i obryadov u uzbekov Horezma* (Moscow).
- Sobolev, N.N. 1934: *Ocherki po istorii ukrasheniya tkanei* (Moscow/Leningrad).
- Taddei, M. 2003: *On Gandhāra: Collected Articles*, ed. G. Verardi and A. Filigenzi (Naples).
- . 2015: 'Narrative Art between India and Hellenistic World'. *The Journal of Transcultural Studies* 6.1 (<http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:bsz:16-ts-222159>).

- Teplovuhov, S.A. 1925: 'Raskopka kurgana v gorah Noin-Ula'. In *Kratkie otchety ekspeditsii po issledovaniyu Severnoi Mongolii v svyazi s Mongolo-Tibetskoi ekspeditsiei P.K. Kozlova* (Leningrad), 41–52.
- Tissot, F. 2006: *Catalogue of the National Museum of Afghanistan, 1931–1985* (Paris).
- Trever, K.V. 1932: *Excavation in Northern Mongolia* (Leningrad).
- . 1939: 'Problema greko-baktriiskogo iskusstva'. In *III Mezhdunarodnyi congress po iranskomu iskusstvu i arkheologii* (Doklady) (Moscow/Leningrad), 262–70.
- . 1940: *Pamyatniki greko-baktriiskogo iskusstva* (Moscow/Leningrad).
- Umehara, S. 1960: *Moko Noin-Ura hakken no ibutsu* (Tokyo).
- Ustinova, Y. 2005: 'Snake-Limbed and Tendril-Limbed Goddesses in the Art and Mythology of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea'. In Braund, D. (ed.), *Scythians and Greeks: Cultural Interaction in Scythia, Athens, and the Early Roman Empire* (Exeter), 64–79.
- Voskresenskii, A.A. and Kononov, V.N. 1932: 'Khimiko-tekhnologicheskii analiz kovra 14568'. In Voskresenskii, A.A. and Tikhonov, N.P. (eds.), *Tekhnologicheskoe izuchenie tkanei kurgannyh pogrebenii Noin-Ula* (Leningrad), 7–9.
- Yatsenko, S.A. 2012: 'Yuezhi on Bactrian Embroidery from Textiles Found at Noyon Uul, Mongolia'. *The Silk Road* 10, 39–48.
- Yetts, W.P. 1926: 'Discoveries of the Kozlov Expedition'. *The Burlington Magazine*, April, 168–85.
- Zeymal, E.V. 1983: *Monety drevnego Tadzhikistana* (Dushanbe).

Department of Fine Arts  
Faculty of Letters  
Istanbul University  
34453 Beyazıt/Istanbul  
Turkey  
kabdullaev@yahoo.com

# ADDENDA TO *CEYLON BETWEEN WEST AND EAST*, MANTAI IN SRI LANKA, AND KLONG THONG GEMS FROM THAILAND RECONSIDERED

JAN BOUZEK

## Abstract

The note resumes several addenda to results of earlier projects in Sri Lanka/Ceylon and Thailand concerning the Anuradhapura excavations, the surface survey at Mantai and publication of Roman gems from Thailand, including second thoughts on these subjects.

## Addenda to *Ceylon between West and East*

In addition to the conclusions of the monograph,<sup>1</sup> of importance are the publication of a Saitic scarab,<sup>2</sup> of Greek black-glazed pottery,<sup>3</sup> now known also from the western coast of the island,<sup>4</sup> of relief cups inspired by the Late Hellenistic Megarian bowls, and the Late Roman models of Buddhist 6th- and 7th-century stone sculpture.<sup>5</sup> The Jetavana stupa yielded more spectacular gold leaves, but the gilt roundel with four animals related to the entrance moonstone to the 'Queen's Pavilion' is a fine example of its class (Fig. 1.1–2)

Roman amphorae are known from the western and eastern coasts of India as well.<sup>6</sup> Hellenistic black-glazed pottery of the class made in Mesopotamia was identified in Sri Lanka.<sup>7</sup> The distribution of Rouletted ware, inspired by Hellenistic pottery, goes as far as to the eastern part of India and Indonesia,<sup>8</sup> and Arikamedu yielded an important amount of 1st-century AD Roman 'Arretine' sigillata (as analysed by H. Comfort,<sup>9</sup> these items are from Central Italy and Lyons, not from Arezzo, and some of them also belong to ESB class).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bouzek 1993.

<sup>2</sup> Charvát 1984.

<sup>3</sup> Bouzek and Deraniyagala 1985.

<sup>4</sup> Kindly shown to me by O. Bopearachchi.

<sup>5</sup> Bouzek 2010.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Raman 1991; Slane 1991; Begley and De Puma 1991; Callieri 1989; Guta 1992; Sankana 1957; Will 2004.

<sup>7</sup> Bouzek and Deraniyagala 1985; Bouzek 1990; 2000. Cf. for India Begley 1991; Salles 2002.

<sup>8</sup> Walker and Santoso 1977; Salles 2002.

<sup>9</sup> Comfort 1991.

<sup>10</sup> For glass cf. Stern 1991.



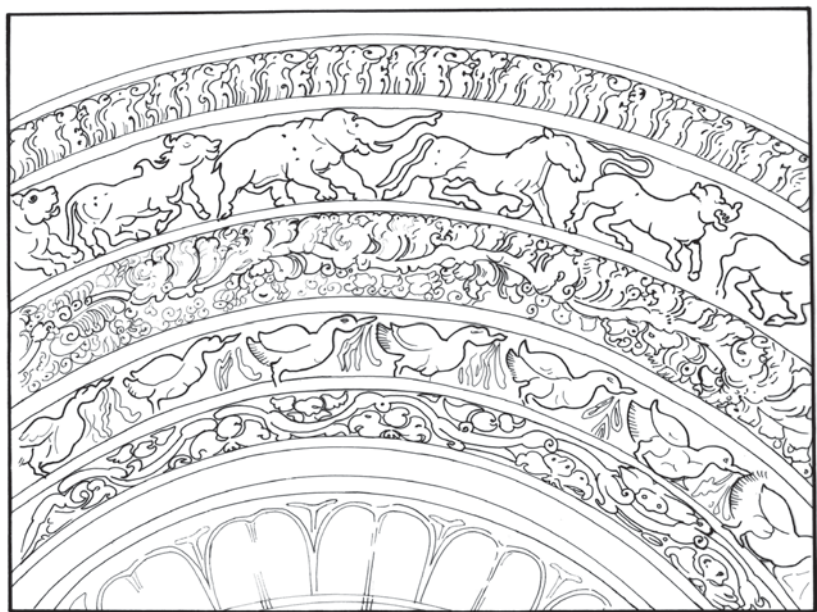


Fig. 1.1. Entrance moonstone of the 'Queen's Pavilion', Abhayagiri Vihara, Anuradhapura.



Fig. 1.2. Bronze gilded roundel from Abhayagiri Vihara, Anuradhapura.

Roman coins penetrated to most parts of South East Asia.<sup>11</sup> The Early Roman coins are more common than the later ones,<sup>12</sup> while in Sri Lanka even the 4th–5th-century small coins were usual currency.<sup>13</sup>

### Mantai Again

In 1983, with R. Silva and R. Alchin, I visited Mantai, a maritime port in northern Sri Lanka. We collected Roman glass of Issings shapes 16, 26 and probably 28<sup>14</sup> (here Fig. 2.1: 6–10). The first of them is of blue glass, the majority of green blown translucent glass.<sup>15</sup>

Of the Indian red-polished class, illustrated in Bouzek 1993 (fig. 74.1–5; here Fig. 2.1), no. 5 is of the orange variety reminding of Italic sigillata. Some small fragments of Italic sigillata were probably identified among the sherds collected there and deposited in the Department of Antiquities of Sri Lanka.<sup>16</sup> Among the probes taken to Prague the orange variety Fig. 2.5 a–b, and dark red fine ware (Fig. 2.6 a–b) are represented, besides larger shapes of coarse ware (Figs. 2.7 a–b, 2.8 a–b and 2.9 a–b), all wheel-turned, profile sections Fig. 2.2, fragments of green-glazed 5th–8th-century Sasanian pottery and of white-glazed Chinese late Tang hardware (Fig. 2.3 a–b).<sup>17</sup> The tiny fragments of suspect Italic sigillata were too small to be analysed. Of particular interest are fragments with black bands, with relief and grooved decoration, Figs. 2.3 a–b and 2.10, where also the light grey variety is represented.<sup>18</sup>

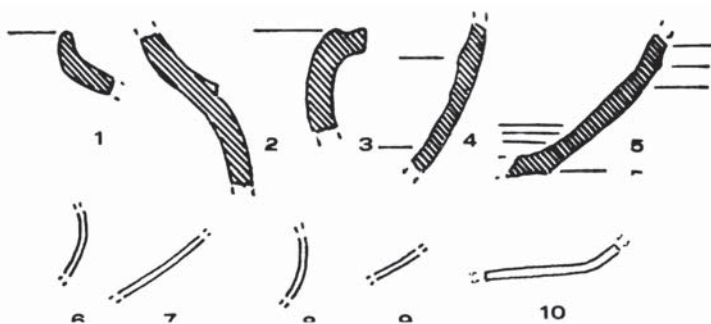


Fig. 2.1. Pottery and glass vessels fragments from Mantai. 1–2 Grey ware, 3–4 Red Polished, 5 pinkish orange, 6 blue glass, 7–10 green translucent glass.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Bopearachchi 1992; 1997–98; Bopearachchi and Weerakkody 1998; Borell 2017.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Slane 1991.

<sup>13</sup> Codrington 1924; Bouzek 1993, 109, 117.

<sup>14</sup> Bouzek 1993, 127–29, fig. 74.6–10.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Stern 1991.

<sup>16</sup> Silva and Bouzek 1985, Bouzek 2000; Shinde 1987. Cf. also the excavations there, which yielded 2500 glass beads and much Indian pottery (Carswell 1987; 1991; Shinde 1987).

<sup>17</sup> Bouzek and Charvát in Bouzek 1993, 84–89.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Charvát 1993.

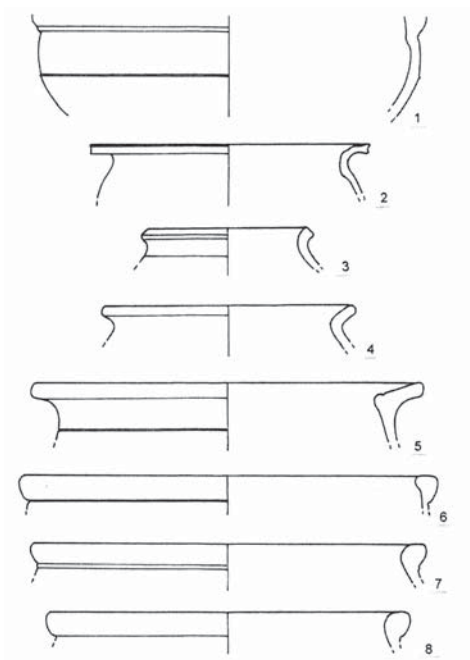


Fig. 2.2. Profile sections of the pottery samples in Prague.



Fig. 2.3 a-b. Glazed and painted pottery.



Fig. 2.4 a–b. Painted and relief sherds.

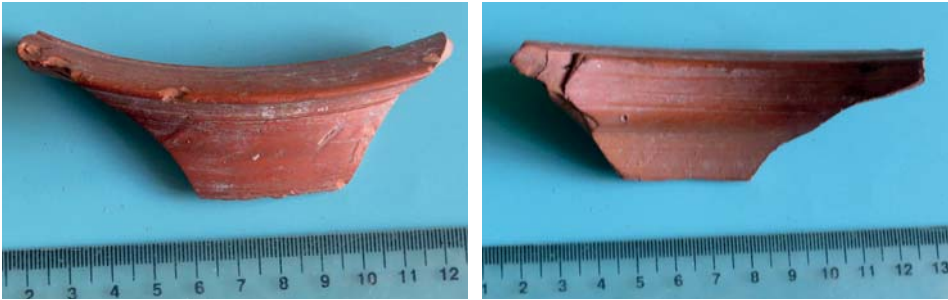


Fig. 2.5 a–b. Pinkish orange ware resembling Italic sigillata.



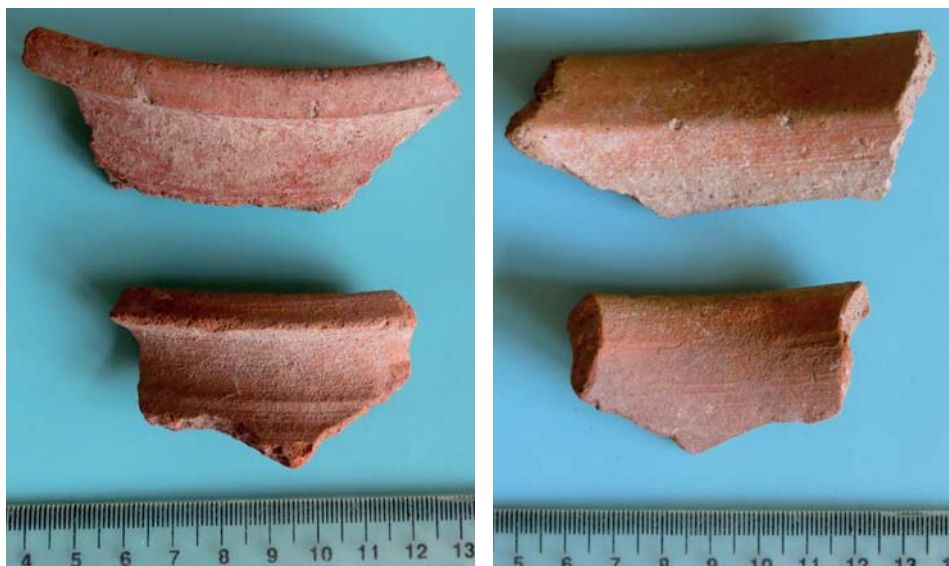


Fig. 2.6 a–b. Red polished ware.

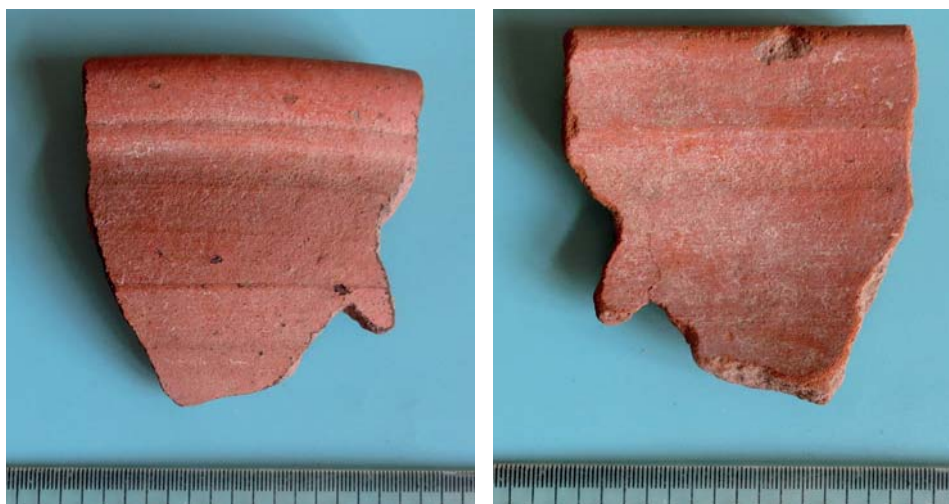


Fig. 2.7 a–b. Related plain ware.





Fig. 2.8 a–b. Related plain ware.



Fig. 2.9 a–b. Related coarse ware.



Fig. 2.10. Light grey and painted wares.

**Roman gems from the Klong Thong district of the Krabi province in Thailand**

The group of Roman gems found in Klong Thong dates from Early and Later Empire, and was partly published in two notes in collaboration with the late Iva Ondřejová.<sup>19</sup>

**1**

When the author of this note was teaching in Tübingen in 1992, he received from Prof. Gerd Albrecht, who at that time worked in the Palaeolithic department of the Tübingen University, a colour photograph representing a group of gems (Fig. 3.1). The photograph was taken in the collection of the Buddhist monastery situated in the Klong Thong district of the Krabi province on the south-western coast of Thailand. According to the information given by the monks there, passed on to me by Prof. Albrecht, these gems came from digs on the territory of the monastery there. They were not in the focus of interest of Prof. Albrecht and he gave me the photograph with a note that it deserved attention and permitted me to use it and publish it freely.<sup>20</sup> In Thailand the territory of the monasteries is autonomous of the administration of the country, which has no right to intervene there, and the monks themselves refused to give any permission of this kind to my Palaeolithic colleagues. Anyway, this set of gems, whose authenticity is beyond any doubt even if only a photograph is available, is interesting enough. The finding spot may not have been quite certain, as for the majority of other gems in private collections around the world anyway, but there would be no reasons to doubt Prof. Albrecht and his informers.

Though in India and in Sri Lanka there exist finds of gems of Roman inspiration (notably those of the so-called Indo-Roman types,<sup>21</sup> this group surpasses them in being genuine Mediterranean.<sup>22</sup>

It is difficult to be precise in description and classification of objects of which only one, even if rather good, photograph exists (Figs. 3.1–2). The description and classification cannot be accomplished on the same level as the publication of items, which can be observed in original by the own eyes, and has to be understood as such. The set consists of five items.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Bouzek and Ondřejová 2009; 2010.

<sup>20</sup> I am much indebted to Prof. Gerd Albrecht for giving me the photograph and for the kind permission to use it, and I have to apologise for the delay; it lay in my archive for many years and its publication was postponed many times.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Bouzek 1993, 127; Boardman 1994, 118–19; Callieri 1989.

<sup>22</sup> For sealings, cf. Inverizzi 1968–69; Wallenfels 1994. For beads, see Alchin 1975; Francis 1987; Bouzek 1993, 98–106.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Bouzek-Ondřejová 2009; Borell 2017.

A. Dancing Satyr. Purple to blue stone. *Ca.* 1.9 × (pres.) 2.2 m. Fig. 3.1 and Fig. 3.2, no. 1. More than one half of the original stone is preserved.

Satyr standing in dancing attitude on the tip of one foot, the second leg is bent in the knee and raised. In one hand he held probably a thyrsus, whose end can be seen in the fist. Over the second arm an animal (panther?) skin was thrown; it is visible also behind his back, above the raised leg. On the bottom line at his leg a two-handled vessel. Fine modelling of the figure; the dancing attitude is skilfully represented.

The subject is popular in Late Hellenistic–Roman Republican art, as attested by parallels from other branches of monumental and applied art (*cf.*, for example, the Dancing Faun from Pompeii and the Neo-Attic reliefs). It was equally popular on gems, especially during the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD (eventually more exactly until AD 30).<sup>24</sup> The varieties have notably different position of the vessel, which might be overturned or replaced by a panther, wreath etc.



Fig. 3.1. Photographs of the set of gems from the Klong Thong district of Thailand (photograph by Gerd Albrecht).



Fig. 3.2. Drawings of the same set of gems (drawing by Andrea Waldhauserová).

Parallels: Zwierlein-Diehl 1973, 148, no. 471, pl. 77 – cornelian, end of 1st century BC–early 1st century AD, ‘Höfischer Klassizismus’. Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 139, no. 211 – aquamarine, satyr holds in one hand lagobolon, in the second a grapevine, 1st century BC, Pellet style; 170, no. 336 – cornelian, second half of the 1st century BC, Republican wheel style; 210, nos. 484, 485 – green plasma, cornelian, both 1st century AD, Classicising style; 369–70, no. 1164 – blue glass paste, second half of the 1st century BC, Roman Republican. *AGDS* II, 147, no. 375, pl. 67

<sup>24</sup> *Cf.* Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 369.

– plasma, first quarter of the 1st century BC, slightly different in style. *AGDS* IV, 174, nos. 861, 862, pl. 112 – jasper, amethyst, once instead of the vessel on the ground lying a wreath, in the second case satyr holds in his hand a kantharos, the animal skin thrown over the hand is missing, at his leg a running panther, first half of the 1st century BC–1st century AD respectively; with no. 861 further parallels mentioned. Gesztelyi 2000, 42, no. 30 – cornelian, 1st century AD, in one hand a kantharos, a *nebrys* thrown over the arm, in the second a thyrsus. The intaglio can be dated to the Late Republican–Early Imperial period.

**B.** Theatrical mask or head. Brown stone. *Ca.* 1 × 0.7 cm. Fig. 3.1 and Fig. 3.2, no. 4.

The barely recognisable representation shows a head in profile with high coiffure and wreath (band?) or a theatrical mask. The treatment is hard, in the profile view especially the straight strong lines marking nose, mouth and chin are simplified. In this sense the item is near to the works called by Maaskant-Kleibrink ‘Imperial chin-mouth-nose style’; she dates this group roughly into the 1st–2nd, with possible extension into the 3rd century AD (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 294–302). 1st–2nd century AD.

**C.** Bust of woman. Red stone, probably cornelian. *Ca.* 1.6 × 1.4 cm. Fig. 3.1 and Fig. 3.2, no. 2.

The head is in profile, the breast three-quarter. The modelling of the face is fine, with eye and bigger mouth carefully engraved. The hair on the calotte is marked by parallel, slightly bent cuts; the streams framing the face and fall on the neck are more plastically rendered. Both parts of the hair are separated by a narrow band or diadem. On the neck one necklace of beads, below another kind of composite necklace or a pectoral consisting of rows of oval beads, perhaps framing the décolleté of the dress.

*Cf.* for the style *AGDS* IV, no. 542, pl. 72 (earlier) and no. 1095, pl. 148; *AGDS* II, no. 497, pl. 87 (Agrippina Maior); Vollenweider 1979, no. 228 (Domitia, bust). The style is Early Imperial and Classicistic, so a date in the 1st century AD (Julio-Claudian to Flavian) is most probable.

**D.** Satyr. Red stone, probably cornelian. *Ca.* 1.2 × 0.9 cm. Fig. 3.1 and Fig. 3.2, no. 3

The figure is represented from profile to three-quarter view, one arm is raised forward, holding some object probably a grapevine. The second arm goes back. Over it a *nebrys*(?) is thrown and it holds another object, probably a pedom. Satyr stands on the tips of his feet, one leg is slightly bent in the knee and put backwards.

For the position of the body *cf.* Sena Chiesa 1978, 86, no. 69, pl. 10 – end of the 1st–2nd century AD, cornelian, satyr with both hands raised; in one a pedom,



in the other an animal; Henig and MacGregor 2004, 54, no. 3.75 – jasper, satyr holding in one hand grapevine, in the second a lagobolon. Different style. For the position and attributes *cf.* Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 127, no. 165, 1st century AD, agate; with the same attributes and in similar attitude 316, no. 941, 2nd–3rd century AD and parallels mentioned by her. Probably 1st century AD.

E. Circular intaglio with Greek letters in circular frame: red stone, probably cornelian. *Ca.* 0.9 × 0.9 cm. Fig. 3.1 and Fig. 3.2, no. 5.

The first line has only one letter or ligature, perhaps A and Ω connected. In the second line there is IXC, i.e. Iesus Christos Soter, and under the x, which is smaller than the other letters, a small o (*omikron*). In the third line IX are well legible, then follows a kind of ligature resembling lying S (perhaps abbreviated *ichthys*). Below is a slightly S-curved line, perhaps a stylised snake:

P or IO ??  
 IXC or      IOC ?  
 o

IX (and a ligature resembling a sigma lying)  
 snail-shaped horizontal line

This shows that the fifth piece is Early Christian/Byzantine, and the whole set dates from different periods.

It is at least very probable that the gems arrived to the place where they have been found in antiquity, as part of Roman and Early Byzantine trade with the East. Most of them date from Late Hellenistic/Republican, Early and Middle Imperial periods, i.e. from the 1st century BC/AD, while the last items are from the 6th century AD. This is in correspondence with the main ‘waves’ of Roman imports in the East generally.<sup>25</sup> Their quality, however, is surprising. Against this set those items, which the author could have seen in Sri Lanka (mainly in the collection of the Paradeniya University) and in India, were more average products.

## 2

At my direction, my student Michal Dudáš visited the site in February 2007 and found even more photographs of materials from the Roman period in the local museum; besides further gems, also a bronze statuette. He kindly brought me photographs of them.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Slane 1991; Comfort 1991; etc.

<sup>26</sup> *Cf.* Bouzek and Ondřejová 2010; some of them also Borell *et al.* 2014.

F. Fortuna – Ceres. Cornelian. Borell *et al.* 2014, fig. 3. Here Figs. 3.5, no. 1, 3.7 and 3.9. Frontal standing female figure with her head turned to her right shoulder. The weight rests on her right leg bent under the knee. The hair around the face forms a wreath articulated by short sloping incisions, longer lines mark the hair on top of the head; on the head a *modus* (*kalathos*). The woman is dressed in a long chiton with short sleeves, girdled just under the breasts. The neckline of the dress is marked by two cuts in shape of letter V. Lower part of the body is covered by a himation, whose upper part is thrown over the left shoulder and the tip of it hangs over the left arm. In one hand she holds a bundle of ears and steering rudder, the other hand holds cornucopia.

Good quality work of 1st–2nd century AD. Cf. Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, nos. 520–521, 627; Hoey Middleton 2001, no. 22; Platz-Horster 1994, no. 294.

G. Two cocks facing each other, cornelian. Borell *et al.* 2014, fig. 2. The left cock looks more attacking and has bigger raised tail. Figs. 3.3 and Fig. 3.5, no. 2.

The ‘Flachperlstil’ of Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 179; Platz-Horster 1994, nos. 168, 171, 176. 1st century AD.



Fig. 3.3. Fighting cocks.



Fig. 3.4. Bronze statuette of a young man in tunic.

H. Satyr (or Pan). Borell *et al.* 2014, fig. 4b. Here Figs. 3.5, no. 3, 3.6, 3.8.

Represented as walking or dancing. Right hand holds a grapevine and left a lagobodon-pedum, on waist a belt of cloth. *Cf.* Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 941; Hoey Middleton 2001, no 18; Henig 2007, nos. 161–177. 2nd–3rd century AD.

I. A glass paste intaglio from Khlong Thom represents a herdsman leaning on his staff, dog and an eagle on the tree (Fig. 3.11). The original was Late Republican. Several fragments of Roman glass vessels have been found on the Malay Peninsula, too (Borell *et al.* 2014, 102–04).

J. Very worn coin with male head in profile. Indo-Roman, *cf.* Codrington 1924, 45–48, pl. II.33–44. 3rd–4th century AD. Figs. 3.5, no. 4 and 3.10.

K. The fragmentary sardonyx cameo illustrated here on Fig. 4.1 came from the excavations of B. Chaisuwan at Phu Khao Thong. Borell *et al.* 2014, plate. Of the two naked bodies, the left-hand torso displays a satyr's tail. Of the right-hand figure only legs up to knees remained. Late Republican–Early Imperial, Dionysiac.

L. Bronze statuette of a young man in tunic, Figs. 3.4 and Fig. 3.5, no. 5. Bouzek and Ondřejová 2009, 11–12. The dress and attitude are characteristic of servants and men of lower social position on Late Roman-period mosaics and in other contexts in the East.

Several other gems came from other sites on the Malay Peninsula (Figs. 4.2, 4.3).

According to new excavations, the site of Klong Thong had two periods of intensive contacts with the Mediterranean: one in the 1st century BC/AD and the second in late antiquity.<sup>27</sup> Of the ports situated in the area and mentioned in written sources, at the time of Justinian and also earlier, a port of call called Thaton, important for cinnamon (*xylocinnamomum*) was apparently not far from the reputed finding place of our gems, and perhaps identical with it.

The whole group gives a hint that our knowledge of contacts between the Mediterranean and South East Asia are still limited and surprises possible. East and West met many times for mutual benefit, and our globalisation had predecessors in the past.

<sup>27</sup> Bellina 1998, 97–98.



Fig. 3.5. Drawings of the second set of objects from Klong Thong.





Fig. 3.6. Satyr/Pan.



Fig. 3.9. Fortuna – Ceres.



Fig. 3.7. Fortuna – Ceres.



Fig. 3.10. Coin.



Fig. 3.8. Satyr/Pan.



Fig. 3.11. Intaglio of herdsman.



Fig. 4.1. Fragmentary sardonyx cameo.



Fig. 4.2. Bacchus.



Fig. 4.3. Rider.

## Bibliography

### Abbreviation

AGDS *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen* (Munich 1968–75).

- Alchin, B. 1975: 'The agate and carnelian industry of western Pakistan and western India'. In van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, J.E. (ed.), *South Asian Archaeology 1975* (Leiden), 91–105.
- Begley, V. 1991: 'Ceramic evidence for Pre-Periplus trade on the Indian coast'. In Begley and De Puma 1991, 157–96.
- Begley, V. and De Puma, R.D. (eds.) 1991: *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade* (Madison).
- Bellina, B. 1998: 'La formation des réseaux d'échanges reliant l'Asie du Sud-Est à travers le matériel archéologique (VIe s. av. J.C.–VIe s. ap. J.C.)'. *Journal of the Siam Society* 86, 89–105.
- Boardman, J. 1994: *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity* (London).
- Bopearachchi, O. 1992: 'La commerce maritime entre Rome et Sri Lanka d'après les données numismatiques'. *REA* 94, 107–21.
- . 1997–98: 'The maritime Silk Road, trade relations between Central Asia and Sri Lanka from the evidence of recent excavations'. *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 5, 269–96.
- Bopearachchi, O. and Weerakkody, D.P.R. (eds.) 1998: *Origin, Evolution and Circulation of Foreign Coins in the Indian Ocean* (New Delhi).
- Borell, B. 2017: 'Gemstones in Southeast Asia and Beyond: Trade along the Maritime Networks'. In Hilgner, A., Greiff, S. and Quast, D. (eds.), *Gemstones in the First Millennium AD: Mines, trade, Workshops and Symbolism* (Mainz), 21–44.
- Borell, B., Bellina, B. and Chaisuwan, C. 2014: 'Contacts between Upper Thai-Malay Peninsula and the Mediterranean'. In Revire, N. (ed.), *Before Siam: Essays in Art and Archaeology* (Bangkok), 98–117.
- Bouzek, J. 1990: 'Ceylon und die hellenistische Welt'. In *Akten des XIII. Kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin, 1988* (Mainz), 316–17.
- . (ed.) 1993: *Ceylon between East and West: Anuradhapura, Abhayagiri Vihara, 1981–1984. Excavations and Studies* (Prague).
- . 2000: 'Ceylon and the West: from Hellenistic period to the 1st century AD'. In Ciałowicz, K.M. and Ostrowski, J.A. (eds.), *Civilisations du Bassin Méditerranéen: Hommage J. Śliwa* (Cracow), 297–300.
- Bouzek, J. and Deraniyagala, S. 1985: 'Tessons des vases hellénistiques trouvés en Sri Lanka'. *BCH* 109, 589–96.
- Bouzek, J. and Ondřejová, I. 2009: 'Roman gems from the Klong Thong district of the Krabi province in Thailand'. *Graecolatina Pragensia* 22, 147–53.
- . 2010: 'Other Roman imports from the Klong Thong district of the Krabi province in Thailand'. *Graecolatina Pragensia* 23, 7–14.
- Callieri, P. 1989: 'La glittica romana nel Gandhara, presenze e influssi'. *RendLinc* 44, 243–547.
- . 1995: 'The Northwest of Indian subcontinent in the Indo-Greek period: The archaeological evidence'. In Invernizzi, A. (ed.), *In the Land of the Gryphons: Papers on Central Asian Archaeology in Antiquity* (Florence), 293–308.
- Carswell, J. 1987: 'The port of Mantai, Sri Lanka'. *AJA* 91, 293–94.
- . 1991: 'The Port of Mantai, Sri Lanka'. In Begley and De Puma 1991, 197–203.
- Charvát, P. 1984: 'An Egyptian scarab from Sri Lanka'. *Göttinger Miszellen* 70, 19–26.
- . 1993: 'External contacts of Sri Lanka in the 1st millennium AD, Archaeological evidence from Mantai'. *Archiv Orientální* 61, 13–23.
- Codrington, H.W. 1924: *Ceylon Coins and Currency* (Colombo).
- Comfort, H. 1991: 'Terra sigillata at Arikamedu'. In Begley and De Puma 1991, 134–50.
- Francis, P. 1987: *Bead Emporion: A Guide to the Beads from Arikamedu in the Pondichéry Museum* (Pondicherry).

- Gesztelyi, T. 2000: *Antike Gemmen im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum* (Budapest).
- Guta, S. 1992: 'Nevasa, a type site for the study of Indo-Roman trade in West India'. *South Asian Studies* 14, 87–102.
- Henig, M. 2007: *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites* (Oxford).
- Henig, M. and MacGregor, A. 2004: *A Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Finger-Rings in the Ashmolean Museum 2: Roman* (Oxford).
- Hoey Middleton, S.E. 2001: *Classical Engraved Gems from Turkey and Elsewhere: The Wright Collection* (Oxford).
- Invernizzi, A. 1968–69: 'Bullae from Seleucia di Tigre'. *Mesopotamia* 3–4, 69–124.
- Maaskant-Kleibrink, M. 1978: *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems in the Royal Coin Cabinet* (The Hague).
- Platz-Horster, G. 1994: *Die antiken Gemmen aus Xanten*, vol. 2 (Cologne).
- Raman, K.V. 1991: 'From the evidence of Roman trade from coastal sites at Tamil Nadu'. In Begley and De Puma 1991, 125–33.
- Salles, J.-F. 2002: 'Adaptation culturelle des céramiques hellénistiques? Importations et imitations de produits occidentaux en Inde'. In Blondé, F., Ballet, P. and Salles, J.-F. (eds.), *Poterie hellénistique et romaine en Méditerranée orientale: Productions et diffusion en Méditerranée orientale (Chypre, Égypte et côte syro-palestinienne)* (Lyons), 189–212.
- Sankana, H.D. 1957: 'Imported Mediterranean amphorae from Kolhapur'. *JRAS*, 207–08.
- Sena Chiesa, G. 1978: *Gemme di Luni* (Rome).
- Shinde, V. 1987: 'Mantai, an important settlement in Northwest Sri Lanka'. *East and West* 37, 327–36.
- Silva, R. and Bouzek, J. 1985: 'Mantai: a second Arikamedu?'. *Antiquity* 59, 46–47.
- Slane, K.W. 1991: 'Observations on Mediterranean amphoras and tablewares found in India'. In Begley and De Puma 1991, 204–15.
- Stern, M. 1991: 'Early Roman export glass in India'. In Begley and De Puma 1991, 113–24.
- Vollenweider, M.-L. 1979: *Catalogue raisonné des sceaux, cylindres, intailles et camées 2: Les portraits, les masques de théâtre, les symboles politiques* (Mainz).
- Walker, M.J. and Santoso, S. 1977: 'Romano-Indian Rouletted pottery in Indonesia'. *Asian Perspectives* 20.2, 228–35.
- Wallenfels, R. 1994: *Uruk: Hellenistic Seal Impressions in the Yale Babylonian Collections 1: Cuneiform Tablets* (Mainz).
- Will, E.I. 2004: 'Mediterranean amphoras in India'. In Eiring, J. and Lund, J. (eds.), *Transport Amphorae and Trade in Eastern Mediterranean* (Aarhus), 433–40.
- Zwierlein-Diehl, E. 1973: *Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien*, vol. 1 (Munich).

Institute of Archaeology  
 Faculty of Philosophy  
 Charles University  
 Prague  
 Czech Republic  
 jan.bouzek33@gmail.com

# ‘NO MERE SCHOLARLY PURSUIT’: FERGUS MILLAR AND THE LATE ROMAN EAST

ARIETTA PAPACONSTANTINO

## Abstract

An assessment of the work of the late Sir Fergus Millar in respect of the Late Roman East occasioned by his last book, *Empire, Church and Society in the Late Roman Near East* (2015). It is offered, in part, as a tribute.

The first history book I ever borrowed from the University Library in Strasbourg when I was an archaeology student there was Fergus Millar’s *A Study of Cassius Dio*.<sup>1</sup> It was in a state that an antiquarian bookseller might describe as ‘used/acceptable’, something very rare for English books in French university libraries. As I progressed in my degree, so did my awareness of what the name meant to French historians of Rome, and I slowly realised they were not the only ones – and this was even before the publication of *The Roman Near East*. As students do, I pictured him as one of those austere and unapproachable men whose black-and-white-photographs adorn walls and frontispieces. When years later, on my first visit to Oxford, I was introduced to him at coffee at the Oriental Institute, the distance from that mental image was such that I was convinced I had misheard the name. At the time, he was finishing *A Greek Roman Empire*,<sup>2</sup> and seeing a ‘Byzantinist from Paris’, he started discussing the Church Councils – which only reinforced my impression that I had heard the wrong name.

As his choice of Late Antique themes was very close to my own, I found myself reviewing both *A Greek Roman Empire* and, later, *Religion, Language, and Community*.<sup>3</sup> The intended review of *Empire, Church and Society*<sup>4</sup> for this journal has now morphed into the present broader contribution, intended as a necessary tribute to an exceptional scholar and his impressive body of work in the field of late antiquity. I say necessary because in the many, often powerful and moving texts that have appeared since he left us in July 2019, Millar is presented, predictably, as a field-defining Roman historian who worked on the Late Republic and the Early Empire – but his later work is represented by some passing references at best. Yet for 17 years after his retirement he engaged with passion and pleasure in the study of the post-Constantinian Eastern empire, also making a point of learning Syriac so that he could study the evidence in the original languages. This work on the Late Empire was conceived as a coherent ‘project’, which he saw as a continuation of *The Roman Near East* from Constantine to Muhammad.<sup>5</sup> The Epilogue to that book reveals the quantity of

<sup>1</sup> Millar 1964.

<sup>2</sup> Millar 2006b

<sup>3</sup> Millar 2013.

<sup>4</sup> Millar 2015.

<sup>5</sup> He referred to it in those terms several times: the most systematic exposition is Millar 2012, and the reflections looking back in the Preface to Millar 2015, xiii.



reading he had already devoted to that later period, and the Preface contains a characteristically apologetic passage on the fact that he has written on the Near East without being a Semiticist except through 'a reasonable reading knowledge of Biblical Hebrew' (p. xvi). Acquiring the relevant linguistic skills thus became part of the overall project.

Although Millar initially conceived this project as an 'integrated treatment' of the topic, he eventually found the immensity of the task made that impossible, so that he 'only' produced a series of article-length studies, now collected in *Empire, Church and Society*.<sup>6</sup> The 'first step' towards that project was *A Greek Roman Empire*, followed by another two books, which in the Preface to *Empire, Church and Society* he presented as side products.<sup>7</sup> All in all, from 2002 to 2018, he published over 1200 pages on Late Roman subjects, in addition to a co-authored handbook on Late Antique Jewish sources which was meant to fill a gap he found irritating. He wanted that body of work to 'serve as a stimulus, or a series of disparate stimuli, to work by others in the future'.<sup>8</sup> It most certainly has, and those working on certain aspects of the Greek Roman empire will remain in his debt for decades to come.

The first milestone of that project was set with *A Greek Roman Empire*, in which to some extent Millar used the reign of Theodosius as a case study of his conception of 'the emperor in the Roman world'. Insisting on the responsive nature of imperial rule, and documenting this in detail through a host of examples, he also integrated another essential set of normative sources of the Late Empire, namely the acts of the Church Councils. Although treating that material as documentary sources, he also showed acute awareness of the role of rhetoric and persuasion in those interactions and in the very wording of the documents. This resonated very strongly with several specialists of Late Roman documentary texts, most notably Denis Feissel and Jean-Luc Fournet, who were developing similar approaches to inscriptions and papyri respectively.<sup>9</sup>

Contrary to many previous students of the Council Acts, Millar recognised that they represented not only an extremely rich, but also a very opaque set of sources, which explained their relative neglect by mainstream late antique historians – a predicament papyrologists know all too well. His 'brief guide for historians' to the acts of the 5th-century councils in Appendix A of the book was a game-changer in that respect.<sup>10</sup> The systematic analysis in *A Greek Roman Empire* was later complemented by several further articles dissecting the Acts of successive ecclesiastical assemblies to discuss the politics of the Eastern Church in the 5th and 6th centuries,<sup>11</sup> and by an introduction to the Syriac Acts of the second Council of Ephesus.<sup>12</sup> Along with the translation of the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon by Richard Price and Michael Gaddis, which had appeared the previous year,<sup>13</sup> *A Greek Roman Empire*

<sup>6</sup> Millar 2015, xiii.

<sup>7</sup> These are Millar 2012 and 2013.

<sup>8</sup> Millar 2015, xiii.

<sup>9</sup> For Feissel, 'Le livre de Millar est sans doute ce qu'on a écrit de plus stimulant sur les ACO depuis l'édition Schwartz' (e-mail of 15 December 2006). See, for example, Fournet 2004; Feissel 2004.

<sup>10</sup> Millar 2006, 235–47 (Appendix A).

<sup>11</sup> Forming Part One of the collection, nos. 1–5.

<sup>12</sup> Originally in Price and Whitby 2009; published as no. 22 in Millar 2015.

<sup>13</sup> Price and Gaddis 2005.

laid the groundwork for much further study of the 5th- and 6th-century Church and its relations with the imperial centre.

In a long discussion of the importance of Millar's work on conciliar sources for the history of the Roman empire, Philippe Blauddau gave a very clear and systematic account of the advances it has allowed in the field of ecclesiastical history, but also of imperial procedures.<sup>14</sup> He also discussed at length the importance of Irenaeus's *Tragoedia*, a neglected text that Millar brought back to scholarly attention and contextualised in *A Greek Roman Empire*. The bureaucratisation of the Church is one of the elements that emerge most clearly from the study of those sources – but also its responsiveness to the occasional unexpected actions of a monastic celebrity, as shown by the episode of Dalmatius, head of a Constantinopolitan monastery, who organised a procession with his followers and was received by Theodosius, apparently entirely outside of normal procedures – a dramatic disruption of protocol judged to be the 'climax of the book' by Garth Fowden in his review of *A Greek Roman Empire*.<sup>15</sup> The longer narration of the episode comes from another neglected source unearthed by Millar, Nestorius' *Book of Heracleides*.

Research using the conciliar sources is now booming, and certainly Millar's 'stimulus' is in no small part responsible for that. After the volume of studies *Chalcedon in Context* published in 2009 by Richard Price and Mary Whitby to accompany the translation of the *Acts*,<sup>16</sup> Hagit Amirav's book-length study of performative authority at the Council of Chalcedon very explicitly acknowledges Millar's role in the way she chose and conceived her subject.<sup>17</sup> Almost at the same time as the publication of Amirav's monograph, the European Research Council funded a new project which intended investigate the textual history of the Acts and their importance as evidence for late antique cultural history, bringing several young researchers towards the study of that material.<sup>18</sup>

Another of Millar's important insights was the importance of the conciliar sources for the linguistic evolution of the Roman empire in its most official circles. His analysis of the use of Greek and Latin under Theodosius shows in some detail how Greek was becoming a formal administrative and imperial language alongside Latin, and how imperial involvement in ecclesiastical affairs accelerated that development. Following Gilbert Dagron, albeit more systematically and less rhetorically, he documented the expansion of Greek as *langue d'État*.<sup>19</sup> Contrary to Dagron, however, Millar never saw Greek as a simple *langue de culture*, nor did he see a linguistic inversion whereby Latin would take that role once demoted from its imperial status. He demonstrated the gradual retreat of Latin in the imperial domain, and discussed the implications of that development for what was still, in all contemporaries' minds, the Roman empire – not 'Byzantine civilisation'. His seminal linguistic work on normative sources was recently developed in some depth for the 6th century by Simon

<sup>14</sup> Blauddau 2012.

<sup>15</sup> Millar 2006, 232–34; Fowden 2007, 911.

<sup>16</sup> Price and Whitby 2009.

<sup>17</sup> Amirav 2015, 16–18, 25.

<sup>18</sup> 'The Proceedings of the Ecumenical Councils from Oral Utterance to Manuscript Edition as Evidence for Late Antique Persuasion and Self-Representation Techniques' (acronym ACO; grant agreement ID: 677638, University of Bamberg).

<sup>19</sup> Dagron 1969.

Corcoran, in a study dedicated to Millar.<sup>20</sup> More recently, Tommaso Mari has devoted some very detailed analyses to translation and language use in the councils, which show that the subject still has a long future ahead of it.<sup>21</sup> This painstaking work may well refine or redefine some of Millar's points, but his impetus to study this material outside the closed circles of Church historians and with other questions in mind than the actual Trinitarian controversies will have been decisive.

Beyond the focus on imperial procedure and languages, however, *A Greek Roman Empire* and the council acts also allowed Millar to engage, if only in a preliminary way, in the cultural world of the Late Roman Near East. The overwhelming majority of the bishops came from the eastern part of the empire, and many specifically from the regions most familiar to him. Language use did not only concern Greek and Latin, but also Syriac and Coptic. The latter was not of much interest to him, but the role played by Syriac in the Church was to become one of the major themes of his subsequent work on the Later Empire, as most of the remaining essays in *Empire, Church and Society* show. The presence in the Late Roman Near East of a variety of ethno-linguistic groups, already a central concern in his earlier work, now offered the main angle of analysis.

The studies collected in *Empire, Church and Society*, as well as the chapters of *Religion, Language, and Community*, amount to a methodical – if still partial, in his mind – survey, analysis, and contextualisation of the source material, carried out in the form of individual studies. They represent a fascinatingly systematic endeavour, and offer a glimpse into Millar's working methods ahead of a great synthesis like *The Roman Near East*, which he initially intended to replicate for the Late Empire. There are studies here on an impressive array of texts and contexts, in several languages, often with new translations, and subjected to his familiar analytical gift. A first group is devoted to Greek culture and the (Greek) Roman state, followed by a series of papers on the Jewish communities, and finally his important contributions on the emergence of Syriac as a literary and epigraphic language. Apart from setting a foundation for further work, most of the chapters can serve as historical introductions to some well-known, and some less well-known, sources, including the one previously unpublished chapter on John Moschos. The essays in *Empire, Church and Society* are organised by ethnic group and 'community', as are the related chapters in *Religion, Language, and Community*. The separate treatment of linguistic and religious groups has understandably been criticised by some scholars as artificial.<sup>22</sup> Yet the fact remains that Millar is the only scholar to date who attempted a coherent and holistic study of the entire population of the Near East, most notably by integrating the Jews into the mainstream narrative, but also by navigating with ease between Roman officialdom, the ecclesiastical and lay elites of different linguistic and religious groups, the writings and social make-up of sectarian groups, and the everyday problems raised by documentary evidence.

As with the Guide to the council acts, Millar was eager to promote access to (mainly rabbinic) Jewish sources for late antiquity – another opaque set of materials that is greatly

<sup>20</sup> Corcoran 2017.

<sup>21</sup> See Mari 2018, as well as several unpublished conference papers which can be found on his personal webpage.

<sup>22</sup> For example Yon 2012, as well as several reviews of *Religion, Language, and Community*, such as Fowden 2014.

underexploited. He took the time to co-author a *Handbook* that would allow 'others' to use those sources. Together, those two guides have opened a world of sources and avenues of access to them for historians less familiar with that material. Especially for those of us who teach late antiquity, they have provided invaluable assistance in guiding students through those labyrinths.

One important thread connecting all of these contributions is Millar's close attention to linguistic identities; it is also the aspect of his work that has aroused the liveliest discussions, both in print and at the Oriental Institute coffee table. From early on, his position on the Roman empire was that it is known mainly through the eyes of Greek historians, and that in many ways, Greek culture is integral to the way modern historians have constructed the image of Rome.<sup>23</sup> Insisting on the importance of Greek for Rome was, initially and in the context of Roman imperial history, working against an established tradition. His insistence on its omnipresence in the Late Roman Near East, however, encountered the resistance of Semiticists and other specialists of the area, for whom it was a Hellenocentric position blowing up the importance of the imperial language and downplaying that of the local languages.<sup>24</sup>

More specifically, the proposition that has been most hotly debated was that Greek was not only an imposed imperial language, but the language of ordinary speech. One of the explicit aims of his *Religion, Language, and Community* was to demonstrate that point:

If we were to follow the often-repeated theory that in the Late Roman Near East Greek was essentially confined to the cities, and that elsewhere some branch of Aramaic was the normal language of daily life and business, we should expect that any documentation found here would be, at least predominantly, Aramaic (p. 50).

Part of the difficulty here is, of course, Millar's rigoristic approach, which did not allow him to extrapolate beyond the written sources at his disposal on the basis of theoretical models. In the case of language-use, this is especially problematic, as it leaves no space for orality. He also shied away from comparison with other societies, even with neighbouring Egypt, which had a very similar trajectory to the Near East. Yet such a comparison would have greatly supported his case. The nature of Near Eastern sources is such that they have only transmitted the 'high' or formal version of the languages present – or at best a semi-formal version. There are no instances of informal Greek in the sources, which is what one would expect if it was an ordinary spoken language. Arguably, however, this is a function of the types of sources at our disposal. The Egyptian papyrological evidence, which goes much further in capturing ordinary speech than any other in the ancient world, shows that informal Greek did very much exist, but is to be found in private documents such as letters, personal accounts, school exercises, and other non-official or non-public texts. Had there been no papyri, but only literary manuscripts and inscriptions, we would be having the same debate for Egypt. Papyri make it possible to access precisely the linguistic register for which Millar was arguing. Greek was indeed *everywhere*.

<sup>23</sup> See the discussion of this proposition in Ando 2012.

<sup>24</sup> See, for instance, Fowden 2014; Butts 2018; and most systematically Johnson 2015, 8–17.

What raised a further difficulty was Millar's underlying assumption that if one language was spoken, the other wasn't. To come back to the quote above, he was arguing against the idea that outside the cities 'some branch of Aramaic was the normal language of daily life *and* business'. In fact, if we go by the Egyptian example, we should rather assume that Aramaic was a language of daily life and Greek the language of business – hence the dearth of documents in Aramaic. Instead of thinking of Greek as an 'imperial' veneer, as many do, it would be more helpful to think of it rather as the public language during the Roman centuries, and therefore a language that everyone knew to some extent, and used in a large number of daily transactions – which did not prevent people from knowing and speaking the local language as well. The dominance of Greek in the Near Eastern documentary record is discussed at some length by Roger Bagnall in his *Everyday Writing in the Greco-Roman East* (2011), where through close scrutiny of the evidence he demonstrates that just like Coptic in Egypt, Aramaic could be the spoken language even of parties who used Greek in their documents.<sup>25</sup> Millar's last word on this question, in his Epilogue to *Empire, Church and Society*, acknowledges this distinction: 'even in rural contexts the normal language of public expression was Greek' (p. 790, his emphasis).

In that Epilogue, Millar also discusses one of the main objections to his argument, 'namely the rapidity of [Greek's] disappearance after the Islamic conquest' (p. 790). He notes that it did continue to be used not only in inscriptions, but also by the Arab administration as the Nessana papyri show – and again, this is corroborated by the Egyptian evidence. That is, Greek remained a public language. What occasioned its slow retreat was its replacement in that role by Arabic, not its limited territorial or social distribution. The question, even for Egypt where the evidence abounds, is still open to different interpretations. Whatever line one may choose to take, however, it is clear that the sheer work done by Millar in collecting and organising the Near Eastern evidence is what has made that debate possible in the first place.

The rigorous, source-bound, and resolutely *Roman* approach prevented Millar from foraying beyond the frontiers, be they topographical or chronological. Significantly, he always used the phrase 'late Roman empire', not 'late antiquity' in his titles, except, predictably, for the *Handbook of Jewish Sources*. Within that empire, however, he had a much more integrated approach than many Roman historians. Even the 'Early' Empire for him included Constantine and did not stop at the classic date of AD 284. The Near Eastern inhabitants of the empire all got their say, even if the sources concerning them were not in Greek or Latin. Already in 1993, he was cautioning fellow Classicists against Orientalising the Near East and the rise of Christianity by falling prey to 'westernising prejudices', and defended his own 'expedition by a Classical ancient historian into the Near Eastern territory' against the possible charge of Orientalism by noting that he did have notions of the local languages.<sup>26</sup> In his Epilogue to Millar 2006a, he pleaded at length for what today one might call 'decolonising Classics'. Well before these debates made headlines or caused 'Twitterstorms', he was complaining about the intellectual barrier erected against the use of non-Classical texts in the ancient Greek canon, and suggesting that students

<sup>25</sup> Bagnall 2011, 95–116; the Near-Eastern papyri collected in Cotton, Cockle and Millar 1995 also contain a several texts in local languages.

<sup>26</sup> Millar 1993, 520 and xvi respectively.



of the ancient world should be learning Aramaic, Hebrew, Egyptian and Akkadian, not only Greek and Latin<sup>27</sup> – and he put his money where his mouth was, and actually sat through language classes at the Oriental Institute alongside the students. Today, this appears as a much more forward-looking attitude for someone writing in the early 1990s and even the 2000s than adopting the analytical frameworks that were in vogue at the time.

Similarly, Millar had an acute and modern sense of the reality history takes in the modern Near East, where it is still a living part of national narratives. In the Preface to *The Roman Near East*, he addressed one of the most potentially contentious points of his work:

By downplaying, as it explicitly does, the significance, and even the reality, of any coherent 'Arab' identity in the period in question, this book might seem to take one side in the profound religious and communal tensions of the modern world. It does not. Religious affiliations, mythical origins and ethnic identities are human constructs... (p. xix).

His Epilogue to *Empire, Church and Society*, characteristically entitled 'Open Questions' and suggesting avenues for further research, ends with two propositions, which can be seen as what he expected his readers to take away from his work. One is a reassertion of the value of traditional – old-fashioned, as he put it – data collection and analysis;<sup>28</sup> the other is that 'it was Late Antiquity which gave birth to the profound religious divisions which mark the modern Near East', and that understanding 'the complex social, linguistic, communal and religious inter-relationships to be found in the Near East in the last centuries of Roman or Byzantine rule before the coming of Islam is no mere scholarly pursuit' (p. 801).

## Bibliography

- Amirav, H. 2015: *Authority and Performance. Sociological Perspectives on the Council of Chalcedon (AD 451)* (Göttingen).
- Ando, C. 2012: 'The Roman City in the Roman Period'. In Benoist 2012, 109–24.
- Bagnall, R.S. 2011: *Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman East* (Berkeley).
- Benoist, S. (ed.) 2012: *Rome, a City and its Empire in Perspective: The Impact of the Roman World through Fergus Millar's Research / Rome, une cité impériale en jeu: l'impact du monde romain selon Fergus Millar* (Leiden).
- Blaudeau, P. 2012: 'Sources conciliaires et histoire de l'empire romain: une lecture de Fergus Millar'. In Benoist 2012, 139–54.
- Butts, A.M. 2018: 'The Greco-Roman context of the Syriac language'. In Farina, M. (ed.), *Les auteurs syriaques et leur langue* (Paris), 137–65.
- Corcoran, S.J.J. 2017: 'Roman law and the two languages in Justinian's empire'. *BICS* 60, 96–116.
- Cotton, H.M., Cockle, W.E.H. and Millar, F.G.B. 1995: 'The papyrology of the Roman Near East: a survey'. *JRS* 85, 214–35.
- Dagron, G. 1969: 'Aux origines de la civilisation byzantine: langue de culture et langue d'État'. *Revue historique* 489, 23–56.

<sup>27</sup> Millar 2006a, 505–06.

<sup>28</sup> Millar 2015, 801: 'Of course such work does not of itself offer answers to historical questions. But it does provide the essential starting-points.'

- Feissel, D. 2004: 'Un rescrit de Justinien découvert à Didymes (1er avril 533)'. *Chiron* 34, 285–365.
- Fournet, J.-L. 2004: 'Entre document et littérature: la pétition dans l'Antiquité tardive'. In Feissel, D. and Gascou, J. (eds.), *La pétition à Byzance* (Paris), 61–74.
- Fowden, G. 2007: Review of Millar 2006b. *American Historical Review* 112, 911–12.
- . 2014: Review of Millar 2013. *Journal of Theological Studies* 65, 769–71.
- Johnson, S.F. 2015: 'The social presence of Greek in eastern Christianity, 200–1200 CE'. In Johnson, S.F. (ed.), *Languages and Cultures of Eastern Christianity: Greek* (Farnham), 1–122.
- Mari, T. 2018: 'The Latin translations of the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon'. *GRBS* 58, 126–55.
- Millar, F.G.B. 1964: *A Study of Cassius Dio* (Oxford).
- . 1993: *The Roman Near East (31 BC–AD 337)* (Cambridge, MA).
- . 2006a: *Rome, the Greek World, and the East 3: The Greek World, the Jews, and the East*, ed. H.M. Cotton and G.M. Rogers (Chapel Hill, NC).
- . 2006b: *A Greek Roman Empire: Power and Belief under Theodosius II, 408–450* (Berkeley).
- . 2012: 'The Roman Near East from Constantine to Mahomet: report on a research project'. In Benoist 2012, 125–37.
- . 2013: *Religion, Language, and Community in the Roman Near East: Constantine to Muhammad* (Oxford).
- . 2015: *Empire, Church and Society in the Late Roman Near East: Greeks, Jews, Syrians and Saracens. Collected Studies 2004–2014* (Leuven).
- Price, R. and Gaddis, M. 2005: *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, 3 vols. (Liverpool).
- Price, R. and Whitby, M. (eds.) 2009: *Chalcedon in Context: Church Councils 400–700* (Liverpool).
- Yon, J.-B. 2012: Pluralité des langues, pluralité des cultures dans le Proche-Orient romano-byzantin'. In Benoist 2012, 155–81.

Department of Classics  
 University of Reading  
 Whiteknights  
 Reading RG6 6AA  
 UK  
 a.s.papaconstantinou@reading.ac.uk

# EMBLEMS OF IDENTITY REVISITED: GENDER AND THE MESSAPIAN TROZZELLA

EDWARD HERRING

## Abstract

This paper returns to a topic first discussed by the author in 1995, namely the continued use of an otherwise obsolete pottery style and vase form – the trozzella – in the tombs of the non-Greek population of the Salento Peninsula. The earlier paper argued that the use of the trozzella was to communicate messages of ethnic identity. However, by the late 5th and 4th centuries BC, trozzelle are only found in the graves of adult women. The present paper, therefore, revisits the original argument to address this gender dimension and the implications for indigenous identity at the time.

## Introduction

More than 20 years ago I published a paper entitled ‘Emblems of Identity. An examination of the use of matt-painted pottery in the native tombs of the Salento Peninsula in the 5th and 4th centuries BC’.<sup>1</sup> It drew attention to the late survival of matt-painted pottery in indigenous tombs from the Salento Peninsula in south-eastern Italy, long after this type of pottery had ceased to be used in domestic contexts (Fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> Across much of the Salento area only one traditional vase form – the trozzella<sup>3</sup> – survives in any significant

<sup>1</sup> Herring 1995.

<sup>2</sup> South-eastern Italy was home to both Greek and indigenous people in the 5th and 4th centuries BC. The Greeks lived mainly at Tarentum and its *chora*. The rest of the Salento peninsula was occupied by an indigenous population, referred to by the Greeks as the Messapians. They were one of three tribes described as living in Apulia: the others being the Peucetians in Central Puglia and the Daunians in the North. A fourth group associated with the region, the Iapygians, sometimes appears as a stand-alone tribe (for example Pausanias 10. 13. 10) but elsewhere as a higher-level group of which the Messapians were a subset (for example Polybius 3. 88). The label ‘Messapian’ is commonly attached to the material culture of the region, even though there is no evidence that the local population used the name themselves. So, for example, the trozzelle are often referred to Messapian trozzelle, as in my title.

Generally, I prefer to use terms such as indigenous or native for the ancient peoples of South Italy and their culture for a number of reasons. First, the Greek names of the tribes are an external perspective to which the people themselves may not have subscribed. Secondly, the use of the tribal names is not consistent, as is indicated by the confusion regarding the Iapygians already highlighted. Finally, local (i.e. settlement level) levels of community affiliation may have been important to individuals in most circumstances than tribal structures. The issue of possible archaeological correlates to the tribal names has been extensively debated over the last thirty or so years and need not be revisited here (see Whitehouse and Wilkins 1985; 1989; also Herring 2007).

<sup>3</sup> The trozzella form is related to earlier two-handled (kantharoid) shapes, which across South Italy, derive ultimately from an olletta form introduced into Salento Early Geometric in the 8th century BC from Albanian sources (Yntema 1985). The form is also related to the nestoris, which occurs in Lucanian and Apulian red-figure pottery (Schneider-Herrmann 1980). Colivicchi (2014, 215–16) succinctly

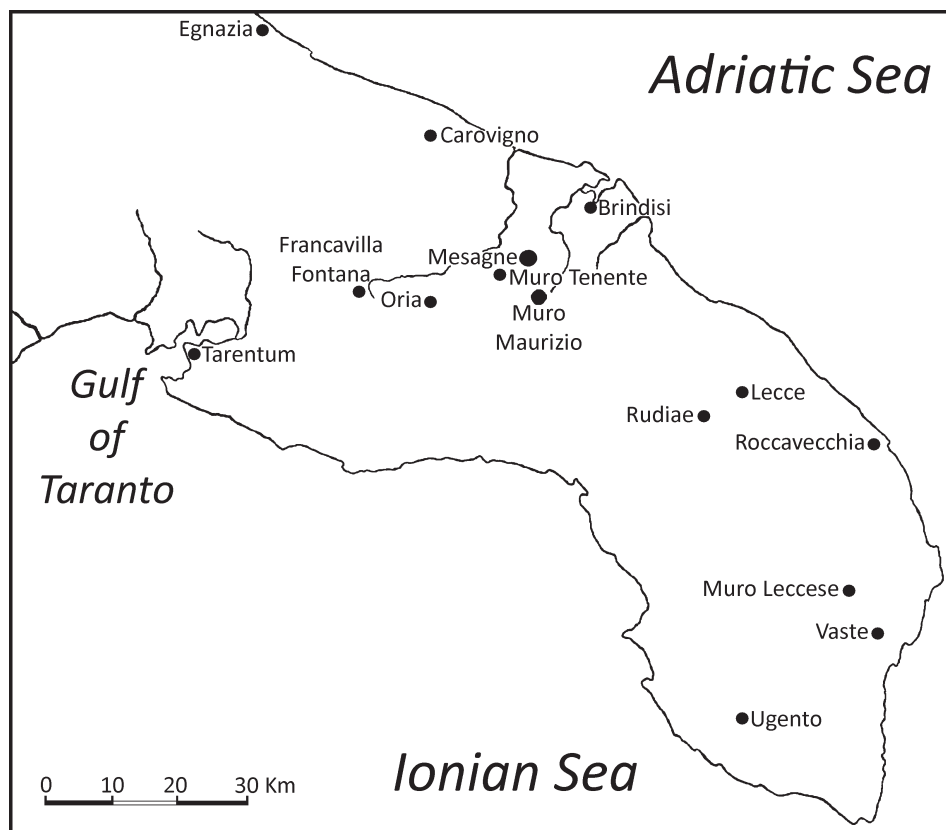


Fig. 1. Map showing major sites in the Salento Peninsula.

numbers.<sup>4</sup> Typically a single trozzella (although sometimes multiple examples survive in the same tomb), decorated in traditional manner, was placed in a grave alongside other ceramic funerary offerings, which were either of Greek origin or at least broadly of Greek inspiration, i.e. Apulian red-figure, black glaze wares, and wheel-made painted wares. It should be noted that many of these late trozzelle were produced using the fast wheel, which was a new technology learnt from the Greeks, but in terms of morphology and

outlines the history of kantharoid shapes in South Italy and ably illustrates the relationships between them (Colvicchi 2014, fig. 10.1).

<sup>4</sup> For details on the pattern of survival, see Yntema 1985, 455–61; summarised in Herring 1995, 137–39. In the Oria-Mesagne area the trozzella is the only traditional form that endures throughout the 4th century BC. In the province of Lecce, some other traditional shapes survive into this era including a conical-necked olla with fungus handles and a narrow conical-necked jug, although both appear to have stopped production earlier than the trozzella. Some isolated productions of trozzelle may have continued into the 3rd century BC but, by this time, their use was no longer widespread.

decoration these vases remained true to indigenous ceramic traditions. In 1995, I argued that the survival of this traditional shape, decorated in what was by the late 5th century onwards an otherwise obsolete ceramic style, solely for use in the symbolically heightened context of burial, was a conscious use of symbolism to indicate ethnic identity.

The theoretical framework that I used to make my argument was Polly Wiessner's style theory in which she argued that style is a non-verbal form of communication.<sup>5</sup> The way that communication occurs and how specific the information communicated is, depends upon the degree of specificity of the social referent of the symbol. According to Wiessner's view all styles have social referents. Some social referents can be highly specific but others have much vaguer associations. Thus, for Wiessner, style can be either assertive or emblematic depending on the degree of specificity. In assertive style a sign or symbol does not have a single or specific social referent; in emblematic style it does. Inevitably, examples of emblematic style are inevitably far harder to detect archaeologically because of the degree of specificity required by the definition. Both assertive and emblematic style can convey information in an active way but examples of assertive style are likely to carry vaguer messages because the associations for the receiver are less specific. An artefact with a specific social referent will communicate information in an active and effective way to a receiver belonging to the same social group: this is emblematic style. My principal contention in my 1995 paper was that by the late 5th century and beyond, the use of the trozzella in indigenous tombs was an example of emblematic style because the nature of the artefact and its associations with the past, the fact that it was only being manufactured for the specific context the grave, its use in emotionally-charged atmosphere of the funeral, and its inclusion in assemblages otherwise made up of Greek and Greek-style pottery conveyed a very specific message of group (ethnic) identity to those participating in the funeral, thereby affirming the deceased's status as a member of the group, also reinforcing their own sense of belonging.

### The Need to Revisit the Argument

Overall, the argument hung together well and I was happy with the paper as a contribution to our knowledge. There was one problem, however. I had stated in my 1995 paper that virtually every adult tomb contained one or more trozzelle – and, indeed, had based my argument on this idea. This was a mistake, as has been pointed out by Fabio Colvicchi in 2014.<sup>6</sup> He rightly stated that, in fact, trozzelle are to be found in the tombs of virtually all adult women. Although Colvicchi did not question the basic conclusion of my 1995 paper – that the late trozzelle were ethnic indicators – I feel that the matter needs to be revisited in order to bring the gender dimension to the forefront of the discussion and to consider what this might mean for identity in the Salento Peninsula in the late 5th and 4th centuries BC.

The pattern of production and use of trozzelle is still striking but is, in fact, even more specific than I had originally argued. However, the specificity could lead to the conclusion that these vases were not about community or ethnic identity but were solely connected with gender. In other words, the trozzella may have been a signifier of having been an adult woman.

<sup>5</sup> Wiessner 1983; 1989; 1990.

<sup>6</sup> Colvicchi 2014, 242, n. 136.



The association of certain artefacts with either men or women has long been an interpretive mainstay of Italian archaeology. For example, in the Iron Age weaponry and armaments have commonly been seen as the preserve of men while certain types of jewellery and the equipment associated with the production of textiles have been associated with women. The occupants of many tombs have been assigned a gender on the basis of the funerary assemblage rather than osteological examination. While this practice has its flaws and can lead to self-supporting assumptions about gender roles in ancient societies, the general association of certain artefacts and activities with particular genders seems well grounded.<sup>7</sup> We should not, however, necessarily expect the gender associations of artefacts to be absolute and exclusive. Similarly, there may not always have been a direct correlation between the biological sex of individuals and the gender identity ascribed to them by the burying community at the time of their funerals.

Some vase forms also seem to be associated with a particular gender. For example, in terms of Greek pottery, which was common in South Italy, hydriai were mostly associated with women, presumably because women performed the task of collecting water from fountain-houses. There is some evidence that the *nestoris*, which appears in Apulian and Lucanian red-figure and is related to the *trozzella*, was predominantly associated with women.<sup>8</sup>

It is, therefore, possible to argue that by the late 5th century BC, the *trozzella* had become such an important signifier of female identity among the indigenous population that production of the shape, with its traditional decoration, was maintained and one or more examples accompanied the burial of every adult woman. This pattern of usage could still be seen as an example of emblematic style, provided it has a specific social referent that communicated information in an active and effective way to a receiver belonging to the same social group. To address these criteria: the vase form is highly distinctive. The *trozzelle* are completely dissimilar to Greek and Greek type pottery, which was the most common type of pottery found in indigenous tombs. Although the *trozzelle* bear a somewhat closer resemblance to local Wheel-Made Painted vessels, the form and decorative syntax sets the *trozzelle* apart from rest of the ceramic assemblage found in such contexts. Secondly, *trozzelle* occur only in funerary contexts, which would have been charged with ritual symbolism. Thirdly, they are associated with a specific group (i.e. indigenous women). All of this suggests that this is a case of style having a distinct social referent.

Although one cannot be certain, the pattern of usage is highly suggestive that the *trozzelle* did communicate information in an active and effective way to members of the indigenous community. Their deposition was deliberate and a matter of conscious selection by the burying community. It is clear that by the late 5th century, *trozzelle* were manufactured solely for the specific context of female graves.

<sup>7</sup> For a landmark study, based on evidence from the Early Iron Age cemetery of Pontecagnano, of some of the issues surrounding the ascribing of gender to tombs on the basis of artefacts alone, see Vida Navarro 1993. The risks of imposing modern gender biases on archaeological thinking have been effectively explored by Hurcombe 1995.

<sup>8</sup> Herring 2018. However, there is some risk of circular reasoning here, as the gendered use of the *trozzella* acts as corroborating evidence for the association of the *nestoris* with indigenous women in my paper on the latter form.

### Is Gender the Only Message?

That the trozzella were symbolically linked to female identity seems incontrovertible, regardless of whether their use is seen as an example of assertive or emblematic style. The question that remains, however, is why is female identity being expressed in this particular way via the maintenance of traditional vase form decorated in an antiquated style, especially given that there does not seem to be an equivalent signifier of indigenous male identity. Female identity seems to be linked inextricably to being part of the indigenous population. This is evident through three factors:

- 1) the use of traditional indigenous shape;
- 2) the decoration of the trozzella in accordance with the traditions of Matt-Painted pottery rather than in the style of contemporary ceramics;
- 3) the contrast between the style and shape of the trozzella and that of the rest of the ceramic assemblage found in the tombs.

The choice of the trozzella shape is worthy of comment. As a shape it has a considerable heritage, developing from the olletta that had been part of Salentine matt-painted traditions since the Middle Geometric phase, dated to the period *ca.* 825/800–750 BC by Douwe Yntema.<sup>9</sup> By the late 5th century BC, the trozzella had developed into a decidedly impractical shape for use in ordinary domestic contexts. The handles had become elongated and each was decorated with two pairs of discs, one just above the point at which the handles joined body of the vessels and the other at the highest point of the handles (Fig. 2). The shape is highly distinctive but the handles would have been prone to breakage if used for everyday tasks. It seems likely then that even before matt-painted pottery had ceased to be used in domestic contexts that the trozzella was already earmarked for the tomb and perhaps other ritual contexts. There is some evidence from Apulian red-figure pottery that suggests that such forms were used in the performance of ritual. The related nestoris form not only occurs, albeit rarely, in Apulian red-figure but nestorides are depicted in a number of scenes depicting the indigenous population. These scenes are all on column-kraters, which is the shape on which most scenes portraying indigenous people occur. On the rare occasions that they are shown being used, rather than just being carried, they hold liquid. The best example is to be found on a column-krater now in the British Museum (BM F174), which is attributed to the Sisyphus Painter and dated to the later 5th century BC (Fig. 3).<sup>10</sup> The scene shows a woman pouring a libation (presumably of wine) from a nestoris into a phiale held by the departing youth, wearing the traditional indigenous costume. The patterned decoration on the nestoris suggests that it may represent a matt-painted vessel. Nestorides are only depicted in scenes showing the indigenous population and they are most, though not exclusively, associated with women.<sup>11</sup> It should be stressed, however, that, while the nestoris and the trozzella are clearly related, the evidence indicates that the Apulian red-figure vases showing the indigenous population come predominantly, if not exclusively, from Central Puglia.<sup>12</sup> Although there were strong cultural similarities between the different communities of southern Italy, we cannot assume that customs in the Salento Peninsula were the same

<sup>9</sup> Yntema 1985, 78–82.

<sup>10</sup> Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, 1/55.

<sup>11</sup> Herring 2018.

<sup>12</sup> Carpenter 2003; Herring 2014.

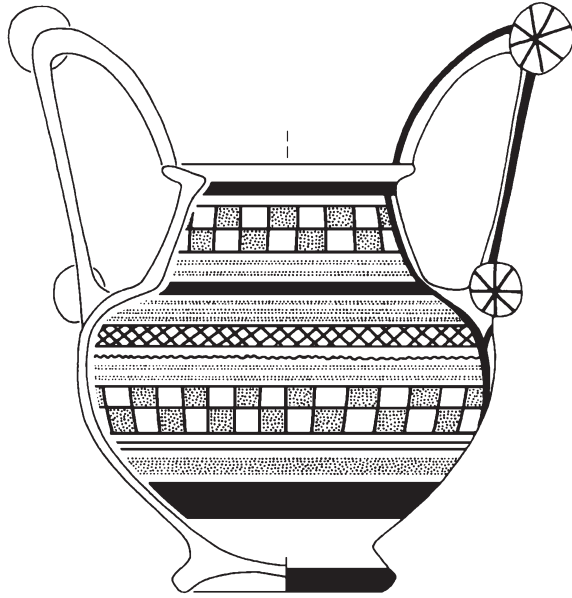


Fig. 2. Trozzella from Rudiae. Maximum height 227 mm. Date *ca.* 475–425 BC (after Yntema 1985, fig. 319).



Fig. 3. Apulian column-krater (BM F 174) attributed to the Sisyphus Painter (Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, 1/55). A woman pours a libation (presumably of wine) from a nestoris into the phiale held by the departing indigenous youth. Photograph courtesy of the British Museum.  
© The British Museum.

as those of Central Puglia or that the similar associations would attach to morphologically related vases from the two areas.

Nevertheless, we might reasonably argue that the trozzella was a form traditionally associated with women and their roles in ritual life and that this made it an appropriate vehicle for the communication of messages about female identity. However, that female identity is inextricably linked to an indigenous identity. This seems a particular feature of female burials in the Salento. It is, of course, possible that indigenous identity was equally important in male funerals but it was not marked in such a way as to be archaeologically recognisable.<sup>13</sup> If we take the evidence at face value, it would seem that membership of the indigenous community was particularly stressed in the burials of adult women.

### Conclusions – *Mater semper certa est*

To my mind, the key to understanding why this should be the case lies in the fact that the trozzella is not a signifier of being female but rather a signifier of being an adult female.

Adult women have one skill that sets them apart from all other groups in society, namely the ability to bear children. This makes them special in all populations and can, in some instances, make their lineage particularly important. Matrilineal descent may not be as common as patrilineality but it has been documented in communities all across the world and *mater semper certa est* remains a very familiar principle. Perhaps the best-known example in the modern world is to be found in traditional Judaism, whereby a person inherits their faith and Jewish identity from their mother and not their father.

It is possible that among the people of the Salento Peninsula, membership of the indigenous community was passed down through the mother's line of descent. This might explain why adult female identity was tied so closely with indigenous identity. It mattered to the burying community – most likely members of the woman's family – to stress the dead woman's heritage, as this re-affirmed the status of her offspring as legitimate members of the indigenous community.

This role as gate-keepers of indigenous lineage would sit comfortably with other ritual roles performed by women in South Italian communities. Many of the rituals shown on Apulian and Campanian red-figure vases consist of women pouring libations to mark the departure or return of men, often warriors.<sup>14</sup> Such rituals when depicted on vases found in funerary contexts have obvious associations with death, but that is not to say that such rituals were not performed in real life. These rituals marked a man's departure from the community, and perhaps his sanction to perform violent acts, and his return and reintegration into the community after having performed such acts. Women seem to act as mediators, ensuring that the men's presence within or absence from the community has been properly approved.

<sup>13</sup> It is possible that men from the Salento would have been buried in a version of the indigenous costume depicted on Apulian red-figure vases. Such a costume would have been made of wool and would not normally survive. However, as has been already noted, the Apulian red-figure vases showing the indigenous population seem to be from central rather than southern Puglia so we cannot be sure that Salentine men wore such a costume.

<sup>14</sup> For examples, see Schneider-Herrmann 1996. Again it must be stressed that it far from certain that any of these vessels depict the activities of the population of the Salento Peninsula.

Trozzelle may have routinely used by women in the performance these rituals, so that the form became synonymous with women and their role as the guarantors of the integrity of community membership. Thus, the vessel became an essential signifier of both female identity and the vital role that women played in the continuity and integrity of the community. The symbolism was so potent that it was celebrated and commemorated at women's funerals and it ensured that the vase form and its traditional decorative style survived long after the wider matt-painted tradition had died out.

## Bibliography

- Carpenter, T.H. 2003: 'The native market for red-figure vases in Apulia'. *MAAR* 48, 1–24.
- Colivicchi, F. 2014: "Native" Vase Shapes in South Italian Red-Figure Pottery'. In Carpenter, T.H., Lynch, K.M. and Robinson, E.G.D. (eds.), *The Italic People of Ancient Apulia: New Evidence from Pottery for Workshops, Markets, and Customs* (Cambridge), 213–42.
- Herring, E. 1995: 'Emblems of Identity. An examination of the use of matt-painted pottery in the native tombs of the Salento peninsula in the 5th and 4th centuries BC'. In Christie, N. (ed.), *Settlement and Economy, 1500 BC–AD 1500* (Oxford), 135–42.
- . 2007: 'Daunians, Peucetians and Messapians? Societies and settlements in South-East Italy'. In Bradley, G., Isayev, E. and Riva, C. (eds.), *Ancient Italy: Regions Without Boundaries* (Exeter), 268–94.
- . 2014: 'Apulian vase-painting by numbers: some thoughts on the production of vases depicting indigenous men'. *BICS* 57.1, 79–95.
- . 2018: 'Identity, gender and the nestoris in Apulian red-figure'. In Kästner, U. and Schmidt, S. (eds.), *Inszenierung von Identitäten – Unteritalische Vasen zwischen Griechen und Indigenen* (Munich), 60–66.
- Hurcombe, L. 1995: 'Our own engendered species'. *Antiquity* 69, 87–100.
- Schneider-Herrmann, G. 1980: *Red-figured Lucanian and Apulian Nestorides and Their Ancestors* (Amsterdam).
- . 1996: *The Samnites of the Fourth Century BC as Depicted on Campanian Vases and in Other Sources*, ed. E. Herring (London).
- Trendall, A.D. and Cambitoglou, A. 1982. *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia 1: Early and Middle Apulian* (Oxford).
- Vida Navarro, M.C. 1993: 'Warriors and weavers: sex and gender in the Early Iron Age graves from Pontecagnano'. *Accordia Research Papers* 3, 67–99.
- Whitehouse, R.D. and Wilkins, J.B. 1985: 'Magna Graecia before the Greeks: towards a reconciliation of the evidence'. In Malone, C. and Stoddart, S. (eds.), *Papers in Italian Archaeology IV.iii: Patterns in Protohistory* (Oxford), 89–109.
- . 1989: 'Greeks and natives in Southeast Italy: approaches to the archaeological evidence'. In Champion, T.C. (ed.), *Centre and Periphery: Comparative Studies in Archaeology* (London), 102–27.
- Wiessner, P. 1983: 'Style and social information in Kalahari San projectile points'. *American Antiquity* 49.2, 253–76.
- . 1989: 'Style and changing relations between the individual and society'. In Hodder, I. (ed.), *The Meanings of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression* (London), 56–63.
- . 1990: 'Is there a unity to style?' In Conkey, M. and Hastorf, C. (eds.), *The Uses of Style in Archaeology* (Cambridge), 105–12.
- Yntema, D.G. 1974: 'Messapian painted pottery. Analysis and previsory classification'. *BABesch* 49, 3–84.



- . 1985: *The Matt-Painted Pottery of Southern Italy: A General Survey of the Matt-Painted Pottery Styles of Southern Italy during the Final Bronze Age and Early Iron Age* (Utrecht).

National University of Ireland, Galway  
University Road  
Galway H91 TK33  
Republic of Ireland  
Edward.herring@nuigalway.ie

# WORLDS APART? A SASANIAN INTAGLIO FROM THE PROVINCE OF SCYTHIA\*

GEORGE NUȚU

## Abstract

A few years ago, a local from Babadag city brought an interesting carnelian to the Museum in Tulcea. The carnelian depicted two animals in a manner which was unusual in the Greek and Roman glyptic repertoire of the area located near the mouths of the Danube, where the gem was found. Obviously, this find raised questions about dating and more precisely, the question to which cultural milieu the artefact belonged. The search for parallels led to an unexpected area – the modern area of Iran, the core region of the Sasanian empire from which it was possible to find a small group of gemstones depicting a similar motif, scattered in collections of various museums from the Old and New World. The motif consists of two monkeys in a rampant position standing on their hind legs, a type dated to the 5th century AD.

## Premises

Antique gemstones from the region of the mouths of the Danube are scarce compared with the southern regions of Moesia Inferior.<sup>1</sup> This statement can easily be verified if we compare the quantity with the other assemblages, as for example those in Constanța Museum, not to mention the large number of these delicate products of Roman artistry from Bulgaria.<sup>2</sup> Ancient Tomis has produced a fair number of ancient gems excavated not only from the specific area of the city but also inside graves. Noteworthy is a large group of 30–40 gems discovered in the 19th century on the beach, possibly in the harbour area, and sold to British collectors. Outstanding among these finds, is a middle 4th-century carnelian; it depicts the

\* This paper was written in the framework of a grant of the Romanian Authority for Scientific Research and Innovation – CNCS – UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2016-0852 (in PNCDI III). My heartfelt thanks to the Revd Professor Emeritus Martin Henig (Wolfson College, Oxford) for sharing his vast expertise on gemstones. I am indebted to Dr Inge P. Shahia (ex-University of South Africa, Pretoria) for the English proofing of the text. Prof. Dr Maurizio Buora (Udine), Dr Paola Gulinelli (DAI, Rome), Dr Sofia Akrivopoulou (Ephorate of Antiquities of Thessaloniki) and Dr Ana Hamat (Muzeul Banatului, Reșița) kindly provided some of the bibliography. My thanks go also to Dr Cristian Micu and Dr Sorin Ailincăi (The Eco-Museum Research Institute, Tulcea) through whom I became acquainted with the owner and who offered me the opportunity to make a few photographs. The gem was (still is?) in possession of Mr N. Roșca (Babadag) whom I thank. The drawings used in this paper were made by Camelia Geanbai and the photographs by Gabriel Dincu (The Eco-Museum Research Institute, Tulcea).

<sup>1</sup> Generally, for ancient gems found in the region near the mouths of the Danube, see Ștefan 1941, fig. 28; Barnea and Barnea 1984, 514, pl. 12.1; Simion 2005–06; Covacef and Zahariade 2009, pl. 3.1; Baumann 2015, fig. 7.3–4; Chiriac 2012, 229–30, nos. 314–316.

<sup>2</sup> Dimitrova-Milčeva 1980; 1987.

image of the Crucifixion and bears the early Christian formula IXΘYC which has an Eastern (Syrian) origin.<sup>3</sup>

### A New Intaglio!

This was the first thought of the author several years ago, when a local from Babadag city, near the Danube Delta, brought a beautiful carnelian intaglio to the Museum of History and Archaeology in Tulcea county. He said he had found it in the south-western outskirts of the city (Fig. 1). A new intaglio found in the north of the Dobrudja is always captivating, especially in this case in which the device depicts images unusual for Graeco-Roman gems found in this area. Furthermore, as stated above, the corpus of local Roman finds is small when compared with the regions south of the Danube. Unfortunately, discussions for the purchase of this find did not lead to any result. At this point, it is possible that this 'new' carnelian is still owned by the same gentleman. As in many other circumstances when special artefacts are brought to museums, we have no data concerning the exact context for the gem. However, based on the information provided by the owner, a silver ring set with this gem was discovered by his father in a ploughed field during agricultural work in an area south-west from the Babadag city (Fig. 2). For a number of years, the ring was kept as a memento and occasionally worn by its finder. At some point it was damaged: the ring was irremediably broken and the gemstone split longitudinally.

### Description of the Device

The intaglio is engraved on a red oval-shape carnelian with the dimensions of  $9 \times 8 \times 2.9$  mm. The surface is flat or slightly concave and is trapeze-shaped in cross-section with bevelled margins. The gem depicts two monkeys with long tails, facing towards the right, in a rampant position standing on their hind legs. A 'V'-shaped mark resembling a star is visible on the upper side between the two animals' heads. The state of preservation is generally good but the back of the gem was cracked at some point and then glued with some substance (Fig. 3).

The edges are chipped, which is a further proof that the intaglio was used in a signet ring. The shape of the gem is close to Horn and Steindorff's form VIb: oval and the cross-section is trapezoidal.<sup>4</sup> The style is 'minimalistic' and details are rather crude. Overall, it resembles Brunner's style E ('scratch' style) that is characterised by keeping the design to a minimum and rendering images through cross-cut lines.<sup>5</sup>

All these particularities suggest that the Babadag intaglio has different traits compared with Roman examples. Parallels suggests that this interesting artefact belongs to Sasanian glyptic. A few examples of these stones reached Romanian collections and were analysed by M. Gramatopol, but there is no comparanda for the intaglio from Babadag.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Covacef and Chera 1977. To these we may add a large number (30–40 gems) reported found on the beach in Constanța (in the harbour area?) in the late 19th century (see Harley-McGowan 2011, 214).

<sup>4</sup> Horn and Steindorff 1891, V.

<sup>5</sup> Brunner 1978, 134.

<sup>6</sup> Gramatopol 2009, 178–80, nos. 708–732, pls. 33–34.

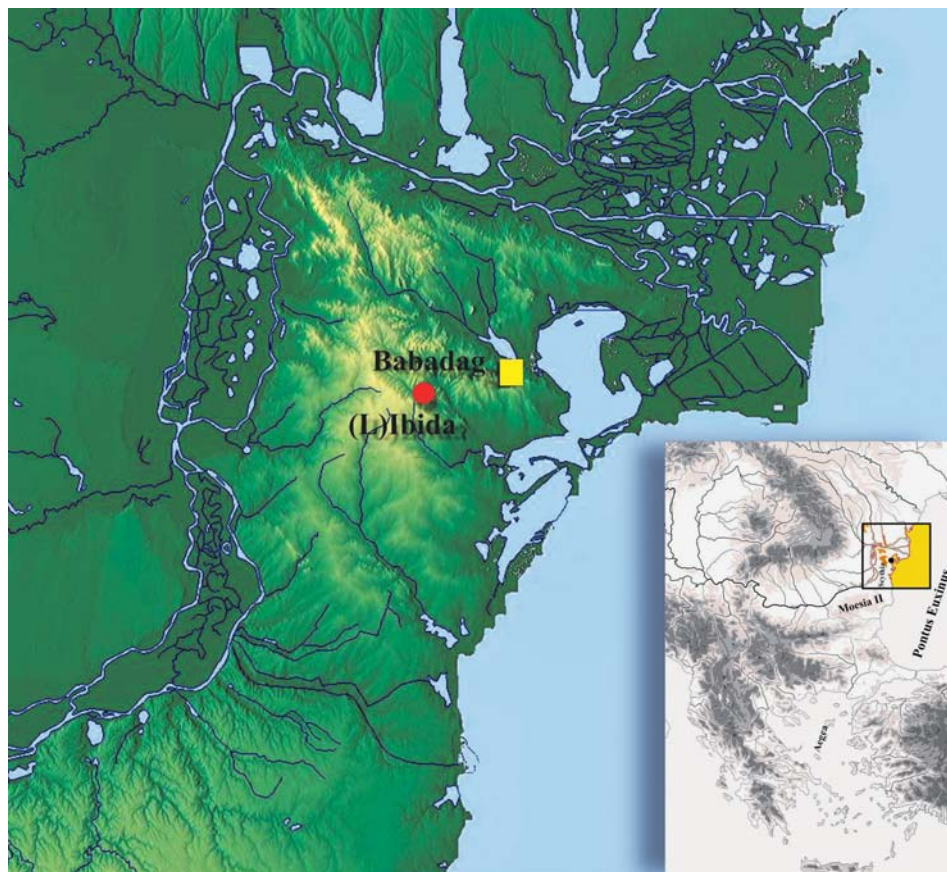


Fig. 1. The location of Babadag and (L)Ibida.

### The Type

Varieties of animals were chosen to decorate ancient gems. This is true not only for Graeco-Roman intaglios<sup>7</sup> but also for Sasanian types. In the latter case, large felines (lions, panthers), as well as horses, camels, rams, stags, gazelles and zebus, as well as fantasy animals<sup>8</sup> or ones related to astrological significance<sup>9</sup> and complex hunting scenes, were frequently employed.<sup>10</sup> Spier noticed that ‘Sasanian gems began to be produced only after the fashion for engraved gems had to great degree fallen out of favour in the Roman Empire’ although he admits

<sup>7</sup> Henig 1974, 150–53.

<sup>8</sup> Fossing 1929, 248, no. 1857, pl. 21. Apart from seals, animals appear often in Sasanian art and everyday life; among them, a large number of terracotta animal figurines used as toys, votive offerings or having an apotropaic or magical value (see Cellarino and Messina 2013, 127–28).

<sup>9</sup> Hoey-Middleton 1998, 83.

<sup>10</sup> Borisov and Lukonin 1963; Zahlhaas 1985, 53, nos. 74–75; Platz-Horster 1994, 215–17, nos. 351–358, pls. 68–69.



Fig. 2. The approximate find-spot of the intaglio and the geographic relation between Babadag and (L)Ibida.

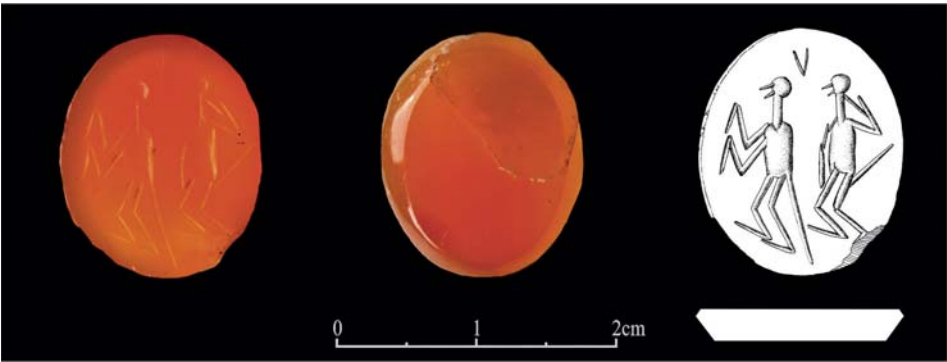


Fig. 3. Intaglio from Babadag – photographs, drawing and cross-section.

that their chronological development ‘is still controversial’.<sup>11</sup> Whatever the case, the use of seals in the Sasanian society was extremely popular and animal subjects are frequently found.<sup>12</sup>

The materials used for Sasanian intaglios are similar to the ones used by the Romans – especially varieties of quartz, primarily carnelian, which is the most common stone used in

<sup>11</sup> Spier 1992, 164.

<sup>12</sup> Brunner 1980, 34.

antiquity for seals on finger rings.<sup>13</sup> Other semiprecious stones employed for seals and intaglios include jasper, chalcedony, rock crystals, agate and lapis lazuli.<sup>14</sup> The use of these seals was, as in the case of Roman ones, primarily for correspondence, commercial, administrative and political purposes, although one cannot exclude, in some cases, their use as talismans. In the case of both Roman and Sasanian seals, the thousands of impressions left on clay found in various archaeological contexts display a variety of symbols and motifs.<sup>15</sup> It is important to note that the Sasanian styles of engraving varies greatly, from skilful to careless work.<sup>16</sup> The level of craftsmanship could perhaps point to the social status (i.e. the wealth or the social rank) of the owner. However, it has been emphasised for a long time that seals were used at all levels of Sasanian society, in administration, in everyday life and to prepare for the afterlife.<sup>17</sup>

### Motifs on the Intaglio

*Stars.* On the top of the Babadag intaglio there is visible a V-shaped incision, which undoubtedly was added later. It was probably made while engraving the whole scene, but the actual meaning is not easy to decipher. However, there are reasons to believe that is a schematised star, a decorative motif which appears on other gems as in the case of one example from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, also depicting such a star and two monkeys.<sup>18</sup> Depictions of stars also have deep roots on Mesopotamian cylinder seals<sup>19</sup> and could be possibly related to different astral symbols. Simpson already noticed that among the figural motifs on late Sasanian pottery, stars were also employed as decoration in more complex scenes, usually depicting animals, in particular rams and stags which were connected with religious imagery.<sup>20</sup>

*Monkeys.* Depicting monkeys as devices has a long tradition. Examples of seals used in the Near East illustrate a variety of symbols and animals, including monkeys. One such motif is depicted on a seal which shows a monkey playing on a flute, a long-perpetuated motif on Mesopotamian seals.<sup>21</sup> Some authors infer from these representations, which are also illustrated on Sumero-Akkadian seals, that minor deities or demons played a role.<sup>22</sup> Brunner showed that the depiction of animals on Sasanian seals was connected with their 'aesthetic significance' or with the 'exotic interest' derived from 'their natural qualities'.<sup>23</sup> Apart from

<sup>13</sup> Spier 1992, 5, 164; Ritter 2012, 102.

<sup>14</sup> von der Osten 1934, 10; Ritter 2017, 281–82.

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, a short account on the over 100,000 clay impressions of seals from Zeugma (Onal 2010).

<sup>16</sup> von der Osten 1934, 10.

<sup>17</sup> Ritter 2012, 100; 2017, 283.

<sup>18</sup> Henig 1994, 436, no. 912.

<sup>19</sup> von der Osten 1934, 112.

<sup>20</sup> Simpson 2013, 104.

<sup>21</sup> Pittman 2002, 216 and 219.

<sup>22</sup> von der Osten 1934, 105.

<sup>23</sup> Brunner 1980, 34.



gemstones, monkeys occur on various objects and reliefs in Sasanian art. One such find, a limestone slab housed in the British Museum, depicts a god or a mortal hunting together with a monkey that is restrained with a collar.<sup>24</sup> During the early Islamic period, there are some accounts of rings with magical seals, including one depicting a monkey, but they were used primarily as talismans and not for sealing documents.<sup>25</sup>

The meaning of these representations is not certain. Perhaps, in Sasanid art, as well as previously in Egyptian and Mesopotamian art, monkeys were associated with the keeping of pets or were objects of curiosity and amusement because they can imitate human behaviour.<sup>26</sup>

### Parallels

A small group of intaglios provide fairly close parallels to the example found at Babadag. These were bequeathed to or purchased by the British Museum and the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. In all cases, the device depicts two monkeys and the workmanship is similar to the Babadag gem although the shape of the stamp seals varies from oval to rectangular.

A ring stone made of carnelian in the collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum (no. CG 416) displays 'two monkeys with long tails, prancing on their hind legs' (Fig. 4.2). M.R. James gifted this intaglio to the museum in 1909 and its origin is unknown. Henig dated it to the 5th century AD and considered it to be Sasanian, based on the opinion of A.D.H. Bivar.<sup>27</sup> The rendered images are the same: two monkeys with rudimentary features prancing towards the right; one can see the long tails and schematised heads. The gemstone is better cut and the details are fairly rounded, while in the case of the intaglio found at Babadag, the figures were cut roughly in the so-called 'scratch style'. Differences may also be seen in the case of the bezel; the Fitzwilliam Museum's intaglio has a rudimentary hexagonal shape, while the Babadag example is oval.

A second example held in the same museum's collection was acquired from a private collector where it belonged to an interesting collection gathered in Shiraz (south-western Iran) and Hamadān (north-western Iran). Thus, we have an approximate geographical context.<sup>28</sup> Apart from three stamp seals of Indian influence depicting a standing monkey,<sup>29</sup> there is also a singular ring gemstone made of carnelian with agate which depicts 'two prancing monkeys' enclosed by six little crosses or stars<sup>30</sup> (Fig. 4.3). In this case we have a close parallel for the shape of the intaglio from Babadag, but the images are more visible, although the general appearance of this example closely resembles the find from Scythia.

<sup>24</sup> Barnet 1973, 4, pl. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Soucek 2002, 250–51.

<sup>26</sup> Houlihan 2002, 117, 123; Foster 2002, 288.

<sup>27</sup> Henig 1994, 189, no. 416.

<sup>28</sup> Henig 1994, 423.

<sup>29</sup> Henig 1994, 436, no. 912.

<sup>30</sup> Henig 1994, 436, no. 911. Stars enclosing a device is also employed in the case of a carnelian intaglio from Thorvaldsen Museum in Copenhagen depicting the fight of Hercules with a Centaur (see Fossing 1929, 236, no. 1752, pl. 20).



1



2



3



Fig. 4. 1. Intaglio from British Museum (drawing after Bivar 1969, 96, no. GA 2, pl. 19); 2. Intaglio from Fitzwilliam Museum, gift of M.R. James (drawing after Henig 1994, 189, no. 416); 3. Intaglio from the Davis collection (Greg bequest) in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge (photograph and drawing after impression: after Henig 1994, 436, no. 912).

Not to scale.

There is a special, well-executed group of gems in the collection of the British Museum. The images on the bezel are carved and depict, in all three cases, monkeys. The shape of the bezels varies from oval to ellipsoid and rectangular/square. Unfortunately, the original context of these is unknown. A close parallel to the Babadag intaglio is also made of carnelian and has a similar oval shape (12 × 14 mm). The image depicts two prancing monkeys facing to the right<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 4.1).

<sup>31</sup> Bivar 1969, 96, no. GA 2, pl. 19.

The second and third examples depict the same scene on the image, but the style is rather crude. The shape of the stamp seals is somewhat unusual as they are rectangular.<sup>32</sup>

### Related Types

Among related intaglios with monkeys on gems, no. GA 1 in the British Museum warrants attention. It depicts a standing monkey with long raised tail and human traits, possible wearing a chiton. Bivar dated this chalcedony intaglio to the 5th century AD.<sup>33</sup> This find is closely related to two stamp-seals from the Davis collection,<sup>34</sup> now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, and another made of limonite in the same museum, a gift of R.G. Gayer-Anderson.<sup>35</sup> It is known that this last example was acquired in Egypt, while the Davis intaglios were purchased in south-western and north-western Iran. All three intaglios were dated to the 5th–6th centuries AD. Of a great help for dating would have been the finger ring type, because this might have provided a good indication of the age of its production. Unfortunately, the owner gave no information about the finger ring beyond informing us that it was made of silver.

### The Archaeological Background to the Find-Spot

The archaeological background of the Babadag area from the Early Roman period down to late antiquity is relatively well-known. Several years ago, a short-term rescue and research excavation was conducted and the conclusion was drawn that a large Early and possible Late Roman rural settlement was located here. I identified, hypothetically, this settlement with *vicus Nov(us)*, as a Roman village mentioned on a votive altar dedicated to IOM found in this area in the late 19th century.<sup>36</sup> The life-span of this settlement was within the 2nd–4th centuries AD, based on pottery and glassware. A coin collection found in this area (stray finds) provided a synchronic chronology,<sup>37</sup> with only a single follis issued by Mauricius Tiberius. Based on this chronological evidence, we may waive any association between this settlement and the intaglio under discussion.

Another possible explanation of its presence in this area is raised if we analyse the early Byzantine settlements located in the Central Dobrudja. The reported find-spot is also on the route to the Late Roman and Early Byzantine fortification (L)Ibida (marked in red on Fig. 2) situated 7 km south-west of Babadag, at Slava Rusă (Slava Cercheză commune, county of Tulcea). Still, an overview of the few intaglios found up to the present during field work at (L)Ibida leave no doubt: all finds belong to Graeco-Roman type, from the early Augustan Apolophanes' Medusa type to the small gems which have the *Lupa Capitolina* or a horse<sup>38</sup> depicted on the device. In any case, the region south-west of Babadag is located on the road

<sup>32</sup> Bivar 1969, 96, nos. GA 3–4, pl. 19.

<sup>33</sup> Bivar 1969, 96, no. GA 1, pl. 19.

<sup>34</sup> Henig 1994, 435, nos. 908–909.

<sup>35</sup> Henig 1994, 187, no. 411.

<sup>36</sup> *ISM* V 233; Nuțu 2009, 125. Against this idea, see Matei-Popescu 2016.

<sup>37</sup> Iacob *et al.* 2002.

<sup>38</sup> Chiriac 2012, 229–30, nos. 314–316.

which linked the Black Sea coast with (L)Ibida and may explain the finding of the gem in this spot. Objects dispersed over long distances during the Late Antique and Early Byzantine periods were not uncommon, and as the Sasanian empire had developed trade links from the Euphrates to South East Asia,<sup>39</sup> it made the diffusion area for Sasanian seals extremely wide.<sup>40</sup>

A third possible explanation for the intaglio's arrival in this area, lies in the historical evolution of the Dobrudja. For centuries, this area was a Turkish/Ottoman province, which maintained close trade relations with Asia Minor. Thus, we cannot exclude *a priori* Mediaeval or Modern 'import', possibly an acquisition from the Constantinople antiquities market.<sup>41</sup> Ancient intaglios were reused on a large scale in the Renaissance and Modern periods, set into new types of finger rings, usually made of precious metals. Sometimes, they were replicated in the Modern period. One such example comes from Svishtov in Bulgaria, where in the early 20th century a local – V. Mancev and previously his father, E.I. Danailov – worked semi-precious stones. They replicated ancient gems and copied motifs from ancient coins.<sup>42</sup>

### Concluding Remarks

At the end of this short analysis, one can come to the conclusion that the Babadag intaglio belongs to a small group largely diffused and very few are relatively provenanced. The intaglios bearing the symbol of two prancing monkeys date to the 5th century AD, are of Sasanian origin and were, probably, the product of workshops from the same region, possibly western Iran.

Where exactly they originated is a question to be answered in the future. With the exception of the carnelian found at Babadag, in Central Scythia, we have only vague find-spots or more accurately purchase-spots, in Egypt or western Iran.

### Bibliography

ISM V *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris antiquae* V: *Capidava – Noviodunum – Troesmis* (Bucharest 1980).

Barnea, I. and Barnea, A. 1984: 'Săpăturile de salvare de la Noviodunum'. *Peuce* 9, 97–105.

Barnet, R.D. 1973: 'Monkey Business'. *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 5, 1–10.

Baumann, V.H. 2015: *Sângele martirilor* (Constanța).

Bivar, A.D.H. 1969: *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Stamp Seals 2: The Sassanian Dynasty* (London).

Borisov, A.Y. and Lukonin, B.G. 1963: *Sasanidskie Gemmi* (Leningrad).

Brunner, C.J. 1978: *Sassanian Stamp Seals in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York).

<sup>39</sup> Ritter 2010.

<sup>40</sup> Ritter 2017, 277.

<sup>41</sup> We know that most of the great Sasanian seals collections were bought on the antiquities markets in the 19th century (see Ritter 2012, 99).

<sup>42</sup> Dimitrova-Milčeva 1987, 196.

- . 1980: 'Sassanian Seals in the Moore Collection: Motive and Meaning in Some Popular Subjects'. *MetMusJ* 14, 33–50.
- Cellerino, A. and Messina, V. 2013: 'Terracotta Animal Figurines from Veh Ardashir (Coche) in the Collection of the Museo Civico d'Arte Antica e Palazzo Madama (Torino)'. In Peruzzetto, A., Dorna Metzger, F. and Dirven, L. (eds.), *Animals, Gods and Men from East to West: Papers on Archaeology and History in Honour of Roberta Venco Ricciardi* (Oxford), 123–34.
- Chiriac, C. 2012: 'Geme'. In Iacob, M., Paraschiv, D., Nuțu, G., Mocanu, M. (eds.), *Romani în Pontul Stâng în perioada Principatului / The Romans in the Left Pontus during the Principate* (Exhibition Catalogue) (Tulcea), 229–30.
- Covacef, Z. and Chera, C. 1977: 'Geme din Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie Constanța'. *Pontica* 10, 191–202.
- Covacef, Z. and Zahariade, M. 2009: 'Piese romano-bizantine descoperite la Halmyris'. *Pontica* 42, 477–83.
- Dimetrova-Milčeva, A. 1980: *Antike Gemmen und Kameen aus dem Archäologischen National Museum in Sofia* (Sofia).
- . 1987: 'Gemme e cammei del Museo Storico Comunale di Svištov'. *Ratiarensia* 3–4, 193–208.
- Fossing, P.M.A. 1929: *The Thorvaldsen Museum: Catalogue of the Antique Engraved Gems and Cameos* (Copenhagen).
- Foster, B.R. 2002: 'Animals in Mesopotamian Literature'. In Collins, B.J. (ed.), *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East* (Leiden/Boston/Cologne), 271–88.
- Gramatopol, M. 2009: *Geme și camee din colecția Cabinetului Numismatic al Bibliotecii Academiei Române* (Brașov).
- Harley-McGowan, F. 2011: 'The Constanza Carnelian and the Development of Crucifixion Iconography in Late Antiquity'. In Adams, N. and Entwistle, C. (ed.), *Gems of Heaven. Recent Research on Gemstones in Late Antiquity, AD 200–600* (London), 214–20.
- Henig, M. 1974: *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites*, 2 vols. (Oxford).
- . 1994: *Classical Gems. Ancient and Modern Intaglios and Cameos in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (Cambridge).
- Hoey-Middleton, S. 1998: *Seal, Finger Rings, Engraved Gems and Amulets in the Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter from the Collections of Lt. Colonel L.A.D. Montague and Dr. N.L. Corkill* (Exeter).
- Horn, P. and Steindorff, G. 1891: *Sassanidische Siegelsteine* (Berlin).
- Houlihan, P.F. 2002: 'Animals in Egyptian Art and Hieroglyphs'. In Collins, B.J. (ed.), *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East* (Leiden/Boston/Cologne), 97–143.
- Iacob, M., Velter, A.-M. and Mănușu-Adameșteanu, G. 2002: 'Monede dintr-o colecție particulară din Babadag'. *Cercetări Numismatice* 8, 39–57.
- Matei-Popescu, F. 2016: 'Vicus Nov(iodunum) and Vicus Classicorum: on the Origins of the Municipium Noviodunum'. *AWE* 15, 213–22.
- Nuțu, G. 2009: 'Cercetări arheologice la limita de sud-vest a orașului Babadag (vicus Novus?)'. *Peuce* n.s. 7, 123–44.
- Onal, M. 2010: 'Deities and Cultures Meet on the Seal Impressions in Zeugma'. *Bolletino di Archeologia On Line* 1/2010, 25–53.
- Pittman, H. 2002: 'The "Jeweler's" Seal from Susa and Art of Awan'. In Ehrenberg, E. (ed.), *Leaving No Stones Unturned: Essays on the Ancient Near East and Egypt in Honor of Donald P. Hansen* (Winona Lake, IN), 211–35.
- Platz-Horster, G. 1994: *Die antiken Gemmen aus Xanten II im Besitz des Archäologischen Parks/Regionalmuseums Xanten, der Katholischen Kirchengemeinde St. Mariae Himmelfahrt Marienbaum sowie in Privatbesitz* (Cologne/Bonn).
- Ritter, N.C. 2010: 'Vom Euphrat zum Mekong – Maritime Kontakte zwischen Vorder- und Südostasien in vorislamischer Zeit'. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 141, 143–71.

- . 2012: 'On the Development of Sassanian Seals and Sealing Practice: A Mesopotamian Approach'. In Regulski, I., Duistermaat, K. and Verkinderen, P. (eds.), *Seals and Sealing Practices in the Near East: Developments in Administration and Magic from Prehistory to the Islamic Period* (Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA), 99–114.
- . 2017: 'Gemstones in Pre-Islamic Persia: Social and Symbolic Meanings of Sassanian Seals'. In Hilgner, A., Greiff, S. and Quast, D. (eds.), *Gemstones in the First Millennium AD. Mines, Trade, Workshops and Symbolism* (Mainz), 277–92.
- Simion, G.** 2005–06: 'Gemele din colecția ICEM Tulcea'. *Peuce* n.s. 3–4, 173–82.
- Simpson, St J.** 2013: 'Rams, Stags and Crosses from Sassanian Iraq: Elements of a Shared Visual Vocabulary from Late Antiquity'. In Peruzzetto, A., Dorna Metzger, F. and Dirven, L. (eds.), *Animals, Gods and Men from East to West: Papers on Archaeology and History in Honour of Roberta Venco Ricciardi* (Oxford), 103–17.
- Soucek, P.** 2002: 'Early Islamic Seals: Their Artistic and Cultural Importance'. In Ehrenberg, E. (ed.), *Leaving No Stones Unturned: Essays on the Ancient Near East and Egypt in Honor of Donald P. Hansen* (Winona Lake, IN), 237–59.
- Spier, J.** 1992: *Ancient Gems and Finger Rings: Catalogue of the Collections of The J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu).
- Ștefan, G.** 1941: 'Dinogetia I. Risultati della prima campagna di scavi'. *Dacia* 7–8, 401–25.
- von der Osten, H.H.** 1934: *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell* (Chicago).
- Zahlhaas, G.** 1985: *Fingerringe und Gemmen. Sammlung Dr. E. Pressmar* (Munich).

The Eco-Museum Research Institute  
Museum of History and Archaeology  
Progresului 32  
Tulcea 820009  
Romania  
nutugrg@yahoo.com



# HYDRAULIC AND PNEUMATIC DEVICES IN PRE-ISLAMIC YEMEN

LILY FILSON

## Abstract

The 10th-century work *Al-Iklil* of the mediaeval Yemeni historian Abu Mohammed al-Hasan al-Hamdani (AD 893–945) transmits memories of mechanical devices once present at Ghumdan Palace in Sana'a, a site which had been pillaged and destroyed before al-Hamdani's lifetime. The present study's aim is the insertion of these South Arabian pre-Islamic objects into a broader understanding of the period's technology. The Ghumdan Palace devices supplement the established chronology of transmission from Greek origins to the East and the eventual Islamic sphere in late antiquity and the early mediaeval period, and in these we witness an as-yet unremarked facet of the intersection of Hellenistic culture with the Sabaeo-Himyarite civilisations of ancient Yemen.

This short study brings to light evidence from the literary and material record which indicates that devices which derived their operating principle from air and/or water were present in pre-Islamic Arabia, concentrated in the ancient urban centres of the South West corresponding to the historical territories of Yemen.<sup>1</sup> Mediaeval Islamic sources describe hollow lions and eagles at the summit of the iconic Ghumdan Palace in Sana'a, the seat of Sabaeo-Himyar royalty, as well as a *clepsydra* (water clock); a bronze lion head, as well as a fragment of a paw and a bronze gutter, dated to before AD 50, has been excavated from Najran farther north.<sup>2</sup> Historians of mechanical technologies credit the prototypes of these devices to the writings of Ctesibius, Hero of Alexandria and Philo of Byzantium, all writers associated with the intellectual renaissance of Hellenistic Alexandria, founded in the 4th century BC. Yet, the archaeological record of Yemen indicates large-scale engineering works such as the Marib Dam, whose earliest phase of construction dates to the 8th century BC, to name only the most well-known of an extensive ancient series of irrigation ditches and channels. Nevertheless, the literary evidence and surviving objects which indicate the channelling of water into decorative or mechanistic objects suggests a later period which separates this phase of hydraulic and pneumatic engineering in the ancient kingdoms of Yemen from its earliest, functional predecessors by centuries. This dating permits a hypothetical relationship between the pre-Islamic Yemeni devices and those of the Alexandrian mechanicians – Ctesibius (flourished ca. 250 BC), Philo of Byzantium, who lived in the latter half of the same

<sup>1</sup> Najran, a city historically under the purview of Yemeni rulers from the Himyarite kings to the Imamate of the early 20th century, is located a short distance from the present-day northern Yemeni border; it was ceded to Saudi Arabia by the Treaty of Muslim Friendship and Fraternity, signed in Ta'if on 30 May 1934, a temporally non-binding document which has been at the root of border disputes in the subsequent histories of the two countries. See Blumi 2018, 48–51.

<sup>2</sup> Smith 1937, 154–56.

century, and Hero of Alexandria (*ca.* AD 10–70)<sup>3</sup> – as well as the writings attributed to the mytho-historical Hermes Trismegistus which also coalesced from Hellenistic Egyptian civilisation. Whereas conventional histories of automata identify the first wind-powered devices as those which were constructed above the four gates of the royal palace of Baghdad in the mid-8th century, the possibility that similar wind-powered devices featured roughly six to seven centuries earlier at one or more location in Yemen would revise that chronology significantly.

The presence of wind- and water-powered devices in pre-Islamic Yemen is affirmed by the 10th-century mediaeval Yemeni historian Abu Mohammed al-Hasan al-Hamdani (AD 893–945). Lending credibility to the historical existence of a clepsydra in Sana'a under the kings of Saba and Himyar is Nabih Amin Faris's endorsement of the matter-of-fact tone of al-Hamdani's work, *Al-Iklil* ('The Crown') and the accuracy of his *Geography* and other works, in comparison to his immediate predecessors who preserved traditional verse and legendary histories of the Himyarite and Sabaeen cultures of Arabia before the advent of Islam (though this is not to say that modern historians have agreed with Faris).<sup>4</sup> In the eighth book of al-Hamdani's *Iklil*, 'History of the Castles, Cities and Inscriptions of Himyar; its anthologies, the extant poems of 'Alqamah and other Elegies', the supremacy of Ghumdan Palace over all others is established in the eighth book's opening sentence and its elegies continue throughout the bulk of the first section. In short, 'The oldest castle is Ghumdan. Al-Hasan al-Hamdani said: 'Foremost among the castles of al-Yaman, and having the most remarkable history and the most widespread reputation is Ghumdan, the castle of Azal which still stands in Sana'a' (al-Hamdani 8). The legendary creation-story of Ghumdan Palace goes back to the time of Shem, the son of Noah, and, in some versions of the story, involves the labour of demons;<sup>5</sup> a more sober historical dating is given by al-Hamdani which fixes its construction to the reign of the Sabaeen king Ilsharah Yahdib,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Their devices as well as the historiography of translations have been the subject of numerous studies in the modern era, and they are considered ancestral works for our modern scientific understanding of fluid dynamics, mechanical engineering and other aspects of natural philosophy and practical science (see Usher 1929; Drachmann 1948; 1963). On transmission, see Boas 1949. For biographical information on these three figures from antiquity, see Humphrey 2006, 139–42.

<sup>4</sup> Specifically, Nabih Amin Faris contrasts the earlier works on South Arabian culture and civilisation by Ubayd ibn Sharyah al-Jurhumi (*Akhbar 'Ubayd ibn Sharyah al-Jurhumi fi Akhbar al-Yaman wa Ash'ariha wa Ansabiha*), Wahb ibn Munabbih al-Yamani (*Kitab al-Tijan fi Muluk Himyar*), Hisham ibn-Mohammed ibn-al-Saib al-Kalbi (*Kitab al-Asnam*) and Nashwan ibn-Sa'id al-Himyari (*al-Qasidah al-Himyariyah and Kitab Shams al-Ulum wa-Dawa Kalam al-Arab min al-Kulum*) as 'submerged in a sea of legend and indiscriminating legend'. See al-Hamdani 2–3.

<sup>5</sup> 'An example of such accretions and exaggerations is what Mohammed ibn-Khalid had related, namely that Solomon, the son of David, had sent with Bilqis, daughter of Ili-Sharha, queen of Sheba, a number of demons, and that they built for her the fortress... One of these demons wrote a book, enumerating in it the fortresses which are scattered around the villages of al-Bawn... [Said the demon], "Ghumdan we built in Azal, and also with dexterous hands we raised Baynun"' (al-Hamdani 21).

<sup>6</sup> 'The builder of Ghumdan was Ili-Sharha Yahdib who, on seeing at daybreak the shadow of the building reach the foot of Mount Ayban, stopped building' (al-Hamdani 18). And elsewhere a triumphant royal verse is preserved, 'The king Ili-Sharha behold I am he, Ghumdan my hands have built with well-hewn rocks' (al-Hamdani 19).

whose dating has been fixed by the chronology of Alessandro de Maigret to the early 2nd century AD.<sup>7</sup>

Besides its antiquity, Ghumdan's sky-scraper height and massive dimensions were its renowned qualities; al-Hamdani gave a height of 20 floors, each of 10 cubits, and Yaqt al-Hamawi, seven stories, each 40 cubits high; al-Hamdani (14) ventured a length of 1000 cubits on each side.<sup>8</sup> Numerous writers recount its luxurious construction: polychrome marble for the highest (and most socially-rarefied) level of a North Yemeni tower-palace, even through their present-day usage known colloquially as the *mafraj*, with a giant slab of marble as its roof, marble windowpanes set in ebony and teak, and precious stones. A comparison of the earliest known visual depiction of the Arabian tower-palace from the Hellenistic murals excavated at Qaryat Al-Faw (Fig. 1), dated to the 1st or 2nd centuries AD, through present-day Sana'a (Fig. 2) articulates the longevity of this arrangement. In lieu of visual records of Ghumdan specifically, we must rely on the literary descriptions of al-Hamdani and others:

Behold the great Ghumdan high and lofty  
 Pouring balsam on the aching heart;  
 Twenty stories, see it climbing  
 Up into heaven's utmost part;  
 A turban of clouds its head encircles  
 Its mantle is of marble made,  
 An alabaster girdle around it buckles,  
 And onyx stone, the brocade (al-Hamdani 15).<sup>9</sup>

However, by al-Hamdani's time in the 10th century, Ghumdan had been pillaged for these rich furnishings and construction materials for centuries, beginning with the Abyssinian Conquest of Sana'a ca. AD 523 after the defeat of the last Himyarite king, Dhu Nuwas. Under the orders of Caliph Uthman in the 7th century, Ghumdan was razed to the ground, a considerable feat when taking into account its sheer size.<sup>10</sup>

A field of ruins still faces the east door of the Great Mosque of Sana'a, built in the same time period. Al-Hamdani states that the palace's well was converted into the fountain for the Great Mosque of Sana'a,<sup>11</sup> which itself incorporates a great deal of spolia potentially taken from Ghumdan, including two bronze doors with Himyarite lettering used as the entrance of royalty into the mosque (Fig. 3), though no formal study or inventory has been

<sup>7</sup> de Maigret 2009, 229.

<sup>8</sup> See also Khoury 1993, 60.

<sup>9</sup> Another supplemental poem of grandeur is furnished shortly after, 'Can a mortal eye such grandeur perceive/ Or a human mind such splendour conceive?/ Towering high far beyond their ascent/ Half way up the birds make their descent./ A belt of porphyry the palace girds/ And every corner a statue guards' (al-Hamdani 16).

<sup>10</sup> al-Hamdani 16. Some accounts however put its destruction further back to the Abyssinian invader Abraha. See Khoury 1993, 60.

<sup>11</sup> We also learn the name of this well, Karamah, and that it still was a source of brackish water in al-Hamdani's time (al-Hamdani 8).



Fig 1. Mural of a classic South Arabian tower-palace from Qaryat al-Faw (Saudi Arabia).  
1st– 2nd century AD.



Fig 2. Contemporary view of modern tower-palaces in the Old City of Sana'a, Yemen.



Fig. 3. Bronze Himyaritic doors at the Great Mosque of Sana'a  
(photograph courtesy of Mohammed Ahmed Jarhoom).

made.<sup>12</sup> In the second half of the same poem we also find clear indication of water-clock technology in South Arabia as well as other devices traceable to Hellenistic mechanical treatises.

Made of copper on the roof you see  
Flying eagles on diagonal corners standing,  
Even so on the remaining two  
Roaring lions the palace attending.  
A clepsydra is its most precious treasure,  
Wherewith the day and night to measure.  
Flocks of birds on its roof alight,  
And view the world with great delight;  
The spouting waters around it flow,  
And quench the thirst and soothe the glow.  
A slab of marble an entrance provides  
Which swings wide open when the lord decides.

<sup>12</sup> I thank Mohamed Ahmed Jarhoom (Sana'a) for the notice and the photograph of these doors. I am unaware of any publication which mentions them.



Let us address each device, or potential device, in the order in which it appears in al-Hamdani's quoted poem. 'Flying eagles and roaring lions' may not *per se* indicate that these sculptures produced noise; these descriptions may just as well apply to the dynamic postures which static statuary, particularly those of Hellenistic inspiration documented in Arabia, can assume. Yet al-Hamdani proceeds to quote another source, albeit at second-hand, of these statues' composition,

On each of its four corners was a copper statue of a lion. These statues were hollow, so that whenever the wind blew through them, a voice similar to the actual roaring of lions would be heard (al-Hamdani 17).<sup>13</sup>

And elsewhere, citing the same source,

On its four corners stood four copper lions with their breasts bulged out. Whenever the wind blew their hollowed interiors, they would roar as a living lion (al-Hamdani 17–18).

And still further, quoting Ibn Sharyah, al-Hamdani relays of the lions,

The room had four doors which faced respectively east, west, north, and south. In front of each door was the statue of a copper lion which would roar when the wind would blow from the direction which corresponds to the door in front of which it stood. When the wind would blow from every side, all the lions would roar (al-Hamdani 18).

Al-Hamdani also describes another set of four roaring lions, these at ground-level, which appear to be distinct from the four around the highest floor of the building.

At the base of each of the columns which support the palace is a copper lion whose hind legs are inside the courtyard while the (fore legs), breast, and head project to the exterior. Leading from the mouth to the posterior orifice is a mechanical contrivance which, whenever the wind blows, re-echoes with it within the hollowed lions and produces a lifelike roar (al-Hamdani 18–19).

Notwithstanding a disagreement among the sources al-Hamdani quotes about whether or not there were two eagles included in this sculptural arrangement of lions, the descriptions are unequivocal about the action of wind in the statue which produced the roaring sound.

These descriptions of Ghumdan's lions furnish a possible context and function for the fragmentary bronze lion excavated at Najran, dated to before AD 50 (Fig. 4).<sup>14</sup> Unlike other lion statuary excavated in Yemen, such as the purely Hellenistic 'Timna Lions' being ridden by a Cupid excavated from their namesake capital city of the Qatabanian civilisation (Fig. 5),<sup>15</sup> the Najran lion may have been hollow. Sidney Smith's study of the objects observes solidified grey clay inside of the head, which he associates with the final stage of tooling the head's details, but Smith suggests that this might not always have been so.<sup>16</sup> The additional presence of a bronze 'gutter' measuring roughly 0.53 m long × 0.11 m wide,

<sup>13</sup> Quoting Wahb, as relayed by Mohammed ibn-Khalid.

<sup>14</sup> Smith 1937, 155.

<sup>15</sup> See de Maigret 2009, 95.

<sup>16</sup> Smith 1937, 155.





Fig. 4. Fragmentary bronze lion excavated at Najran, Saudi Arabia. Before AD 50.



Fig. 5. Pair of monumental Hellenistic bronze lions ridden by cupids excavated from Timna (Qataban), Wadi Beihan, Yemen.

with a depth of 0.12 m<sup>17</sup> stirs the imagination of whether this feature could have been the internal 'mechanical contrivance' running throughout the length of Ghumdan's roaring lions. The gutter itself bears an inscription which has been translated to read '... [has] dedicated to Dhu-Samawi at Ka'batan these two *hfnis*, by means of the impostos that Dh... has imposed for him'. We find in Smith's study that *hfnis*, which he takes to refer to the lion and its associated gutter, may be correlated to the Arabic *hafnahun*, which can mean 'a hollow in the ground'.<sup>18</sup> Smith goes on to speculate that the lions were attached to two receptacles attached to some installation for conducting water, but we might just as freely speculate, in the absence of hope that any decisive evidence will be forthcoming, that the 'hollow in the ground' might have been a necessary feature for the mechanism responsible for the roaring of the lions at Ghumdan's ground-floor and that the material conducted through the lion's hypothetically-hollow head was air, rather than water.

Hollow statues of animals placed at the cardinal points of a significant site or city can be associated with the legendary 'speaking statues' of Hermes Trismegistus, particularly in accounts of the mytho-historical figure written by mediaeval Islamic sources. Many of these sources construct a three-part succession of 'Hermes' figures, thus the sobriquet Trismegistus or 'thrice-great', which deliver knowledge and technology to mankind: one before the flood; one associated with the Babylonian civilisation; and one with the Egyptian civilisation.<sup>19</sup> The Idris-figure of the Quran (19:57), Enoch from the Hebrew tradition, is conflated by mediaeval Islamic writers to the identity of Hermes Trismegistus as well.<sup>20</sup> However, it is the third, Egyptian Hermes who is responsible, according to Islamic writers but entirely unsubstantiated by archaeology, for the founding of a number of cities that featured these four gates with their four hollow, wind-echoing animal statues. In the hymns found in the Greek Magical Papyri of Hermes Trismegistus, a popular invocation is 'O thou of the Four Winds',<sup>21</sup> so this architectural arrangement would be à propos for the Egyptian cities founded by the same. However, nowhere in Egyptian archaeology is such a legendary city-founder attested;<sup>22</sup> although some scholars have argued for authentically ancient-Egyptian elements in the collection of Greek manuscripts which are grouped in the Hermetic Corpus, the indebtedness to Greek philosophy of late antiquity in the vast majority of their writings dates their composition to before the 3rd century AD.<sup>28</sup> Nor do these four gates and their hollow statues appear anywhere in the Hermetic literature itself; this arrangement would appear to be the invention of a mediaeval Islamic mind, specifically Abu Mashar al-Balkhi's, the renowned 9th-century astrologer at the Abbasid court in Baghdad.

<sup>17</sup> Smith 1937, 155 (metricated).

<sup>18</sup> Smith 1937, 156.

<sup>19</sup> See Al-Jahiz, *Kitab al-Tarbi wa al-Tadwir* and Abu Mashar, *Kitab al-Uluf*, cited by Pingree 1968, 9–10; see also Plessner 1954.

<sup>20</sup> For example Abu Mashar (see Plessner 1954, 50).

<sup>21</sup> Mead 1906, 61.

<sup>22</sup> There is noted in Mead's study however an excavated shrine near Medinet Habu constructed during the reign of Ptolemy IX (146–117 BC) which was dedicated to a High Priest of Thoth whose name – Teepehibis – suggests the assimilation of the priest's identity with that of the god in a parallel fashion to the Hermetic identity (see Mead 1906, 463). See also Bohleke 1996; Flinders 1908.

Unlike the elusive legendary cities founded by Hermes Trismegistus in Egypt, the round city-plan of Baghdad built *ex-novo* in the mid-8th century did possess an arrangement of four wind-powered statues placed at its four gates oriented to the cardinal directions.<sup>23</sup> With no exception of which I am aware, historians of automata recognise these and the other automata which developed from the 'Abbasid dynasty as stepping-stones in the history of these devices from their Hellenistic origins to their assimilation at a later date into the cultural fabric of Western Europe. In her 1993 article, Nuha Khoury argued for the influence of iconically Arabian architecture and forms, including specifically those of Ghumdan Palace in Sana'a, upon Umayyad monuments in Palestine, namely the Dome of the Rock. In the same year, Jonathan Bloom's article supports the model that royal and prestige-elements, namely a high *mafrāj* receiving-room, taken from Ghumdan Palace and other pre-Islamic Yemeni tower-castle types informed Islamic architecture of the Umayyads from the Levant through North Africa.<sup>24</sup> Khoury's study is a rarity for its mention of the wind-roaring lions at Ghumdan's four corners,<sup>25</sup> but her argument coalesces around the physical characteristics (height, grandeur, opulence of materials) as well as ideological associations (kingship, legitimacy, power) which Ghumdan embodied, until its destruction in the Islamic Period, to Arabs as an influential ideology accessible and desirable to Umayyad monument-builders. Thanks to Khoury's exposition, it is a small step then to argue that one particularly memorable and impressive element to the Sabaeen and Himyarite kings' pageantry, these *ca.* 2nd-century artificial animals with their own 'voices', should be considered a viable model for the Abbasid dynasty's well-remarked mechanical Golden Age in the 8th to the 14th centuries.

When we consider the Ghumdan Palace clepsydra, any further additions to al-Hamdani's basic attestation to its presence at Ghumdan and that its value to the palace's lords can only be speculation. We might hazard that the documented impact which Hellenistic art and culture had upon its counterparts in Arabia<sup>26</sup> would weigh the odds in favour of the Ghumdan clepsydra being built along the Greek lines invented by Ctesibius, rather than on the older, 'outflow' model of water-clock attested to as early as the 14th century BC in Egypt, as evidenced by the remains of the Karnak water clock (Fig. 6).<sup>27</sup> In this set-up, water simply flowed out from a hole at the bottom of a container, and the passage of time was measured by the descending water level on a series of markers which varied in length in order to accommodate the variable times of day or night in the course of a year. The 'inflow' arrangement of ancient water clocks, which had come into being at Alexandria around 270 BC, relied upon the steady influx of water which raised a buoyant pointer in position to mark the passage of time. We have no further indications whether the Ghumdan clepsydra pos-

<sup>23</sup> Pancaroğlu 2006, 711–12. Sana'a does not even appear on the map of Arabia in this volume.

<sup>24</sup> See Bloom 1993.

<sup>25</sup> Khoury 1993, 60.

<sup>26</sup> See Segall 1955; Avanzini 2004; King 2010; de Maigret 2009, 366–69.

<sup>27</sup> This particular piece is considered to be the oldest surviving water clock and was excavated in 1905 from the temple of Amen-Ra at Karnak; it is dated to the reign of Amenhotep III (James and Thorpe 1994, 124–25; see also Pogo 1936). On the distinction of 'outflow' and 'inflow' clepsydrae, see Noble and DeSolla Price 1968.



Fig. 6. 'Outflow' water clock from Karnak. *Ca.* 1386–1349 BC.

sessed further embellishments such as those described by Vitruvius, our only source for Ctesibius' lost writings:

Other bars and other drums, toothed in the same manner and driven by the same motion, cause various effects and movements by their turning: figures are moved, cones revolve, pebbles or eggs fall, trumpets sound, and other peripheral actions happen. On these clocks the hours are marked either on a column or pilaster; a figure raised from below points them out with a rod through the entire day... (Vitruvius *On Architecture* 9. 8. 2–7).<sup>28</sup>

Taking as our hypothetical assumption that the Ghumdan clepsydra conformed to the Hellenistic 'inflow' model, another reading of al-Hamdani's description furnishes us with ample evidence that running water was a feature of the palace, implying the feasibility of just such an arrangement: 'the spouting waters around it flow,/ And quench the thirst and soothe glow' (al-Hamdani 15). Ghumdan would not be the only one of the ancient Yemeni palaces with flowing water attested to in the same source; at Bayt-Hanbas, the stream al-Ghayl flowed through until the castle was burned down in 295 [AD 908]. Another source furnishes clarification on the term, 'meaning, not simply a running stream, but an artificial often partly subterranean water channel'.<sup>29</sup> At the defunct Bayt-Hanbas, we would have another candidate for artificial waterworks in the stamp of those described at Ghumdan.

<sup>28</sup> Quoted by Humphrey 2006, 180.

<sup>29</sup> Beckingham 1983, 217. On the man-made underground conduits, see Vogel 1988.

Despite the mention of a castle Khamir with 'copious waters', al-Hamdani shortly after writes, 'There is no other palace in all of al-Yaman which boasts of a spring save Tulfum' (al-Hamdani 59, 61). I can only hazard an interpretation that by this, al-Hamdani is implying a natural spring (versus the man-made well at Ghumdan or the *ghayl* at Bayt-Hanbas). The question of flowing water in Sabaeen and Himyarite palaces presupposes the foundational role which large-scale hydraulic engineering held for the people of South Arabia, as exemplified by the Marib Dam, whose present form dates to the 8th century BC<sup>30</sup> and symbolised the early Sabaeen civilisation's power.<sup>31</sup> The failure of the Marib Dam at the end of the 6th century AD figured in a verse of the Quran.<sup>32</sup> The meaning was clear; an old era had ended with only the new ascendant. In terms of continuity however, hydraulic and mechanical engineering would become a hallmark of the Golden Age of Islam, though this cultural aspect's indebtedness to the ancient Sabaeen and later Himyarite civilisations of Yemen begs further study beyond the narrow lens of the present paper.

Finally, the last indication of mechanistic technology at Ghumdan might not be that at all, but this study raises its possibility as one in-line with the transmission of what was probably a Hellenistic-derived device. The verse, 'A slab of marble an entrance provides/ Which swings wide open when the lord decides', may simply mean that the lord of Ghumdan opens the doors of his palace when it suits him. This would be taken for granted. However, this verse's position on the heels of an inventory of its wondrous devices – the roaring animal statues and the clepsydra – may indicate that this aspect of Ghumdan's splendour too hinged on a mechanical principle. The corpus of Hero of Alexandria's mechanical devices features a design for the automatic opening of a temple door (Fig. 7), which would appear, the possibility of Ghumdan notwithstanding, to have been exclusively deployed at Alexandrian temples.<sup>33</sup> The 1st-century invention relied on the manipulation of water, air and heat: fire on top of a pediment-construction channelled heat into a spherical container filled with water below. This hot air displaced that water through a tube connected to a bucket, which hung from a rope-pulley in turn fastened to rotating cylindrical poles under the temple doors. When water was pushed into the bucket, its weight caused it to sink and rotate the poles, opening the doors. When the fire was extinguished and the air in the spherical container cooled, the water in the bucket was sucked through the siphon back into its original container, turning the poles in the opposite direction and closing the doors. In histories of mechanical technology, the automatic opening-doors and other Heronic devices skip directly from the destruction of the Alexandrian temples most

<sup>30</sup> Earlier dams were in place as early as the 18th century BC. Cf. Vogt 2004, where the assertion that epigraphic evidence dates the dam to an extremely late era is, in my view, confused by the commonplace inscriptions left in the wake of multiple dam repairs sustained and documented at this site over the course of far lengthier centuries.

<sup>31</sup> On the historical Marib Dam, see Hehmeyer 1988; Schaloske 1991.

<sup>32</sup> 'There was for [the tribe of] Saba' in their dwelling place a sign: two [fields of] gardens on the right and on the left. [They were told], "Eat from the provisions of your Lord and be grateful to Him. A good land [have you], and a forgiving Lord. But they turned away [refusing], so We sent upon them the flood of the dam, and We replaced their two [fields of] gardens with gardens of bitter fruit, tamarisks and something of sparse lote trees" (Quran 34:15–17).

<sup>33</sup> James and Thorpe 1994, 130–31.

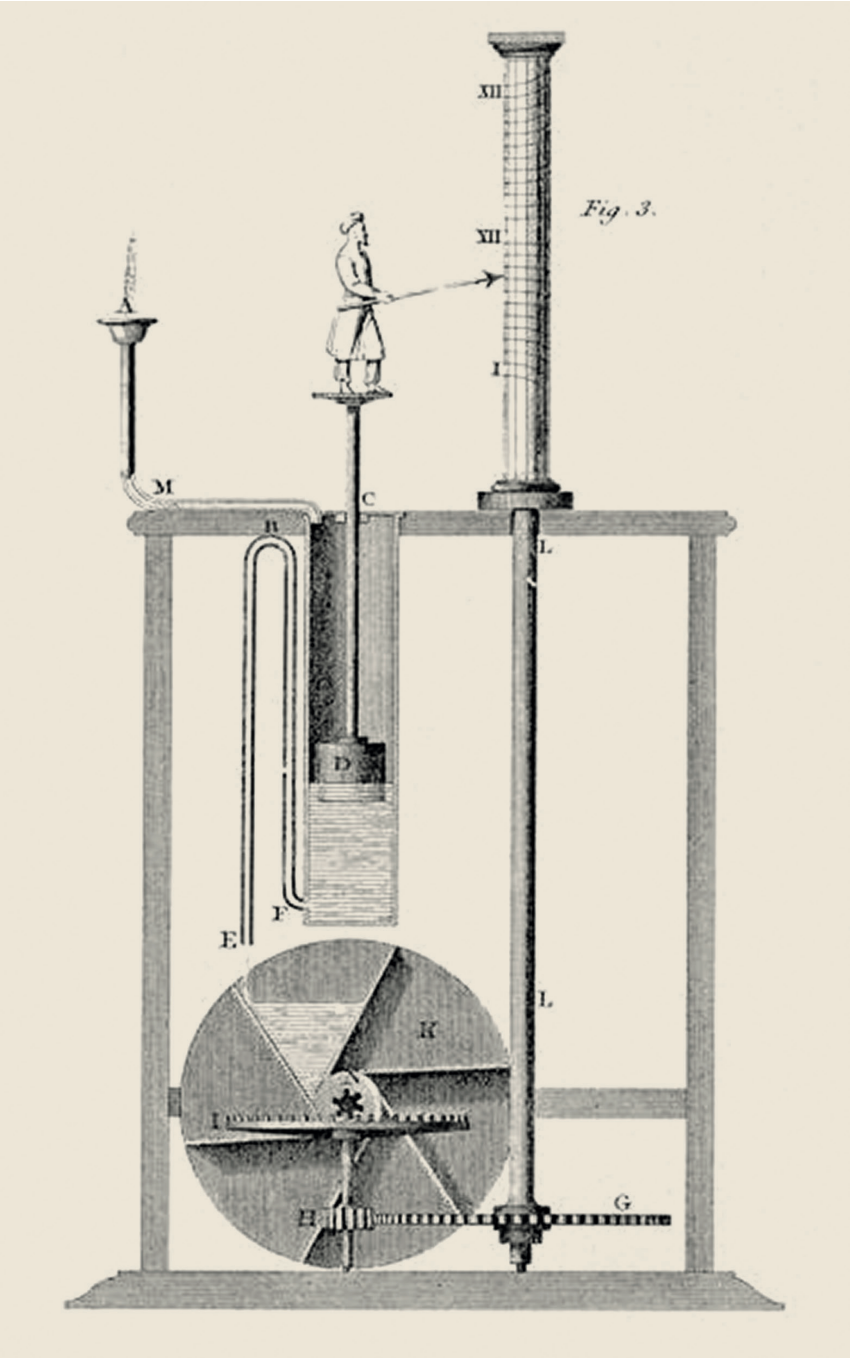


Fig. 7. 'Inflow' water clock on the model of Ctesibius  
(after A. Rees, *Rees's Clocks, Watches, and Chronometers* [London 1819–20], pl. I, fig. 3).



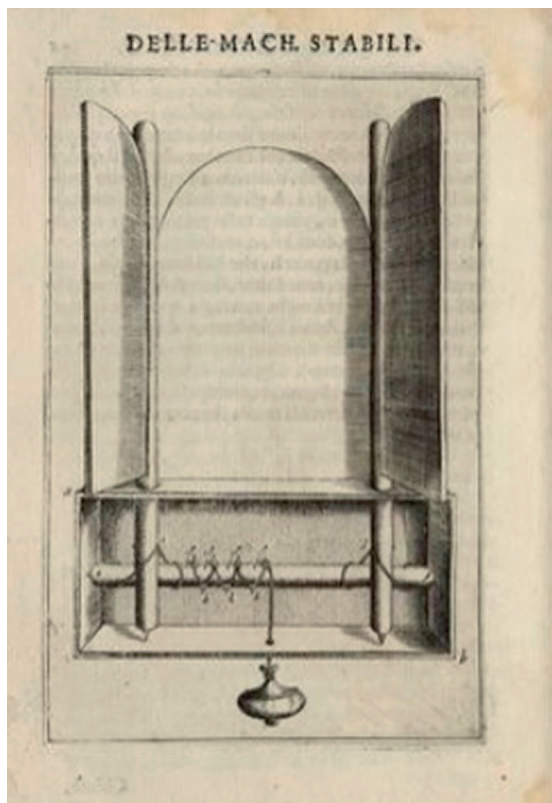


Fig 8. Diagram for the mechanism of Hero's automatic doors (after Bernardino Baldi, *Di Herone Alessandrino de gli Automati overo machine se moventi*, Libri due [Venice 1589], 36v).

dramatically in AD 391 on the orders of the Byzantine emperor Theophilus<sup>34</sup> to the later mediaeval Islamic mechanical writers employed by the Abbasid court at Baghdad, and the possibility that an automatic door, or for that matter a clepsydra, existed in Yemen at the iconic seat of Sabaeen and later Himyarite royalty, themselves cultures intrinsically identified from distant antiquity with superior hydraulic engineering feats, has never been raised.<sup>35</sup>

This study admittedly presents the *possibility* rather than confirmed and indisputable instances of wind- and water-powered devices within the Ghumdan Palace complex of pre-Islamic Sana'a. Whereas al-Hamdani's description of the wind-powered acoustic lion sculptures and clepsydra leave little room to doubt the presence of such features at some point between the structure's historical proposed date of construction in the 2nd century AD

<sup>34</sup> See Hanrahan 1962.

<sup>35</sup> Except, perhaps, in the most general terms: 'In an area which was the birthplace of the utilisation of water and wind-power and in which many types of hydraulic machinery were developed, attention had been turned to ingenious devices since pre-Islamic devices.' No further details or specifics however are given about what these might be by al-Hassan and Hill 1986, 69.

and the destruction of the Himyar kingdom in the early 6th, the additional possibility of further mechanical devices making use of the South Arabian talent for channelling water remains an open question. Integrating the Ghumdan devices into existing mechanical histories opens up swathes of geography and cultures not previously considered as participating in the Hellenistic and Alexandrian 'mechanical revolution'. In the case of the clepsydra particularly, we are left to wonder whether it drew inspiration from Alexandrian prototypes or other known water clocks of the ancient world, such as those Early Imperial Graeco-Roman models, as with the House of the Winds in the (Roman) Athenian Agora erected *ca.* 100–50 BC,<sup>36</sup> or the Early Byzantine period, as at Gaza in the 6th century and at Antioch in the 7th.<sup>37</sup> The aspect of Islamic culture which values the oral tradition and the written word over visual depictions supports the scholar's view that poetic histories like al-Hamdani's must not be underestimated for their impact on later Islamic civilisation. While this impact has been argued elsewhere in relation to architecture,<sup>38</sup> there is applicability of the same principle to the context of the present study. In particular, this study bases itself off of the same principle that the oral and written histories such as al-Hamdani's *Iklil*, will inevitably be found in the material culture of later Islamic culture, in the works of mechanics, physics and hydrostatics as well as the well-known inventions of the Banu Musa, Ridwan, al-Jazari and al-Khazani, to name a few, which have been broadly categorised 'Islamic technology'. With the addition of the Ghumdan devices to any consideration of the source material of this later class of mechanical works, we must acknowledge these later Arabic-speaking engineers' debt to not only Hellenistic or Persian models exclusively, as so many histories do, but also to the technologically advanced Sabaeo-Himyar empire which had been the dominant regional power of the Arabian Peninsula until shortly before the Islamic era.

## Bibliography

- Abu Mohammed al-Hasan al-Hamdani = *The Antiquities of South Arabia: Being a Translation from the Arabic with Linguistic, Geographic, and Historic Notes by Nabih Amin Faris* (London 1938).
- Al-Hassan, A.Y. and Hill, D.R. 1986: *Islamic Technology: An Illustrated History* (London).
- Avanzini, A. 2004: 'The 'Stèles à la Déesse': Problems of Interpreting and Dating'. *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 27, 145–52.
- Beckingham, C.F. 1983: 'San'a', an Arabian Islamic City'. *JRAS* 2, 215–27.
- Bloom, J.M. 1993: 'The 'Qubbat al-Khadra' and the Iconography of Height in Early Islamic Architecture'. *Ars Orientalis* 23, 135–41.
- Blumi, I. 2018: *Destroying Yemen: What Chaos in Arabia tells us about the World* (Oakland).
- Boas, M. 1949: 'Hero's Pneumatica: A Study of its Transmission and Influence'. *Isis* 40, 38–48.
- Bohleke, B. 1996: 'In Terms of Fate: a survey of the indigenous Egyptian contribution to ancient astrology in light of Papyrus CtYBR inv. 1132(B)'. *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 23, 11–46.
- de Maigret, A. 2009: *Arabia Felix: An Exploration of the Archaeological History of Yemen*, trans. R. Thompson (London).

<sup>36</sup> See Noble and DeSolla Price 1968.

<sup>37</sup> al-Hassan and Hill 1986, 56.

<sup>38</sup> For example, al-Hassan and Hill 1986; Khoury 1993; Bloom 1993.

- Drachmann, A.G. 1948: *Ktesibios, Philon, and Heron: A Study in Ancient Pneumatics* (Copenhagen).
- . 1963: *The Mechanical Technology of Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Copenhagen).
- Flinders, P. 1908: 'Historical References in the Hermetic Writings'. *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, vol. 1 (Oxford), 196–225.
- Hanrahan, M. 1962: 'Paganism and Christianity at Alexandria'. *University Review* (Edinburgh) 2.9, 38–66.
- Helmeyer, I. 1988: 'Irrigation Farming in the Ancient Oasis of Marib'. *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 19, 33–44.
- Humphrey, J.W. 2006: *Ancient Technology* (Westport, CT).
- James, P. and Thorpe, N. 1994: *Ancient Inventions* (New York).
- Khoury, N.N.N. 1993: 'The Dome of the Rock, the Ka'ba, and Ghumdan: Arab Myths and Umayyad Monuments'. *Muqarnas* 10, 57–65.
- King, G. 2010: 'Newly Charted Territories: Qaryat Al-Faw and Hellenistic Arabia'. *Arab News* 11 November 2010.
- Mead, G.R.S. 1906: *Thrice-Greatest Hermes: Studies in Hellenistic Theosophy and Gnosis. Being a Translation of the Extant Sermons and Fragments of the Trismegistic Literature, with Prolegomena, Commentaries, and Notes* (London).
- Noble, J.V. and DeSolla Price, D. 1968: 'The Water Clock in the Tower of the Winds'. *AJA* 72, 345–55.
- Pancaroglu, O. 2006: 'Sculpture'. In Meri, J.W. (ed.), *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia* (New York), 711–12.
- Pingree, D. 1968: *The Thousands of Abu Mashar* (London).
- Plessner, M. 1954: 'Hermes Trismegistus and Arab Science'. *Studia Islamica* 2, 45–59.
- Pogo, A. 1936: 'Egyptian Water Clocks'. *Isis* 25, 403–25.
- Schaloske, M. 1991: *Antike Technologie: Die sabaische Wasserwirtschaft von Marib* (Dissertation, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität).
- Segall, B. 1955: 'Sculpture from Arabia Felix. The Hellenistic Period'. *AJA* 59, 207–14.
- Smith, S. 1937: 'Bronze Lion's Head from Najran, S. Arabia'. *BMQ* 11, 154–56.
- Usher, P. 1929: *A History of Mechanical Devices* (New York).
- Vogel, H. 1988: 'Impoundment-Type Bench Terracing with Underground Conduits in Jibal Haraz, Yemen Arab Republic'. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 13, 29–38.
- Vogt, B. 2004: 'Towards a New Dating of the Great Dam of Marib. Preliminary results of the 2002 fieldwork of the German Institute of Archaeology'. *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 34, 377–88.

Art Department  
 Woldenberg Art Center  
 Tulane University  
 6823 Saint Charles Ave. MS1740  
 New Orleans, LA 70118  
 USA  
 lvfilson@gmail.com

## REVIEWS

### WEST AND EAST: A REVIEW ARTICLE (19)

#### *Handbooks and Introductions*

*Brill's Companion to Ancient Geography*<sup>1</sup> follows a well-worn path of chapters (21, single-author, by scholars from continental Europe – in a refreshing break with Anglospheric dominance) grouped into sections: Part 1 is 'Geography before Geography' ('Persian Geography and the Ionians: Herodotus', 'The Sea of the Greeks and Romans', 'The Concept of "Magna Graecia" and the Pythagoreans', 'Systems of Borders in Ancient Greece', 'The "Revolution" of Alexander the Great: Old and New in the World's View', etc.), Part 2A 'Geographical Science' (Eudoxus of Cnidus, Dicaearchus of Messene, Eratosthenes of Cyrene and 'the "Invention" of Geography', Hipparchus and astronomy), 2B 'The Thought of the Farthest Horizon in the Greek and Roman Tradition' ('The Indian Ocean from Agatharchides of Cnidus to the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*'; and 'The So-called Confusion between India and Ethiopia...'), 2C 'Geography and Politics in the Roman Empire' (Agrippa, Strabo, Pliny and Solinus, etc.), 2D 'Cartographical Science in Alexandria' (i.e. 'The "Revolution" of Ptolemy') and Part 3 'Geographical Rebonds' (starting with the Tabula Peutingeriana; concluding with 'Eusebius and the Representation of the Holy Land'). Modestly illustrated. A consolidated bibliography of some 60 pages (two works by Podossinov cited) and extensive multiple indexes. Small enough to be companionable.

Oxford's *A Very Short Introduction* series, described on the cover as 'stimulating ways into new subjects', and ranging from *Hegel* to *Human Anatomy, Accounting to the World Trade Organization*, in pocket-sized format, modestly illustrated, with timelines (where appropriate), references, further reading and indexes, has various volumes relevant to us, for example *Ancient Assyria* (Karen Radner) and *Babylonia* (Trevor Bryce).<sup>2</sup> Introductory, readable, no footnotes. Excellent for the general reader seeking a starting point. Radner offers 'Introducing Assyria', 'Assyrian places', 'Assyrians at home', 'Assyrians abroad', 'Foreigners in Assyria' and 'Assyrian world domination: pathfinder empire'; Bryce runs from 'The Old Babylonian period', 'Babylonian society through the perspective of Hammurabi's Laws' and 'Old Babylonian Cities', through 'the Kassites', 'Writing, scribes, and literature' and 'The long interlude', to 'The Neo-Babylonian empire', 'Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon' and 'Babylonia in later ages'. In a similar vein, although marginally larger in format, is Peter

<sup>1</sup> S. Bianchetti, M. Cataudella and H.-J. Gehrke (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Geography: The Inhabited World in Greek and Roman Tradition*, Brill's Companions in Classical Studies, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2016, xviii+490 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-28511-8/ISSN 1872-3357.

<sup>2</sup> K. Radner, *Ancient Assyria: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2015, xviii+136 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-19-871590-0; T. Bryce, *Babylonia: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2016, xv+141 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-19-872647-0.

Thonemann's *The Hellenistic Age*,<sup>3</sup> also from OUP: a brisk introduction in six chapters ('The Idea of the Hellenistic', 'From Alexander to Augustus', 'Demetrius the Besieger and Hellenistic Kingship', 'Eratosthenes and the System of the World', 'Encounters' (north, south, east and west) and 'Priene', and back to the author's heartland in the Maeander Valley). Maps, a timeline and further reading. Thus, a mixture of chronology, overview and more detailed close-ups.

Bryce is also the co-author of the *Atlas of the Ancient Near East*.<sup>4</sup> Obviously not on the scale of the *Barrington Atlas* or some *New Pauly* supplements, but broad in scope, with maps, plans, 46 other illustrations and text. An Introduction (map and text) on 'The Near East in its modern context' leads on to 76 chapters (maps with supporting texts that provide historical overviews), grouped into 'The prehistoric Near East' (three), 'Background to the historical era' (four), 'The Early Bronze Age...' (seven), 'The Middle Bronze Age...' (eight), 'The Late Bronze Age...' (16), 'The Iron Age' (12), 'The Greeks in the East' (five), 'Other Near Eastern peoples and kingdoms of the 1st millennium BC' (seven), 'The Hellenistic world' (five) and 'The Near East in the Roman period' (nine). Fortified by a timeline, a select bibliography of ancient sources in translation, gazetteer (15 pp.) and index. An atlas in the fullest sense, with a lot packed in. Of course, the location of various places and the extent of some polities remain in debate: but to edit is to choose. The intention is to form a textbook for use with introductory courses in high school and university, and linked to a couple of cited companions by Bryce and Van De Mieroop. Broad if not deep, it will serve admirably.

#### *More than Art*

*Greek Art and Archaeology*<sup>5</sup> provides a lavishly illustrated larger-format introduction to the subject (primarily) for archaeology and art students. Concise but not abruptly so, and providing cultural and social context to the material depicted and discussed. Long experience and a breadth of perspective are brought to arts and crafts (metalworking, mosaics and wall-paintings as much as sculpture and pottery), numismatics, architecture, town-planning, from the Submycenaean to the Battle of Actium. Chapter 1 discusses 'Classical archaeology: sources and methodology' (this provides contexts often lacking in purely art-historical/visual works: the illustrations are there to illustrate), Chapter 2 'The Early Iron Age', and Chapters 3–5 the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods (a combined chronological and thematic approach); each has a short select bibliography. Maps, a timeline and an index.

<sup>3</sup> P. Thonemann, *The Hellenistic Age*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2016, xiii+152 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-875901-0.

<sup>4</sup> T. Bryce and J. Birkett-Rees, *Atlas of the Ancient Near East: From Prehistoric Times to the Roman Imperial Period*, Routledge, London/New York 2016, xvii+318 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-415-50801-8.

<sup>5</sup> D. Plantzos, *Greek Art and Archaeology, c. 1200–30 BC*, Kapon Editions, Athens 2016, 304 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-618-5209-00-1.

Dimitrios Yatromanolakis, conceiver and editor of *Epigraphy of Art*,<sup>6</sup> brings together a hand-picked group of ten leading scholars of vase inscription, an area of complex interaction between art and text. Most are from or based in the USA and Germany; all write in English. Their contributions straddle the realms of epigraphy, archaeology and art history and makes a case for the importance of the subject matter for ongoing research into visual representation in ancient Greece. Five contributions are grouped as 'Inscriptions and Visual Representations on Attic Vases: Questions, Methodologies, Technical and Contextual Approaches' (Yatromanolakis, Thomas Mannack, Guy Hedreen, Burkhard Feyr, Pieter Heesen), two as 'Inscriptions on Apulian Vases' (John Oakley, Thomas Carpenter) and three in 'Visual Identities: Attic and Corinthian Vase-Inscriptions and the Significance of their Placement' (Tyler Jo Smith, Mary Moore, Georg Gerleigner). Lavishly illustrated, as the subject demands, and showing Archaeopress at its best.

### *Economic Matters*

*Textile Production in Classical Athens*<sup>7</sup> derives from the author's doctoral thesis, but it has outgrown it. A synthesis of textual, iconographic and archaeological evidence for 5th- and 4th-century Athenian textile production, interdisciplinary in both sources and likely readership. The volume is, in effect, in two halves: first, ten chapters of text (on sources, the organisation of production, raw materials, thread production, the warp-weighted loom, other techniques of textile production, decorative techniques, colour, finishing and a 'Terminological Discussion'); then four 'annexes'. These comprise a textile catalogue, a list of textile-related terms in classical literature, and preliminary studies of spindle-whorls and loom-weights. Very well illustrated and produced, to advantage, to a slightly larger format. To me, the discussions of the technical aspects are the most interesting. Regrettably, unindexed.

*The Making of the Ancient Greek Economy*<sup>8</sup> is an expanded and updated (high quality) translation from French of Bresson's 2-volume *L'économie de la Grèce des cités* (Paris 2007; 2008). A conceptual framework (more than Rostovtzeff, Polanyi, Finley, Max Weber, *et al.*) leads into seven chapters grouped into 'Structures and Production' (environmental factors, land use, taxation, agricultural production, non-agricultural production, the rate of innovation and growth) and seven more as 'Market and Trade' (property laws and commercial centres, money and credit, international trade and tax policy, the *emporion* and commercial regulation, international trade, economic performance, and the city-state ecology). A very broad and ambitious work, infused (too deeply) with New Institutional Economics, which it uses to explain a continued expansion of the ancient Greek economy. Develop the institutions, which introduce stability and predictability by setting rules and norms for social

<sup>6</sup> D. Yatromanolakis (ed.), *Epigraphy of Art: Ancient Greek Vase-Inscriptions and Vase-Paintings*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2016, xiii+205 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-486-8.

<sup>7</sup> S. Spantidaki, *Textile Production in Classical Athens*, Ancient Textiles Series 27, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2016, xxvii+228 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78570-252-5.

<sup>8</sup> A. Bresson, *The Making of the Ancient Greek Economy: Institutions, Markets, and Growth in the City-States*, transl. by S. Rendell, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2016, xxvi+620 pp., maps and tables. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-14470-2



relationship, then transaction costs diminish and economic growth flows forth. A rather simplistic correlation. Quantitative evidence, some of it obtained from recent archaeological investigations, is used to buttress the arguments – but how good are (or can ever be) the quantifications? How far can or should the economic priorities, norms and conceptions of the modern West be transposed to antiquity. We are back to Henry Maine, now assuming that the move from status to contract took place long before it did. But what about such practices as gift-giving and gift exchange? By a focus on formal institutions, important aspects of economic life not based on the market, not involving the state, that cannot be quantified or monetarised, etc. just slip invisibly below the horizon. How far could this world of independent artisans and craftsmen, in which cultural values placed a premium on individual autonomy over taking paid work for another, be one which indulged in the pursuit of (informed) rational choice, as we are supposed to do now? We mould our institutions (for example, the *polis*) and they mould us.

So to 16 papers in the latest volume of the Oxford Roman Economy Project,<sup>9</sup> from a workshop on urban craftsmen and traders, also held in July 2011, with participants from Britain, France, Germany, the Low Countries, Greece, Hungary and Canada (Kai Ruffing and Jeroen Poblome among several familiar names). An editorial Introduction and four sections: the history of research (with the editors contributing 'Roman Craftsmen and Traders; Towards and Intellectual History' – Rostovtzeff and Finley, indeed, but more Eduard Meyer, Tenney Frank and A.H.M. Jones; the different paths of Italian and French scholarship from the Anglo-German, but, overall, scholarly networks; the effects of modern external forces and events), hitherto somewhat overlooked; the economic strategies of craftsmen and traders (specialisation – in the maritime trade, and markets, location factors and productivity; footwear, Pompeian bakers; limiting the range of products, reducing costs, the central role of the market in strategic decisions), craftsmen and traders in their social environment (apprenticeship, women, freedmen and agency; households and networks of friends and dependants; professional associations and social organisation in the harbour economy of Arles – a 'plebeian elite'; Hierapolis and its professional associations and their social and ritual roles; social integration through such associations, and their management of memory *post mortem*) and the position of crafts and trade in urban space (artisanal clusters from an archaeological perspective; spatial concentration and dispersal in textile work – less advantage to clustering than in the guild-dominated Middle Ages; industry and commerce in Aquincum, the potters of ancient Sagalassos; location as an economic strategy determined by customer base, supply lines and land prices). Penetrated but not overwhelmed by New Institutional Economics; rejecting the idea that elite disdain was as widespread as Finley imagined and bringing back practitioners of manufacturing and commerce from social limbo. Indexed.

Many similar ideas percolate through *Roman Artisans and the Urban Economy*<sup>10</sup> in the Late Republic and Early Empire, a work ultimately deriving from the author's Chicago

<sup>9</sup> A. Wilson and M. Flohr (eds.), *Urban Craftsmen and Traders in the Roman World*, Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2016, xviii+408 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-874848-9.

<sup>10</sup> C. Hawkins, *Roman Artisans and the Urban Economy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2016, xi+307 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-11544-6.

doctoral thesis and thoroughly marinated in New Institutional Economics (the early modern economy of north-western Europe is used for comparison – but those societies and their outlook were vastly different from antiquity, empire and an imperial capital, and there were no slaves). The four chapters, between Introduction and Epilogue, are ‘Seasonality, uncertainty, and consumer demand in an ancient city’ (it is the core thesis of the book that Roman artisans functioned within an uncertain and seasonally variable market, which encouraged a minimising of fixed costs and was responsive to upswings and down, some of which were, to a degree, predictable), ‘Specialization, associations and the organization of production’ (clustering, self-enforcement within flexible sub-contracting networks by *collegia*), ‘Manumission and the urban labor market’ (maximising the use of *operae* to satisfy peaks in demand, if this were possible) and ‘The artisan household and the Roman economy’ (study of apprenticeship using 208 funerary inscriptions; the urge to establish sons independently, not to employ them, i.e. diversifying the family’s income base). The ‘urban economy’ is primarily that of Rome itself, so that arguments which may fit there might not when applied to urban artisans elsewhere in the empire – clustering and *collegia* were not universal.

*Dynamics of Production*<sup>11</sup> contains 17 papers from a workshop held in Lille in June 2011, edited by the Convenor, who provides two of them, ‘Economies in transition: trade, “money”, labour and nomads at the turn of the 1st millennium BC’, opening the volume, and ‘Temples and agricultural labour in Egypt, from the Late New Kingdom to the Saite Period’. Other contributors include Peter Fibiger Bang, ‘Beyond capitalism – conceptualising ancient trade through friction, world historical context and bazaars’; Carol Bell, ‘Phoenician trade: the first 300 years’; Salvatore Gaspa, ‘Silver circulation and the development of the private economy in the Assyrian Empire (9th–7th centuries BCE)...’; Robert Morkot, ‘North-east Africa and trade at the crossroads of the Nile Valley, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea’; Renate Müller-Wollermann, ‘Temples, trade and money in Egypt in the 1st millennium BC’; Susan Sherratt, ‘From “institutional” to “private”: traders, routes and commerce from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age’; Jean-Baptiste Yon, ‘Organisation and financing of trade and caravans in the Near East’; and Julien Zurbach, ‘Aegean economies...: some lines of development, 13th–7th centuries BC’. This gives a flavour of the range of papers and approaches in the context of considerable economic change: monetisation, increased use of silver, new trade circuits, private and entrepreneurial activity in place of temples and palaces; change and reactions to it in different areas and social strata, from the Western Desert to Mesopotamia, with Egypt prominent in many papers, and on to the rise of Assyria, Babylonia and Persia.

### *Connections and Containers*

*Ancient Ports: The Geography of Connections*<sup>12</sup> brings 11 articles from an international conference held at Uppsala in 2010. Gary Reger explores the applicability of scholarship on the historical sociology of recent ports to the study of ports in the Graeco-Roman

<sup>11</sup> J.C. Moreno García (ed.), *Dynamics of Production in the Ancient Near East, 1300–500 BC*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2016, xii+368 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78570-283-9.

<sup>12</sup> K. Höghammar, B. Alroth and A. Lindhagen (eds.), *Ancient Ports: The Geography of Connections*, Proceedings of an International Conference at the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University, 23–25 September 2010, Boreas 34, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis,

Mediterranean, opening with *Moby-Dick*. Zosia Archibald is 'Moving upcountry: ancient travel from coastal ports to inland harbours', Anton Bonnier considers 'Harbours and hinterland networks by the Corinthian Gulf, from the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic period' and Kerstin Höghammar looks at the 'International networks of an island port in the Hellenistic period...', Kos. Kokkorou-Alevros *et al.* complement this with 'Maritime connections of Halasarna on Cos from prehistory to Late Antiquity: a view based on pottery and other finds' and Catherine Bouras looks at the possibility of a harbour network in the Aegean during the Roman Imperial period. Adam Lindhagen considers Narona in Dalmatia, 'the rise and fall of a gateway port', Lentini, Blackman and Pakkanen ponder briefly 'The port in the urban system of Sicilian Naxos (5th century BC)'. Giulia Boetto examines Pontus, Ostia and Rome as 'a transport zone in the maritime/land interface' and Simon Keay 'Pontus in its Mediterranean context'. Finally, Simon Malmberg focuses on 'Ravenna: naval base, commercial hub, capital city'. Many substantial pieces, and the chronology is broad; plenty of photographs and maps; no index.

David Pettegrew's *The Isthmus of Corinth*<sup>13</sup> examines this important land-bridge up to late antiquity in thematic but also chronological seven chapters – the 'Isthmos', 'Gate', 'Fetter' (destruction in 146 BC, defeat of the Achaean League, Roman colonisation). 'Portage' (hitherto overestimated), 'Bridge', 'Center' (the fallout in the 1st and 2nd centuries from Nero's failed canal project of AD 66), 'District' (settlement patterns in the 3rd–4th centuries) – plus a lengthy Introduction and brief Conclusions. Connectivity, an increasingly popular theme since the publication of *The Corrupting Sea* (Oxford 2000), underscores the work. One of the author's main tasks is to undermine and rebut ancient and modern notions of an unchanging isthmus (which yields 'a powerful illusion of the region's boundless connectivity', p. 28) and an essentially maritime city ('the emptiness of traditional modern views of the Isthmus as a great trans-shipment zone for the mass movement of goods eastward and westwards in continuous flows between the seas... born at a particular moment in the nineteenth century during a progressive era of sea lanes, canal construction...', p. 241), and to emphasise that the changing landscape of the isthmus and connections with the Mediterranean were the dominant factors shaping the history of Corinth: historical contingency. A fresh synthesis of archaeological evidence, incorporating the results of a recent intensive survey ('EKAS', especially pp. 19–26), informs discussion of physical developments on the isthmus. Convincingly argued. Illustrations could be better.

*Maritime Transport Containers*,<sup>14</sup> edited by Stella Demesticha and Bernard Knapp, contains a dozen papers (largely) from a special session of the European Association of Archaeologists meeting in Glasgow in September 2016. They offer much hitherto unpublished data. The containers include Canaanite jars, transport stirrup jars and Phoenician

Uppsala University, Uppsala 2016, 346 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-91-5549609-8/ISSN 0346-6442.

<sup>13</sup> D.K. Pettegrew, *The Isthmus of Corinth: Crossroads of the Mediterranean World*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 2016, xiii+290 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-472-11984-4.

<sup>14</sup> S. Demesticha and A.B. Knapp (eds.), *Maritime Transport Containers in the Bronze–Iron Age Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean*, SIMA PB 183, Åström Forlag, Uppsala 2016, viii+241 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-91-7081-211-8/ISSN 0283-8494.

amphorae: much and systematically studied in later periods, relatively obscure in their early phases of development (the focus of this volume). The authors are based in North America, Europe and Israel, with Knapp on home turf. The topics include '... the emergence of Maritime Transport Containers in the Early Bronze Age Aegean', 'Trade and capacity studies in the eastern Mediterranean...', 'Canaanite jars and the maritime trade network in the northern Levant...', 'Distributors and shippers: Cyprus and the Late Bronze II Tell Abu Hawam anchorage', 'Transport Stirrup Jars' (two, one relating to Late Mycenaean Tiryns), '... the view from Phoenician Tell Keisan in the Early Iron Age', 'Greek commodities moving west: comparing Corinthian and Athenian amphorae in early Archaic Sicily' (Catherine Pratt: distribution, illuminating Greek involvement in nascent trade networks, ca. 750–600 BC) and 'Maritime Transport Containers of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages viewed from later periods' (Mark Lawall: use in the Aegean Basin in the 9th–early 7th century BC). An interesting and informative collection. Indexed.

In *Mediterranean Connections: Maritime Transport Containers...*<sup>15</sup> the same editors are authors and the same period their focus (3200–700 BC); the book was too advanced in production to contain significant references to the previous volume. The intention is to enhance understanding of ancient Mediterranean inter-regional connections and the role of seafaring, shipwrecks and coastal communities in interaction and exchange and to view the containers in relation to connectivity and trade, not to study them as pottery (Moses Finley might have approved – see below): instead, what were their origins and how did they spread? 'Maritime Matters' deals with shipwrecks, sailing and (mainly harbours); 'Maritime Transport Containers', after considering shape and function, the Levant (Canaanite jars), Egypt (Egyptian jars and amphorae), the Aegean (Cycladic narrow necked jars, oval-mouthed amphorae and transport stirrup jars) and other Bronze Age containers, opens to the Iron Age Levant with a contribution by Robert Martin, and to the Aegean with a piece by Demesticha and Catherine Pratt, returning to 'Maritime Transport Containers, Bulk Transport and Mediterranean Trade: Discussion', Conclusions and an appendix on volumetric analysis and capacity measurements of selected containers.

*Amphorae in the Eastern Mediterranean*<sup>16</sup> is, in essence, a handsomely illustrated catalogue of amphorae found around the coasts of Lycia, Pamphylia and Cilicia, between 2011 and 2015 (pp. 31–122), those kept in Antalya Museum (pp. 123–64) and those in the Aydın Aytuğ collection, all with location maps, underwater photographs *in situ*, etc., sandwiched between introductory matter (under 16 headings) on amphorae, their contents, stamps and sealing techniques, ceramic production in Cyprus and Anatolia, wine-making, kilns, amphora production in the three named regions and in the North Levant-Hatay region (pp. 19–27), underwater research off their coast, shipwrecks and methodologies (pp. 27–30), and examples of Mediterranean commercial amphorae found outwith the study region.

<sup>15</sup> A.B. Knapp and S. Demesticha, *Mediterranean Connections: Maritime Transport Containers and Seaborne Trade in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages*, Routledge, London/New York 2017, xx+263 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-629-58354-9.

<sup>16</sup> H. Önz, *Amphorae in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2016, vi+197 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-516-2.

*Lusitanian Amphorae*<sup>17</sup> publishes 39 contributions (often with multiple authors) from the international congress at Tróia, Portugal, October 2013, on the production of (Roman) Lusitanian amphorae (six papers), archaeometry, contents and the quantification of them (five, including analysis of content residues, new evidence for the production and trade in fish products from Setúbal, volumetric calculations of amphora types, etc.), and distribution (within Lusitania: eleven papers; in Gallaecia, Baetica and Tarraconensis: seven; and beyond Hispania: ten, Arles-Rhône 3 shipwreck, Germania and Gallia Belgica, the Punta Sardegna A shipwreck, Ostia Naples, Rome, northern Adriatic Italy, etc.). All in reasonable English. Illustrated, no index but key words and abstracts for each paper.

### *Metal and Ceramics*

*Bronze Vessels from the Acropolis*<sup>18</sup> is a systematic publication of Athenian metalwork of the 6th and 5th centuries, often to be found as 'unimpressive' fragments, with something to say more broadly. Six chapters with a brief Introduction and equally brief Conclusions. Chapters 1 and 2 consider epigraphic and literary sources, history of research, possible contexts, selection criteria, quantitative data, etc. Then comes the core of the book: the Catalogue (pp. 22–213), comprehensively illustrated, and the ensuing analysis (formal and stylistic) (pp. 215–95). Chapter 5, 'Athenian Production', follows: previous attributions; new attributions; shapes, types and variants; decoration; distribution; and chronology. Appendices (tabulations) of inventory numbers, pieces of Athenian production from (1) the Acropolis, (2) Athens and Attica, and (3) other areas. Large format. Indexed.

*Transcaucasian Bronze Belts*<sup>19</sup> derives from Manuel Castelluccia's Naples doctoral dissertation. He has participated in excavations in Armenia and Georgia. The Introduction provides a history of research, a broad historical overview from the 15th to the 6th century BC, and a short note on belts in Iron Age Iran and Urartu. The belts are really thin metal plaques and represent one of the main features of local material culture in the Iron Age Caucasus. The next chapter identifies categories and types (plain belts; geometric belts and their motifs – the commonest; figurative belts and their decoration). Chapter 3 describes geometric decorations, Chapter 4 animal decorations, Chapter 5 human figures (horsemen, horse archers, foot archers, foot soldiers, etc.) and Chapter 6 the representation of weapons and various objects. Observations on the 'Caucasian' style follow, and then the Catalogue of Belts (pp. 93–118), followed by 117 plates. Part 2 is largely the Site Catalogue (pp. 245–375): each site is described by its overall features, followed by more detailed analysis of the context/provenance of each belt, in the main from funerary evidence (for each burial the grave-goods are laid out in full detail); followed by an 'Analysis of

<sup>17</sup> I. Vaz Pinto, R.R. de Almeida and A. Martin (eds.), *Lusitanian Amphorae: Production and Distribution*, Roman and Late Antique Mediterranean Pottery 10, Archaeopress, Oxford 2016, viii+460 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-427-1.

<sup>18</sup> C. Tarditi, *Bronze Vessels from the Acropolis: Style and Decoration in Athenian Production between the Sixth and Fifth Centuries BC*, Thiasos Monografie 7, Edizioni Quasar, Rome 2016, 410 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-88-7140-717-3.

<sup>19</sup> M. Castelluccia, *Transcaucasian Bronze Belts*, BAR International Series 2842, BAR Publishing, Oxford 2017, ix+419 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1500-3.

the Archaeological Context (pp. 376–88). An exemplary treatment (in good English). The extensive bibliography includes many Georgian and Armenian publications.

Alfonsa Serra offers a complete analysis of matt-painted local pottery from Segesta in Sicily,<sup>20</sup> thousands of fragments retrieved from a number of excavations, and an examination of published and unpublished material from elsewhere in western Sicily, which combine to provide a context for a local web of relationships centred upon Segesta. Typology and chronology are established, functional analysis undertaken, and the interplay between Greek imports and local pottery considered. Text in Italian; short abstract in English. Chapters on contexts and excavation sites; technique, form and decoration; chrono-typological seriation; functional aspects and cultural interaction; and Geometric painted pottery from other centres of western Sicily – analogies and differences, exchanges. Catalogue at pp. 105–43. Appendix contains an archaeometric study by G. Montana and A.M. Polito (pp. 145–51). Line drawings, plates and colour plates (pp. 169–211).

*Hadrianapolis III*,<sup>21</sup> like *Hadrianapolis I* but not *Hadrianopolis II*, is from BAR. All come from the pen of the prolific Ergün Laflı writing with a co-author. This is a hefty work which examines the pottery finds (2005–08) from Hadrianapolis and its *chora* in south-western Paphlagonia. Some 1550 sherds were found (2nd millennium BC–12th century AD), mostly Late Roman–Early Byzantine. Thirty main pottery groups were identified, based on chronology, function and fabric, fully catalogued and comprehensively illustrated. Chapter I describes the four seasons of field work. Chapter II, the Iron Age (grey, painted, coarse) and Pre-Iron Age material (pp. 19–46), follows and sets the pattern for the ensuing five chapters of short introductory and explanatory material and then, for the most part, catalogue. Chapter III covers the Hellenistic (and Early Roman) pottery (painted, relief, burnished, grey, brown-slipped, coarse, Kepez group: pp. 47–142). The next three chapters (pp. 143–344) focus on Roman and Late Roman–Early Byzantine wares (fine wares; unguentaria and lamps; coarse wares – all further subdivided). Finally, Middle Byzantine (table, kitchen, storage, transport and coarse wares; and architectural ceramics) and brief Conclusions. Brief abstracts in French, German, Italian and Turkish.

*La céramique dans les espaces archéologiques mixtes*<sup>22</sup> presents the fruits of a young researchers' colloquium, held in Rennes in May 2013, with a focus on methodologies. The editors, Mario Denti and Clément Bellamy, contribute the opening two chapters, forming the section 'Problématiques et parcours historiographiques'; 'Italie du sud et Sicile' contains 'Monte Sannace (Bari): un caso di contatta tra peucezia. Analisi di un contest di vii secolo a.C.' (Amatulli *et al.*), 'Productions céramiques d'un centre artisanal gréco-indigène en Italie

<sup>20</sup> A. Serra, *La ceramica a decorazione geometrica dipinta da Segesta nel quadro delle produzioni della Sicilia occidentale*, BAR International Series 2779, BAR Publishing, Oxford 2016, ix+211 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1467-9.

<sup>21</sup> E. Laflı and G.K. Şahin, *Hadrianapolis III: Ceramic Finds from Southwestern Paphlagonia*, BAR International Series 2786, BAR Publishing, Oxford 2016, xiii+457 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1436-5. For a review of *Hadrianopolis I*, see *AWE* 15 (2016), 423–24.

<sup>22</sup> M. Denti and C. Bellamy (eds.), *La céramique dans les espaces archéologiques « mixtes » autour de la Méditerranée antique*, Archéologie et Culture, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, Rennes 2016, 222 pp., illustrations (several in colour), 20 pp. of plates. Paperback. ISBN 978-2-7535-4781-0/ISSN 1761-8754.



meridionale. Réflexions méthodologiques sur le cas de l'Incoronata au VIIe s. av. J.-C.' (Bellamy and Meader), '... Pratiche culturali e oggetti greci in ambito indigeno. Il caso di Garguso in età arcaica' (Garaffa) and 'Ceramica e identità fra modelli greci e tradizione locale...' (Sicilian Geometric pottery in the Archaic period: Camera); and 'Gaule et Péninsule Ibérique' houses five, plus Éric Gailledrat's Conclusions: 'Homogénéité culturelle et mixité sociale dans la fossé rhénan à la fin de l'âge du Bronze...' (Philippe), 'Marseille, Mégara Hyblaea et Apollonia du Pont: pratiques culinaires et phénomènes de transculturalité et d'interculturalité aux VIe et Ve s. av. J.-C.' (Claquin), 'Céramique de cuisine tournée et mixité culturelle à Lattara ... entre le Ve et le IIIe s. av. n. è.' (Curé), 'La céramique estampée du sud-ouest de la péninsule Ibérique: au Carrefour des mondes celtique et ibérique?' (Cabanillas de la Torre) and 'Quantifier et caractériser la «mixité»: résultats de comparaisons statistiques sur le céramique fine d'habitats agglomérés de La Tène finale' (Barrier). Combined bibliography. Comprehensively illustrated.

### *Burials*

An Italic-Hellenistic tomb (III) from the necropolis of Campovalano receives a thorough publication by Vincenzo d'Ercole *et al.*<sup>23</sup> – almost 300 tombs and their grave-goods (pp. 1–109), typology/classification of finds (pp. 115–33), planimetric analysis (pp. 141–51), etc., by Alberta Martellone; bioarchaeological analysis, with an anthropological catalogue and a discussion of the lifestyle of the community at Campovalano in the 1st millennium BC (pp. 165–246), by Deneb Cesana; 99 pages of line drawings of good quality, over 100 colour images (archaeological and anthropological) on the enclosed CD (an intelligent combination of the digital with the printed page). The earlier tombs were published in previous BAR volumes; this volume concludes the series by investigating burials from the 4th to 2nd centuries BC. Text in Italian.

*Tumulus as Sema*<sup>24</sup> presents the proceedings of an international conference, held in Istanbul in June 2009, attended by some 50 scholars from a dozen countries (principally Bulgaria, Germany, Turkey and the USA, but also Albania and Ireland; many familiar). The arrangement is geographical, after the two introductory pieces by Susan Alcock and Alessandro Nasso (a review of tumuli in the western Mediterranean), and for the most part contributions are substantial. Thus 'Southern Mediterranean: Cyrene and Cyprus' (two papers), 'Greece, Albania and Macedonia' (eight, including 'Tumuli, Sema and Greek Oral Tradition' and 'Tumulus and Memory: The Tumulus as a Locus of Ritual Action in the Greek Imagination', Apollonia, Vergina, etc.) and 'Thrace': south-eastern Thrace (İnci Delemen), untraditional use of mounds in the Late Iron Age (Daniela Agre), the Hellenistic necropolis at Sboryanovo (Maria Chichikova), rider burials (Rumyana Georgieva), commemorative ritualism (Dejan Dichev), ritual space (Kostadin Rabadjiev), chronology

<sup>23</sup> V. d'Ercole, A. Martellone and D. Cesana, *La Necropoli di Campovalano: Tombe italico-ellenistiche, III*, Soprintendenza Archeologia Abruzzo, Polo Museale Dell'Abruzzo, BAR International Series 2804, BAR Publishing, Oxford 2016, xxix+353 pp., illustrations + CD. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1491-4.

<sup>24</sup> O. Henry and U. Kelp (eds.), *Tumulus as Sema: Space, Politics, Culture and Religion in the First Millennium BC*, 2 vols., Topoi: Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 27/1–2, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2016, xiv+755 pp., illustrations (many in colour), and xx+377 plates (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-025990-2/ISSN 2191-5806.

and cultural context of early tombs (Stoyanov and Stoyanova), a 5th-century tumulus in the Upper Mesta Valley (Milena Tonkova), and Şahin Yıldırım's 'The Emergence and the Development of *Tumuli* in Eastern Thrace'. 'Asia Minor, from Aegean Coast to Cappadocia' (17 papers) forms the geographical heartland: Troy and the Troad (Rose and Körpe), 'Tumuli as Points of Interest in Greek and Latin sources' (Nicola Zwingman), Bin Tepe (Luke and Roosevelt), Karia in the 6th–4th centuries BC (Olivier Henry), 'A "Door" between Two Worlds' (Orhan Bingöl), Pedasa (Adnam Diler), Lycia (Oliver Hülen), 'Display of Power. The Mortuary Landscape of Pisidian *Tumuli*' (Bilge Hürmüzlü) architectural allusions in Anatolian tumuli (Summerer and von Kienlin), Hierapolis of Phrygia (Ronchetta; Scardozzi), Late Hellenistic and Early Roman tumuli in Phrygia (Ute Kelp), Gordion (Liebhart, Darbyshire *et al.*), "'Royal" Tombs in Balkan-Anatolian Context. Representations of Status...' (Maya Vassileva), Avanos and Zeus Ouranos (Nicole Thierry), and 'Tumuli and the Expression of a Colonial "Middle Ground" in the Hinterland Landscape of Greek Sinope' (Owen Doonan). It is poignant to see here the contribution by (the late) Taciser Sivas and Hakan Sivas on '*Tumulus* Tombs in Western Phrygia' The 'Northern Black Sea' (Marina Daragan; 'The Use of GIS Technologies in Studying the Spatial and Time Concentration of *Tumuli* in the Scythian-time Lower Dnieper Region'; van Hoof and Schlöffel: 'Kurgans in the Northeastern Azov Sea Region. Proposals for a Geo-archaeological Research Program') and 'Eurasia' (Gheyle *et al.* on the Early Iron Age mounds in the Altay, etc.) bring the text volume to a close (plates fill the second volume). All but three papers in English. Some inconsistencies with 'i/I' and 'ı/I' in Turkish.

*Death and Burial in Karia*<sup>25</sup> is mainly concerned with Halicarnassus, though the final chapters offer a preliminary report on 'Çukurbük – a prehistoric necropolis on the Bodrum Peninsula' and 'Leben und Tod in Loryma'. Of the nine core chapters, four deal with the necropolis outside the Myndos Gate (monuments and mosaics, pp. 11–108; surveying and drawing; five inscriptions; and linguistic analysis of two local funerary terms), two with intramural tombs and coffins, two with finds made at the Maussoleion (notably the capital in London, pp. 171–225) and the last with a funerary epigram. Large format. Thoroughly illustrated (43 pages of plates for the first chapter alone) and showing a high production standard throughout. It is refreshing to see a small university press that is still interested in quality and eschews 'puffing' the product on the dustjacket. The sixth volume in a series; three more planned.

This leads on to *The Funerary Monuments of Rough Cilicia*.<sup>26</sup> rock-cut tombs, tower tombs, temple tombs, grave houses, monumental façades, altars, steles and more. After 'Preliminaries' (physical setting, travellers, early and recent archaeological investigations) and 'Some Notes on the History of Rough Cilicia and Isauria' (from the Hittites to the 5th century AD) comes the core of the volume: 'Rock-cut Tombs and Sarcophagi of Rough Cilicia' (pp. 19–129, the area divided into eastern, central, western and inner Rough

<sup>25</sup> E. Mortensen and B. Poulsen (eds.), *Death and Burial in Karia*, Halicarnassian Studies 6, University Press of Southern Denmark, Odense 2016, 276 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-87-408-3060-6.

<sup>26</sup> Y. Er Scarborough, *The Funerary Monuments of Rough Cilicia and Isauria*, BAR International Series 2846, BAR Publishing, Oxford 2017, xvi+292 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1528-7,

Cilicia), 'Monumental and Built Tombs of Rough Cilicia' (pp. 130–98, with a similar division) and 'Funerary Monuments of Isauria' (pp. 199–269, especially rectangular funerary altars and larnaces). Most date to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The author has conducted surveys in the region (between 1989 and 1994) and these form the basis of the work. Selected tombs are examined, in detail, site by site, with observations on characteristics, type, date, and distinctive traits. Over 300 illustrations of good quality.

### *Fortifications*

*Ancient Fortifications: A Compendium of Theory and Practice*<sup>27</sup> is bilingual in English and German, some authors in both languages and, unusually, the Catalogue also is mixed; its origins lie in the research network 'Fokus Fortifikation. Ancient Fortifications in the Eastern Mediterranean/Antike Befestigungen...', itself a sign of the burgeoning research interest in the subject over the last few decades. The aim is to act as both guide and inspiration, taking fortifications as integral elements in ancient built space, condensing the network's activities to present a diversity of approaches to the study of ancient fortifications rather than an overview of their development. Opening with 'Methods of Interpretation', then follows 'Die Dokumentation vor Ort: Methodik und Organisation'; later chapters include 'The Building Experience', masonry forms and techniques, 'Defensive Funktionen', 'Symbolische Funktionen', 'Urbanistic Functions and Aspects', 'Studying Rural Fortifications: A Landscape Approach', 'Source Criticism: Fortifications in Written Sources and the Visual Arts', 'Die Befestigung als historische Quelle' and regional specifics. At pp. 249–386 comes the Catalogue – of regions (Eretria), sites (13: from Antioch am Orontes and Aphrodisias via Gadara, Messene, Oiniadai, Pednelissos and Pergamon, to Platiana, Priene, Samikon, Stratos and Tayma, etc.), architectural elements (Messene, Tower 45; curtains, gates and towers at Pednelissos and Pergamon) and details of architectural elements at Messene (several), Pednelissos (many) and Pergamon (one). Large Format. Comprehensively illustrated. Indexes.

The successor volume, *Focus on Fortifications*,<sup>28</sup> publishes the proceedings of a conference in Athens, organised by its editors in December 2012 and again linked to the Focus/Fokus network – 57 papers in English, French and German. A brief editorial Introduction is followed by Pierre Leriche, 'Studying Ancient Fortifications: A promising and expanding field'. Seven sections follow, often starting with an overview linked to the network – 'Origins of Fortifications' (nine papers: Mesopotamia, Assyrian frontier, prehistoric Crete, burials and grave monuments at city gates in the Middle/Late Helladic, Archaic Rome, early 1st-millennium BC Central Anatolia, etc.); 'Physical Surroundings and Technique: The Building Experience' (five: the network's research, Tell Chuera in northern Syria, Larisa, Monte Croccia, etc.); 'Functions and Semantics' (eleven: Syracuse, Kyrrhos,

<sup>27</sup> S. Muth, P.I. Schneider, M. Schnelle and P.D. De Staebler (eds.), *Ancient Fortifications: A Compendium of Theory and Practice*, Fokus Fortifikation Studies 1, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2016, xv+420 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-1-78570-139-9.

<sup>28</sup> R. Frederiksen, S. Muth, P. Schneider and M. Schnelle (eds.), *Focus on Fortifications: New Research on Fortifications in the Ancient Mediterranean and the Near East*, Fokus Fortifikation Studies 2, Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 18, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2016, ix+732 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-1-78570-131-3.

Pamphylia, Side, fortified sanctuary precincts in the Hellenistic–Roman Eastern Mediterranean, Upper Castle on Mt Karasis, symbolism of Roman city walls, secondary settlements in Roman Gaul, etc.); ‘Historical Context’ (eight: Archaic and Classical Ephesus; Pontine region in the Early Republic, Myra and the defence of Lycia, Late Roman city walls of Sergiopolis in Syria, Athenian walls of the 1st century BC, etc.); ‘The Fortification of Regions’ (nine: Classical Lacedaemonia, Molossia, preliminary findings regarding the Mithridatic defence system, isolated towers in Roman Spain, walls as regional and imperial strategy in South Languedoc, *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*, etc.); ‘Regionally Confined Phenomena’ (nine: Iron Age *oppida* in southern Drôme, Andrian colonies, Pedasa, Halicarnassus and Priene, Punic and Roman Sardinia, Antiochia Hippos, Kushan fortifications in Bactria, etc.); and ‘The Fortifications of Athens and New Field Research’ (seven: Argos, Corinth, Palaio-manina, Eryx, etc.). As we can see, several of these categories mirror the chapters in the preceding volume (and the authors overlap as well). A rich and interesting assemblage of papers and material from established and younger scholars, many with years of experience in the field, in a very hefty volume. Indexed.

*Commemorative volumes, etc.*

*Fresh Fields and Pastures New*<sup>29</sup> is written in honour of Andrew Moore, excavator of Abu Hureyra in north-western Syria. Ten papers by colleagues and former students working in his two areas of activity – the Near East and Dalmatia. His life and academic work are covered by Katina Lillios, one of the editors, in the opening chapter (Devon to Yale and Rochester, via Jerusalem); Brian Boyd and Theya Molleson focus on Abu Hureyra, ‘“Periphery” no more’, and its ordinary Neolithic folk; Deborah Olszewski and Lisa Maher on Wadi al-Hasa and hunter-gatherers in Jordan; and Sara Tyrell Stewart on prehistoric land use in Cyprus. The Neolithic Adriatic occupies Kaiser and Forenbaher, and in Dalmatia Marko Mendišić; McClure and Podrug offer ‘Village, Landscapes, and Early Farming in Northern Dalmatia’; Horowitz and Chazan essay ‘Early Hominin Mobility in the Lower Paleolithic of the Southern Levant’. Well illustrated. No index.

*On the Fascination of Objects*<sup>30</sup> is a fascinating work from a distinguished set of contributors: 13 chapters on the Shefton Collection of Greek and Etruscan art in Newcastle-upon-Tyne are preceded by an appreciation of Brian Shefton himself (by John Prag) and an Introduction, partly personal, by Tony Spawforth and Andrew Parkin (curators of the collection and keepers of the flame). Some chapters are lengthy (Sally Waite on ‘An Attic Red-Figure Kalathos in the Shefton Collection’ – long involved with the collection, and organiser of the commemorative conference in 2013, the year after Brian’s death, from which this volume has grown), others short (Françoise Lissarague, ‘Note on an Askos in Newcastle’). To sample the rest: Elizabeth Moignard on pyxides; Susan Matheson, ‘Farewells by the Achilles Painter’; Brian Sparkes, ‘Some Early Attic Red-Figure Stemless Cups’;

<sup>29</sup> K.T. Lillios and M. Chazan (eds.), *Fresh Fields and Pastures New: Papers Presented in Honor of Andrew M.T. Moore*, Sidestone Press, Leiden 2016, 205 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-90-8890-348-9.

<sup>30</sup> J. Boardman, A. Parkin and S. Waite (eds.), *On the Fascination of Objects: Greek and Etruscan Art in the Shefton Collection*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2015, xii+179 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-1-78570-006-4.

David Gill, 'The Nostell Priory Bolsal'; Athena Tsingarida, 'Two Coral-Red Bowls...'; Judith Barringer, 'The Shefton Dolphin Rider'; Dyfri Williams, 'Lydian Gold to Newcastle'; Alessandro Naso, '... Etruscan Bronze Funnels'; and John Boardman 'The Newcastle Gems'. Excellent illustrations. No index. A fitting monument to the man and his legacy.

How Moses Isaac Finkelstein became Sir Moses Finley, one of the big beasts of Classics when there were Classicists with a public, not a television, profile, is just one of the many interesting aspects to Jew *et al.*'s volume,<sup>31</sup> deriving from the papers of a conference in Cambridge in May 2012, one of several events commemorating the centenary of Finley's birth. This is a very Cambridge book: many of the contributors are former Finley fellows of Darwin College, Cambridge (his legacy), of which he was Master. Familiar names include Mary Beard and Paul Cartledge, Robin Osborne and Jonathan Prag, Kostas Vlassopoulos and Walter Scheidel; the authors are a deliberate assemblage of those who knew Finley, were indebted to him in some way or whose only debt is to his legacy (intellectual or other). Chapters on 'The Making of Moses Finley', Finley's impact (on various things), 'Finley's Slavery', 'Finley and Sicily', 'Finley and the Teaching of Ancient History', 'Finley's Journalism' (outreach in a more serious time: The Third Programme of the BBC, then a serious national broadcaster), 'Finley and the University of Cambridge', 'Finley and ... Momigliano', 'Finley's Democracy...', 'Finley and the Ancient Economy' and 'Finley and Archaeology' (more generous and nuanced than his attacks suggests, approving of the New Archaeology, making use of it as a subordinate field, loathing with intensity art-historical connoisseurship). The closing chapter has Scheidel 'crunch the numbers' on citation indexes and other flawed quantifications devoured credulously by modern university 'managers' to assess Finley's 'impact'. A fascinating assessment in the round of fascinating and dynamic man. Index.

### *Literature and Myth*

*From Hittite to Homer*<sup>32</sup> is a large and ambitious volume, deriving ultimately from Mary Bachvarova's doctoral thesis, that argues for the oral transmission (a matter of considerable dispute in Ancient Near Eastern Studies), by bilingual poets, of a set of narrative traditions from Hattusa to the Greeks – particularly from the Hurrian–Hittite bilingual poem the *Song of Release* and the Hittite *Cuthean Legend of Naram Sin* to the *Iliad*. She examines models of transmission, contexts and functions of poetry and myth, etc.: chapters range from 'Hurro-Hittite narrative song at Hattusa', 'Gilgamesh at Hattusa: written texts and oral traditions' and 'The Hurro-Hittite ritual context of Gilgamesh at Hattusa', as initial background, through 'Long-distance interactions: theory, practice, and myth' and 'Festivals: a milieu of cultural context', to 'The context of epic in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Greece', 'Cultural contact in Late Bronze Age western Anatolia', 'Continuity and memory at Troy and in Anatolia' and 'The History of the Homeric tradition'. She identifies the texts as oral poetry, thus ripe for transmission by travelling bards, via supralocal festivals,

<sup>31</sup> D. Jew, R. Osborne and M. Scott (eds.), *M.I. Finley: An Ancient Historian and his Impact*, Cambridge Classical Studies, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2016, xviii+333 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-14926-7.

<sup>32</sup> M.R. Bachvarova, *From Hittite to Homer: The Anatolian Background of Ancient Greek Epic*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2016, xxxix+649 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-50979-4.

between societies which shared an interest in creating narratives involving legendary pasts, divinised ancestors, long-distance travel, death and destruction; even the historicity of the Trojan War is considered in terms of origins and significance of the legend of Troy. Massive bibliography, indexes, concordances, etc.

*Classical Mythology in Context*<sup>33</sup> is designed as an introductory textbook for undergraduate students. Its internal arrangement and clear layout (colour-coding) serve this purpose well, in my estimation. It is divided into two parts, the first, 'Goddesses and Gods' offering a genealogy of Greek gods and a timeline of classical mythology before its opening chapter, 'Classical; Myths and Contemporary Questions'. Each of the succeeding eight chapter – on creation, Zeus and Hero, Demeter and Hades, Aphrodite, Hephaestus and Ares, Athena and Poseidon, Hermes and Hestia, Artemis and Apollo, Dionysus – is quartered into history, theory, comparison and reception (where W.B. Yeats, W.H. Auden, Swinburne, Beardsley and The Rocky Horror Picture Show loom before us). A similar division operates in the four chapters of the second part, 'Heroes and Heroines' (Achilles, Medea, Odysseus, Iphigenia – reception of the last-mentioned in New York, alas not in Brooklyn).<sup>34</sup> Usefully illustrated.

The sea has played a large part in Greek imagination,<sup>35</sup> in myth, in art, in ritual, in poetry. Here, myth (and its depiction) is uppermost. Claire Beaulieu presents six case studies, each illustrating a different aspect of the sea as not just a physical boundary, an actual sea, but the sea of the imagination in the geography of the mind, a mediatory and barrier between the worlds of the mortals and immortals, thus central to existence. The first chapter considers perceptions of the sea from the Archaic period to the Roman, the second 'Heroic Coming-of-Age and the Sea' (Perseus, Theseus and, naturally, Jason) and '... Maidens, Marriage and the Sea' (rights of passage), then 'Dolphin Riders Between Hades and Olympus' and '... Diving into the Sea, Women, and Metamorphosis' (to the afterlife) and finally 'Dionysus and the Sea' and Conclusions.

#### *From West to East*

Tartessos is widely written about in Spanish, but there has been a paucity of material in English. The remedy is to hand in Sebastián Celestino and Carolina López-Ruiz's volume,<sup>36</sup> born in Columbus, Ohio, a place I visited almost 30 years ago, which provides the first synthesis in English on Tartessos (and a large stretch south-western Iberia) and relations with the Phoenicians, with a prime focus on the 8th–6th centuries BC. One author is an archaeologist, the other specialises in written sources; a happy blend. An introductory chapter on the history of investigation (and whether sites were Phoenician or exhibit acculturation or hybridisation); then briskly, 'Tartessos in Greek Geography and Historiography', 'Tartessos through Carthaginian and Roman Lenses' (the Tartessians were not of Phoenician origin) and 'Tartessos and the Mythological Far West' (Tartessos as biblical Tarshish,

<sup>33</sup> L. Maurizio, *Classical Mythology in Context*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2016, xxii+690 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-19-978283-3.

<sup>34</sup> P.D.Q. Bach [P. Schickele], 'Iphigenia in Brooklyn', a cantata.

<sup>35</sup> M.-C. Beaulieu, *The Sea in the Greek Imagination*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2016, x+267 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-8122-4765-7.

<sup>36</sup> S. Celestino and C. López-Ruiz, *Tartessos and the Phoenicians in Iberia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2016, xx+368 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-967274-5.



etc.), three chapters discussing ancient written sources; followed by 'Early Cross-Cultural Contacts' (opening with a theoretical discussion of concept such as colonisation, orientalis-ing, hybridisation), 'Human and Economic Landscapes' (geography and settlement patterns, but, of course the richness in minerals of Rio Tinto), 'Religious Spaces and Ritual Life' (sanctuaries and burials with abundant Eastern elements, but were they Phoenician or from a hybrid culture?) 'Art and Technology' (pottery and metalwork; language and writing) and 'Epilogue: Tartessic Questions' (for future research). The Preface is subtitled 'or Why Tartessos Matters': it matters because of where it is (the Far West) and what it was (Phoenician-influenced but not Phoenician; Celtic even?). Some of the images could have been clearer.

The Etruscan city of Caere receives its first comprehensive coverage in English in the volume edited by Nancy De Grummond and Lisa Pieraccini.<sup>37</sup> They have assembled an impressive international team of Etruscanists (Ingrid Edlund-Berry, the late Larissa Bonfante, Richard De Puma, Helen Nagy, Alessandro Naso, Stefan Steingraber, Mario Torelli and Jean MacIntosh Turfa, to name but some) to bring their expertise to bear on all facets of Caere in 25 chapters divided into six sections. Part I is 'Historical Identity and Physical Setting' (topography and natural resources, the Orientalising period, literacy and epigraphy, the urban area); next 'Connections and Interactions around the Mediterranean' (three: 'Innovations: Myth, Inscriptions, and Meaning', 'Ports: Trade, Cultural Connections, Sanctuaries, and Emporia' and 'Prisoners and Plagues: The Battle over Alalia'), 'Cities of the Dead' (tomb architecture and early painted tombs), 'Religion and Civic Identity' (temple décor, civic pride, architectural terracottas, funerals and feasting, ritual and religion, etc.), 'Art and Artisans' (workshops and workshop practices, artistic exchange and the economy, bucchero, sarcophagi and ash urns, stamped braziers and pithoi, gold and ivory, amber, terracotta votives, painted plaques, Archaic painted pottery, Classical and Hellenistic painted pottery) and 'Later Years' (the Roman period and rediscovery). Everything there, definitive, a 'one stop shop'. A quality production from the University of Texas Press. Comprehensively illustrated. Dedicated to Mario Del Chiaro. First in what promises to be a series on 'Cities of the Etruscans', emphasising similarities and differences.

By contrast, Syracuse receives a monograph<sup>38</sup> from Richard Evans, who had previously written more briefly about the city. Eight chapters, a chronology and six appendices (mainly addressing literary sources). The work opens with 'The Myths and the Reality of the Foundation' and proceeds through 'The Deinomenid Dynasty (ca. 700–466 BC)', 'The Fifth Century Collapse (466–460 BC)', 'Democracy and Ducetius (466–427 BC)', 'The First Athenian Expedition (427–424 BC)', 'The Second Athenian Expedition (415–413 BC)', 'The Rise of the Tyrant Dionysius I' to 'The Fourth Century Collapse'. Three maps, some pedigrees/genealogies, and a dozen photographs. Straightforward political and military history (little social or cultural), based on literary/written sources, and exclusively so: archaeology is completely absent, which is problematic when considering the foundation date of the city (given as 680/675 BC here, with a related attempt to lower the dates of

<sup>37</sup> N.T. De Grummond and L.A. Pieraccini (eds.), *Caere*, University of Texas Press, Austin 2016, xxxi+294 pp., illustrations, 6 pp. of colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-1-4773-0843-1.

<sup>38</sup> R. Evans, *Ancient Syracuse: From Foundation to Fourth Century Collapse*, Routledge, London/ New York 2016, xviii+241 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-4724-1937-8.

other Sicilian Greek colonies, rather than 735/733 BC, the usual literary date, which links to 750–725 BC for the earliest archaeological material).<sup>39</sup> Detailed discussion of ancient written sources, and far too much faith placed in them – if only Antiochus of Syracuse's work had survived!; insufficient absorption of the growing modern literature on ancient Sicily. Very good on military matters, which are the author's undoubted strength. Ignores Syracuse's involvement in secondary colonisation.

*Sicily: Culture and Conquest*<sup>40</sup> was published to accompany the eponymous exhibition held at the British Museum in 2016. A larger format, glossy production that is absolutely what one could expect: clear text and excellent illustrations, well reproduced. The authors share the Introduction (gods, heroes, landscape, etc.); Peter Higgs contributes the next two chapters, 'Peoples of Sicily' and 'The Rise of the Tyrants' (pp. 30–131); Dirk Booms continues with 'Age of Conquest' (the Romans), 'The Normans' and 'An Enlightened Kingdom' (pp. 132–263), plus a brief Epilogue. A timeline runs from the Early Bronze Age to the Sicilian Vespers of the late 13th century AD (a simplified genealogical tree explains the succession in the Norman kingdom). Appropriate maps and plans dotted throughout.

Regional and civic identity around the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus are the focus of the DHA supplementary volume edited by Madalina Dana and Franck Prêteux.<sup>41</sup> Ten papers, plus an editorial Introduction and a concluding piece by Alexandru Avram, divided into three sections: 'Peoples and Territories' (Alexandre Baralis on 'The Colonial Expansion of the Aeolians in the Northern Aegean: A Decisive Factor for the Opening of Hellespont to Greek Settlers'; Dan Dana, 'Indigenous Onomastics in Byzantium and Cyzicus'; Stéphane Lebreton, 'Representations of the Straits'), 'Artisanal Production and Regional Specificities' (Pierre Dupont, 'Pottery Manufacture in the Straits during the Greek Period: Present State of Research'; Michel Sève, 'About the Production of Funerary *Stelai* in the Straits Region') and 'Civic and Cultural Identities' (William Pillot, 'Ilion, Athena Ilias and the Straits ... Regional Identity of a Political Community...'; M. Dana, 'History and Historians from Propontis and Bithynia: Narratives and Identities' (a lengthy piece); François de Polignac, 'Maritime landscapes and "signaling" monuments: the *Kynosema* of Chersoneses'; Adrian Robu, 'Dionysiac Associations, Rural Communities and Cults at Byzantion in the Imperial Period'; etc.). Indexed; abstracts in English.

*Mégarika*<sup>42</sup> publishes material from an international colloquium held in Mangalia/Callatis in 2012: 14 papers divided into 'Colonisation et contacts des cités mégariennes

<sup>39</sup> See, for example, I. Morris, 'The absolute chronology of the Greek colonies in Sicily'. *Acta Archaeologica* 67 (1996), 51–59; and various contributors to my own *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, 2 vols. (Leiden 2006; 2008).

<sup>40</sup> D. Booms and P. Higgs (eds.), *Sicily: Culture and Conquest*, The British Museum Press, London 2016, 288 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-7141-2289-2.

<sup>41</sup> M. Dana and F. Prêteux (eds.), *Identité régionale, identités civiques autour des Détroits des Dardanelles et du Bosphore (Ve siècle av. J.-C.–IIe siècle apr. J.-C.)*, Dialogues d'histoire ancienne Suppl. 15, Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, Besançon 2016, 311 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISSN 2108-1433. Papers in French but titles also provided in English.

<sup>42</sup> A. Robu and I. Birzescu with D. Knoepfler and A. Avram (eds.), *Mégarika: Nouvelles recherches sur Mégare et les cités de la Propontide et du Pont-Euxin: Archéologie, épigraphie, histoire*, Actes du colloque de Mangalia (8–12 juillet 2012), De l'archéologie à l'histoire 66, Éditions de Boccard, Paris 2016, 494 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-2-7018-0364-7/ISSN 1157-3872.

avec le monde égeen', 'Archéologie et épigraphie des cités de la Mégaride' and 'Callatis et son territoire: nouveaux développements de la recherche', plus a Conclusion by Alexandru Avram. Papers in French and English, bilingual abstracts. Alexander Herda opens the first section with 'Megara and Miletos: Colonising with Apollo. A Structural Comparison of Religious and Political Institutions in Two Archaic Greek Polis States' (pp. 15–127); others include Thibaut Castelli, '... la mobilité spatiale des personnes entre mer Égée et mer Noire aux époques classique et hellénistique', based on literary texts, proxeny decrees and funerary inscriptions, Victor Cojocaru, 'Un espace dorien pontique d'après les décrets de proxénie' and Denis Knoepfler, 'Une femme de Callatis à Athènes dans un nouveau décret d'association religieuse au IIIe siècle av. J.-C.'. The middle section houses papers on 'Burial Customs of Megara during the 7th and 6th Centuries BC...' (Yannis Chaïetakis), a preliminary report of a rural sanctuary west of Pagia (Polytimi Valta), a reconstruction of Megara based on defensive works, road networks, cemeteries, sanctuaries, and public and domestic buildings in the 5th and 4th centuries BC (Eugenia Tsalkou), 'Water Supply Facilities in Megara during the Archaic and Classical Period' (Panagiota Avgerinou), using a refuse deposit of the Classical period to reassess the topography and history of Megara (Irin Svana), inscribed funerary tables (Adrian Robu), etc. The last section has papers on the first Greek imports in Callatis and environs (Iulian Bîrzescu and Ionescu), fortified settlements of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC (Nicolae Alexandru), representations of deities on Hellenistic terracottas from Albești (Buzoianu and Bărbulescu), sculpture discovered in the 'Sacred Area' of Callatis (Panait Bîrzescu and Odobescu), the Hellenistic coinage (Gabriel Talmațchi) and new inscriptions (Avram).

We then pass to Neapolis/Neoklaudiopolis,<sup>43</sup> an important but somewhat overlooked inland city south-west of Samsun in northern Asia Minor, founded by Pompey after the Roman expulsion, in 64 BC, of the last king of Pontus as one of seven 'city-states' in the interior of the erstwhile kingdom. The book derives from Søren Lund Sørensen doctoral dissertation (with some of the apparatus still evident: IV.7.6 yields a single paragraph on Judaism). It takes the city (and, in passing, the other similar foundations) through to the 3rd century AD and the full incorporation of the region by Rome, with a particular focus on (reassessing) the epigraphic evidence. Five main chapters: 'The imperial oaths', 'The provincial assemblies of the Pontic areas', 'The Pontic *koine*' (Paphlagonia, Armenia Minor, Pontus et Bithynia), 'Neokladiopolis – the local level' (civic institutions, religion and cults, language[s], citizenship, etc.) and, most extensively, 'The provincialisation of Pontos: Sacrilege and slaughter' (including Mark Antony's reorganisation, the role and rule of the Polemonids as client kings through to AD 64, the Imperial cult and its deployment in 'Romanising' the city and region, etc.), plus Introduction, Conclusion, indexes, etc.

Lydia and the Lydians receive attention from Annick Payne and Jorit Wintjes in *Lords of Asia Minor*,<sup>44</sup> an introduction for the general reader, which offers an 'Historical

<sup>43</sup> S. Lund Sørensen, *Between Kingdom and Koinon: Neapolis/Neoklaudiopolis and the Pontic Cities*, Geographica Historica 33, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016, 224 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11312-0.

<sup>44</sup> A. Payne and J. Wintjes, *Lords of Asia Minor: An Introduction to the Lydians*, Philippika 93, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2016, x+145 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-10568-2/ISSN 1613-5628.

Overview' (pp. 5–45, including nine pages on sources, perhaps disproportionate, and geography, chronology and prehistory; then Attyads, Heraclids and Mermnads; 'The End' is followed by 'Lydia after the Lydians', i.e. up to Rome taking over), 'Sardis and the Archaeology of Lydia'. 'The Lydian Language', 'Lydian Inscriptions', 'Lydian Civilisation' (pp. 87–115: money, weights, gold, material and technology; religion; and burial customs) and a brief chapter on reception. A timeline but no index. A short and comprehensive survey aimed at a broad readership, with 21 pages of bibliography (up to date and in many languages) for those who wish to dig deeper. Enthusiastic authors and clean prose, though the chapter on language is hard going for a non-specialist.

The *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*<sup>45</sup> (ICAANE) (held in Basle in June 2014) are published, like those of its predecessor, in three volumes by Harrassowitz – a task for three principal editors contemplating 139 contributions (131 in English). Individual sections have individual editors, themselves usually contributors to those sections, thus: 'Travelling Images – Transfer and Transformation of Visual Ideas' (22 papers, Oskar Kaelin); 'Dealing with the Past: Finds, Booty, Gifts, Spoils, Heirlooms' (11, Rolf Stucky); 'Collections at Risk: Sustainable Strategies for Managing Near Eastern Archaeological Collections' (eight, Andrew Jamieson – with Syria to the fore, naturally enough); 'Egypt and Ancient Near East – Perceptions of Alterity' (seven, Susanne Bickel); 'Ancient Near Eastern Traditions vs. Hellenization/Romanization' (12, Bruno Jacobs, with the eponymous Introduction, and including Dura-Europos, southern Cappadocia, Hellenistic Beirut, 'Achaemenid and Greek influence on Lycia during the 6th to 4th Centuries BC', '... The Role of Hellenic Culture in 4th-Century Lycia' and 'Hellenistic Moldmade Bowls from... Dorylaion'); 'Reconstructing Ancient Eco-Systems' (seven, Jean-Marie Le Tensorer); 'Islamic Session' (ten, Denis Genequand). The Reports (vol. 3) are divided into Iraq (four), Iraq (Kurdistan) (seven), Syria (nine), Turkey (seven), Iran (six), Israel, Lebanon and the Levant (five), Jordan (six), Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Afghanistan (five), Oman (three), Transcaucasia (three) and general (six).

Several of the 28 papers in *Prehistoric Bodies and Embodied Identities*,<sup>46</sup> deriving from conference 'Embodied Identities in the Prehistoric Eastern Mediterranean: Convergence of Theory and Practice' (Nicosia, April 2012), fall within our coverage; many are too early, with Chalcolithic Cyprus prominent. The volume is divided into six sections: 'The Represented Body', 'Material Culture and the Construction of Identity' (including Maria Mina's

<sup>45</sup> R.A. Stucky, O. Kaelin and H.-P. Mathys (eds.), *ICAANE 9: Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 9–13 June 2014, Basel*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2016. Vol. 1: *Travelling Images – Transfer and Transformation of Visual Ideas* (ed. O. Kaelin); *Dealing with the Past: Finds, Booty, Gifts, Spoils, Heirlooms* (ed. R.A. Stucky); *Collections at Risk: Sustainable Strategies for Managing Near Eastern Archaeological Collections* (ed. A. Jamieson), 550 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10587-3. Vol. 2: *Egypt and Ancient Near East – Perceptions of Alterity* (ed. S. Bickel); *Ancient Near Eastern Traditions vs. Hellenization/Romanization* (ed. B. Jacobs); *Reconstructing Ancient Eco-Systems* (ed. J.-M. Le Tensorer); *Islamic Session* (ed. D. Genequand), 478 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10614-6. Vol. 3: *Reports* (ed. O. Kaelin and H.-P. Mathys), 789 pp., illustrations. Cased. 978-3-447-10615-3.

<sup>46</sup> M. Mina, S. Triantaphyllou and Y. Papadatos (eds.), *An Archaeology of Prehistoric Bodies and Embodied Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2016, xii+227 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78570-291-4.

‘... Metal Objects and Embodied Identities in Early and Middle Bronze Age Cyprus’, ‘Ritualised Practice and the Performance of Identities’ (Vicky Vlachou on ‘... Aspects of Funerary Behaviour during the Late Geometric Period in Attica’ and Stella Pilavki’s ‘... Rock Art and the Construction of Identities in Ancient Thrace’), ‘Embodied Knowledge through Technology and Science’ (Kostis Christakis, ‘From Potter’s Mark to the Potter Who Marks’), ‘The Lived Body and Identities’ and ‘Interaction with the Dead Body’ (Yannis Galanakis, ‘Fire, Fragmentation and the Body in the Late Bronze Age Aegean’; ‘Burning People, Breaking Things: Material Entanglements, the Bronze Age/Iron Age Transition and the Homeric Dividual’, James Whitley). Well produced and illustrated. No index, no details of the contributors. As the cover puts it, ‘a combined use of body-focused methodological and theoretical perspectives that are nevertheless grounded in the archaeological record’.

Llandrindod Wells, UK

Gocha R. Tsetskhladze

#### NEW PUBLICATIONS ON THE NORTHERN BLACK SEA AND RELATED TERRITORIES

- D.G. Savinov, I.A. Garbuz, I.S. Buklagina and A.M. Butyagin (eds.), *Greki i varvarskii mir Severnogo Prichernomor'ya: kul'turiye traditsii v kontaktiikh zonakh*, Materialy V mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii ‘Arkheologicheskie istochniki i kul'turogenez’, Institute of History, St Petersburg State University, St Petersburg 2019, 92 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-5-98620-398-0
- A.V. Buisikikh, *Arkhaicheskaya raspisnaya keramika iz Borisfena (raskopki 1960–1980 gg.)*, Institute of Archaeology, National Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine, Kiev 2019, 392 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-617-7810-00-0
- O.A. Ruchinskaya, *Kul'tura i obshchestvo grecheskikh gorodov Severnogo Prichernomor'ya (VI v. do n.e.–IV v. n.e.)*, Maidan, Kharkov 2017, 286 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-966-372-735-6
- G.I. Smirnova (†), M.Y. Vakhtina, M.T. Kashuba and E.G. Starikova, *Gorodishche Nemirov na reke Iuzhnii Bug. Po materialam raskopok v XX veke iz kollektsii Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha i Nauchnaya arkhiva IIMK RAN*, The State Hermitage, Institute for the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg 2018, 396 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-5-9909872-2-7
- B.A. Shramko (†), I.B. Shramko and S.A. Zadnikov, *Zakhidne ukriplennya: zol'nik no. 11 (1958)*, Arkheologichni kompleks ‘Bil's'ke Gorodishche’ Issue 1, Ministry of Education and Science of the Ukraine, V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Bilsk Historical and Cultural Reserve, Kharkov/Kotelva 2018, 299 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-966-372-721-9
- S.Y. Monakhov, E.V. Kuznetsova, D.E. Chistov and N.B. Churekova, *Antichnaya amfornaya kollektsiya Gosudartvennogo Ermitazha VI–II vv. do n.e.: Katalog*, The State

Hermitage, Institute of Archaeology and Cultural Heritage, N.G. Chernyshevski Saratov National Research State University, Saratov 2019, 352 pp, illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-5-00140-287-9

V.D. Kuznetsov (ed.), *Fanagoriya: Rezul'taty arkheologicheskikh issledovaniy*, Vol. 7, Materialy po arkhelogii i istorii Fanagorii, Issue 4, Institute of Archaeology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, Phanagoria State Historical-Archaeological Museum Preserve, Moscow 2018, 164 pp, illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-5-94375-249-0

V.D. Kuznetsov (ed.), *Hypanis: Trudy otdela klassicheskoi arkheologii IA RAN* 1, Institute of Archaeology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow 2019, 176 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-5-94375-307-7

A.N. Kovalenko (ed.), *Prichernomor'e v antichnoe i rannesrednevekovoe vremya: Sbornik nauchnykh trudov, posvyashchennyi 70-letiyu professora V.P. Kopylova*, Issue 2, Southern Federal University, Training Museum of Archaeology IIMO, 'Nasledie' Archaeological Society, Laki-Pak, Rostov-on-Don 2018, 668 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-5-906785-50-3

W. Anderson, K. Hopper and A. Robinson (eds.), *Landscape Archaeology in Southern Caucasia: Finding Common Ground in Diverse Environments*, Proceedings of the Workshop held at 10th ICAANE in Vienna, April 2016, Oriental and European Archaeology [OREA] 8, Austrian Academy of Sciences Press/Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2018, 163 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-7001-8204-7

J. Fornasier, *Die griechische Kolonisation im nördlichen Schwarzmeerraum vom. 7. bis 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Archäologie in Eurasien 32, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien-Abteilung, Berlin/Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2016, ix+216 pp., illustrations (summaries in English and Russian). Cased. ISBN 978-3-7749-4028-4

V. Kozlovskaya (ed.), *The Northern Black Sea in Antiquity: Networks, Connectivity, and Cultural Interactions*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2017, xxvii+366 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-01951-5

Study of the Black Sea in antiquity flourishes, and so has publication of works about it: in Russia and the Ukraine these have increase at such a pace that it is difficult to keep track of them (and, even more, to obtain them). And, step by step, in an extremely welcome development, the West is trying to catch up. The following reviews cover just a selection of works, Eastern and Western; to deal with all works would fill many more pages.

Materials from the conference 'Greeks and the barbarian world of the northern Black Sea' are published in a volume modestly subtitled 'summaries of papers'. In reality it is more than that. Contributions, generally two or more pages in length, are illustrated and come with a bibliography. The subjects include new material from Myrmekion, Greek imports of the end of the Archaic-Classical period found in Abkhazia, Pichvnari (in Georgia) as a contact zone of Greeks in the eastern Black Sea, and many others. Some papers contain



interpretations which are open to challenge. As an example, the opening contribution by A.S. Balakhvantsev (pp. 3–4) considers Graeco-Scythian relations in the second half of the 7th century BC through the earliest Greek pottery found during excavation of the Tarasova Balka settlement and surrounding tombs. The interpretation offered is that some Scythian chiefs, buried in one of the tombs, dominated the local agricultural population and received grain and metals as tribute, some of which was sold on to the Greeks who, in return, supplied wine and olive oil as well as prestige painted pottery. I contest this view. First of all, what is meant by prestige pottery? Of prestige to whom? The Scythians had never seen such items before and would have had no idea what was prestigious and what was mass-produced and commonplace. Most probably, the pottery came here from the Taganrog settlement, situated not far away on the shore of the Sea of Azov, which was one of the earliest Greek colonies in the Black Sea.<sup>1</sup> Early Greek pottery is found not only in the hinterland of Olbia and Berezan but also in Colchis and in the southern Black Sea. In the case of the former, there was no local population, and the first Greeks had to track into the deep hinterland, about 500 km from the coast to find one, with whose elite they cemented friendly relations with the gift of painted tableware.<sup>2</sup>

In 2013, A.V. Buisikh published a book on the East Greek pottery from Olbia.<sup>3</sup> This was instrumental in establishing the foundation date of this Greek colony as 620/610–590 BC based on her painstaking pottery study: previously, about ten different dates had been suggested. Buisikh has now produced another detailed study – a catalogue of the Archaic painted pottery found at Borysthenes/Berezan. Such pottery can be found extensively in the Hermitage,<sup>4</sup> but some is in Odessa, Nikolaev, Ochakov, Kherson, Moscow,

<sup>1</sup> For a list of Black Sea Greek colonies, including details of written sources mentioning them, the earliest Greek pottery found in them, establishment dates, their mother-cities and whether any local population existed in the vicinity, see G.R. Tsetskhladze, 'Once again about the Establishment Date of Some Greek Colonies around the Black Sea'. In G.R. Tsetskhladze and S. Atasoy (eds.), *Settlements and Necropoleis of the Black Sea and its Hinterland in Antiquity* (Oxford 2019), 28–32, table 6; 8, table 3; 15, table 4. For the earliest in the northern Black Sea, p. 5, table 1; the southern, p. 6 table 2; and Colchis, p. 27, table 5.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, G.R. Tsetskhladze, 'Pots versus People: Further Consideration of the Earliest Examples of East Greek Pottery in Native Settlements of the Northern Pontus'. In A. Hermay and G.R. Tsetskhladze (eds.), *From the Pillars of Hercules to the Footsteps of the Argonauts* (Leuven 2012), 315–74. An updated version of this paper appeared in Russian as 'Grecheskaya keramika i transportnye amfory v pontiiskoi khinterlande: kak i pochemu'. In *Bosporskie Issledovaniya* 31 (Kerch 2015), 60–87 (both unknown to the author). For the latest, see Tsetskhladze (as in n. 1). It must be said that this kind of pottery is known also from the Krasnyi tomb of a local chief, which is not very far from Tarasova Balka: Tsetskhladze (as in n. 1), 6, fig. 2, no. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Arkhaicheskaya raspisnaya keramika iz Ol'vii* (Kiev).

<sup>4</sup> The Hermitage collection is still not published as a comprehensive catalogue under one cover. Parts of it have appeared in different publications in Russian. For some examples of East Greek pottery, see S.L. Solovyov, *Ancient Berezan: The Architecture, History and Culture of the First Greek Colony in the Northern Black Sea* (Leiden 1999); S.L. Solovyov, 'The Archaeological Excavations on the Berezan Settlement (1987–1991)'. In G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *North Pontic Archaeology: Recent Discoveries and Studies* (Leiden 2001), 117–41; S.L. Solovyov (ed.), *Borisfen-Berezan', Arkheologicheskaya kollektsia Ermitazha*, vol. 1 (St Petersburg 2005) and vol. 2 (*TGE* 54) (St Petersburg 2010) – four volumes were promised but this important project came to end after vol. 2; *Borisfen-Berezan, nachalo*

Halle and Bonn. Her work deals with the material excavated by the Kiev archaeologist V.V. Lapin between 1960 and 1980, pottery hitherto not merely unpublished but unknown. Altogether, this collection, kept in the National Institute of Archaeology in Kiev, comprises 4350 pieces; the catalogue contains 1712 entries. These are arranged by place of origin within the site. The illustrations, most in colour, have been reproduced to the highest quality. Buisikh uses the high chronology formulated by Kerschner and Schlotzhauer<sup>5</sup> for dating, and she uses it uncritically: it is not without problems and others have taken a more guarded and questioning approach to it.<sup>6</sup> The conclusion reached is that Borysthenes was established at the beginning of the third quarter of the 7th century BC as an *emporion*, functioning as an intermediary with the local population of the steppe and forest steppe zones. I would agree with the date, but I cannot accept the status of Berezan as merely an *emporion*: every Greek *polis* was, at the same time, functioning as an *emporion*/trading settlement for the neighbouring local populations. Another question, asked more frequently nowadays, is whether there was a local population around Berezan and Olbia. Here is not the place to discuss this difficult matter, but the answer accepted by more and more scholars is that there was not.

O.A. Ruchinskaya has produced a fresh overview of the culture and society of the Greek cities of the northern Black Sea coast from the 6th century BC to the 4th century AD, based on all available evidence. The volume, dedicated to her teachers – V. Kadeev (1927–2012), who was my own undergraduate supervisor, and F.F. Krapivina (1950–2013) – is arranged as three large chapters. The first focuses on the development and features of the culture of these Greek cities, including settlement and traditions, town planning and the everyday life of their citizens; the second is devoted to spiritual/religious culture; and the third to literature, music, drama and related aspects. Like every book with such a broad theme and chronological span, the space provided (239 pp. of text) does not permit the subject matter to be presented in detail. I consider that the target audience is academics as well as graduate students. The author's arguments are backed up by 123 well-chosen illustrations and a 26-page bibliography of all the major works.

Let me turn now to the book on Nemirov city-site by G.I. Smirnova *et al.* Nemirov was a large settlement on the Southern Bug, a political centre for local chiefs. It lies on a plateau

*antichnoi epokhi v Severnom Prichernomor'e: K 120-letiyu raskopok na ostrove Berezan* (Exhibition Catalogue) (St Petersburg 2005); Y.V. Domanskii *et al.*, *Materiali berezanskoi (nizhne bugskoi) antichnoi arkheologicheskoi ekspeditsii 1* (St Petersburg 2006); D.E. Chistov (ed.), *Materiali berezanskoi (nizhne bugskoi) antichnoi arkheologicheskoi ekspeditsii 2: Issledovaniya na ostrove Berezan' v 2005–2009 gg.* (St Petersburg 2012) – according to D. Chistov, the third volume is in press. See also S.L. Solovyov, "'Dom colonista" v arkheologicheskom kontekste arkhaiskoi Berezeni'. In E.N. Khodza and A.M. Butyagin (eds.), *Antichnii mir: iskusstvo i arkheologiya, postyashaetsya pamyati Sofi Pavlony Boriskovskoi (1937–2001)* (TGE 41) (St Petersburg 2008), 216–36; L.I. Davydova, 'An Archaic Kouros from Berezan (1986 Field Season)'. In J. Boardman, S.L. Solovyov and G.R. Tsatskheladze (eds.), *North Pontic Antiquities in the State Hermitage Museum* (Leiden 2001), 155–58, etc.

<sup>5</sup> M. Kerschner and U. Schlotzhauer, 'A New Classification System for East Greek Pottery'. *AWE* 4.1 (2005), 1–56.

<sup>6</sup> For the latest criticism of the dating, see Tsatskheladze (as in n. 1), 3–6. It is not surprising that the referees of this book are Kerschner and Schlotzhauer (separately), neither of whom has any Russian.

and the adjacent flat territory stretches to 110 ha, all surrounded by a ditch and rampart, with a height/depth of 9 m, a width of 32 m and extending for 4.5–5.5 km. The settlement has long been of interest to classical archaeologists on account of the large quantity of East Greek pottery of the last quarter of the 7th–beginning of the 6th century BC found there in two of the three subterranean dwellings. There is heated debate on how the pottery reached the site and how it should be interpreted. Excavation of the site began in 1909–10, and the last was conducted in 1946–48. Much material has been lost; what survives is kept in the State Hermitage in St Petersburg, where Smirnova, who unfortunately died before seeing the results of her many years of work in this book, had been its keeper for many years and had published many articles about the settlement. The documentation is held in the Academic Archive of the Institute for the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg.

Our picture of Nemirov was for many years unclear because only a limited amount of the material had been published. Thus the appearance of this book is of huge importance for our understanding of the nature of the settlement from the surviving material. A large article by M.T. Kashuba and Vakhtina formed an appetising prelude to it.<sup>7</sup> The book's first chapter presents the history of the investigation of the site. Its successor considers the city-site from an archaeological point of view. The material for the Neolithic period and the Early Iron Age is reviewed in the following two chapters, while Chapter 5 (pp. 193–221), by M.Y. Vakhtina, provides a detailed study of the Greek pottery, comprehensive in presentation and discussion,<sup>8</sup> buttressed by the following catalogue of more than 200 entries and colour plates, and an archaeometric analysis of the Archaic East Greek pottery (pp. 305–11, etc.). Much has been written about the interpretation of such pottery, but it seems to represent gifts from the first Greek settlers in the region, most probably from Berezan/Borysthenes. Considering the local pottery overall, 17 main types of vessel have been identified and 19 different sub-types. Some pottery is close in shape to that produced by the local population, but most striking is the preponderance of Hallstatt pottery (end of HaB–HaC), such as is known from the cemeteries of eastern Austria and adjacent areas of Hungary and Slovakia, and another type of pottery resembling Carpatho-Danubian Hallstatt (pottery of the Basarabi and Bîreşti-Firigile culture). Nemirov has been widely interpreted in the literature as a Scythian settlement. Pottery of the local population living in the Middle Bug region has been discovered as well. But the Hallstatt pottery finds demonstrate that it was not Scythian, rather a Hallstatt settlement akin, for instance, to Heuneburg.<sup>9</sup>

Belsk was another local city-site and political-economic centre, indeed the largest local site in Europe, occupying 4020 ha had a defensive perimeter of 25 km and an estimated

<sup>7</sup> 'Nekotore aspekti izucheniya materialov rannego zheleznogo veka iz raskopok Nemirovskogo gorodishcha v Pobuzh'e'. *Arkheologicheskie Vesti* 23 (2017), 211–28.

<sup>8</sup> She has published extensively about this pottery in Russian and English. For the latest, see M.Y. Vakhtina and M.T. Kashuba, 'East Greek Archaic Pottery at the Nemirov Fortified Settlement: On the Question of Classical Imports in "Local" Context'. In V. Cojocaru *et al.* (eds.), *Advances in Ancient Black Sea Studies: Historiography, Archaeology and Religion* (Cluj-Napoca 2019), 231–56.

<sup>9</sup> G.R. Tsetschladze, 'Pontic Notes'. *Pontica* 51, Suppl. 5 (2018), 52–54. Tsetschladze (as in n. 1), 7–8.

population of 4000–5000. The ramparts were 9 m high and ditches over 5 m deep. It included three forts – Western (72 ha), Eastern (65.2 ha) and Kuzeminskoe (15.4 ha), each with its own fortifications – and about nine other populated places. The first excavation took place in 1906.<sup>10</sup> From 1957 to the present they have been conducted by the V.N. Karazin Kharkov National University, until 1988 under the direction of the late Prof. B.A. Shramko, and since then by his daughter, Dr I.B. Sharmko, with the close collaboration of Dr S.A. Zadnikov. Many follow B.A. Shramko in believing that Belsk was the city of Gelonus mentioned by Herodotus 4. 108, although some reject this.<sup>11</sup>

Like Nemirov, Belsk is of great importance for classical archaeology. It too has yielded East Greek pottery dating from the last quarter of the 7th–beginning of the 6th century BC:<sup>12</sup> so far about 70 pieces discovered during excavation of pit-houses and ash-hills. It is the present team's plan to publish hitherto unpublished material from B.A. Shramko's excavations. The volume considered here is the first in the series, and it is devoted to the study of Ash-hill 11 of the Western fort, discovered in 1958 (Chapter 2 publishes the excavation notebook from that year and Chapter 3 is B.A. Shramko's contemporary report); it also commemorates the diamond jubilee of Kharkov University's involvement with Belsk.<sup>13</sup> The ash-hill was formed after the two-room pit-house, which existed in the second and third quarters of the 6th century, was destroyed. There is a general description of material from the excavation of the ash-hill, then of the artefacts from the fill of the pit-house (including not only pottery but also stone, bronze and bone objects), the material from the cultural layer of the ash-hill, etc. Chapter 7 (pp. 122–31) examines the Greek pottery from the ash-hill: overall, 40 pieces were recovered, not just tableware but also amphora fragments. The concluding chapter (8) discusses issues of chronology. There are ten appendices, principally an extensive catalogue of finds, but also considerations of bone material, bronze artefacts, Greek pottery, animal and plant materials, etc.

Between 2015 and 2019, Russia's premier investigator of amphorae, Prof. S.Y. Monakhov, conducted a project to study amphorae held in Russian museums. Those of Chersonesos, Kerch Museum, etc. have already been published. The latest volume (2019) considers the collection in the Hermitage, Russia's largest museum, originating mainly from its own archaeological expeditions and activities; and Monakhov is joined as co-authors by a team of specialists from the Hermitage. Hundreds of amphorae, complete or fragmented, are included in this very welcome study. It opens with a list of abbreviations and an

<sup>10</sup> A conference was held to commemorate the centenary of the study of Belsk in 2006: See *Arkheologichnii Litopis Livoberezhnoi Ukraini* 2/2006 (Poltava/Kiev), subtitled *100-richchyu vid pochatku arkeologichnikh doslidzhen' Bil's'kogo gorodishcha prisvyachuet'sya*. The papers are published in this and the subsequent two issues.

<sup>11</sup> See B.A. Shramko, *Bel'skoe gorodishche skifskoi epokhi (gorod Gelon)* (Kiev 1987). All of his writings on Belsk, including this monograph, have been collected and reissued in *Bil's'ke Gorodishche v nakovikh pratsyakh B.A. Shramko*, compiled by S.A. Zadnikov and I.B. Shramko (Kharkov 2016) – a work of 606 pp. that is dedicated to his 95th birthday.

<sup>12</sup> The Greek pottery is studied by S.A. Zadnikov, who has published many articles on it and who is now preparing a catalogue of all Greek pottery found in the settlement – altogether, about 7000 pieces, the vast majority from the Archaic and Classical periods, a small amount Hellenistic. The Greek pottery from Belsk formed the subject of his PhD.

<sup>13</sup> The title of the volume is in Ukrainian; the text is in Russian.

introduction; Chapter 1 describes the history of the formation of the Hermitage's collection; and Chapter 2 presents general information about amphora complexes discovered in the course of excavations. The catalogue is central to the volume. It is arranged by production centre, though amphorae of unidentifiable origin are not ignored, and provides detailed descriptions complemented by line drawings and colour photographs. A similar level of attention is given to the stamps of stamped amphorae. Six appendices conclude the work: a detailed bibliography, indexes of geographical and personal names, finally 77 pages of colour plates of over 300 (more-or-less complete) amphorae. The publication is timely and exemplary. Like the other volumes already published, it is worth emphasising that the catalogue is of large format, beautifully printed and presented, and very easy to use.

Phanagoria, established by Teos in *ca.* 542 BC, is a large site (about 75 ha) situated on the Taman Peninsula in the northern Black Sea littoral (a quarter of it lies beneath the waters of the Taman Gulf). It has long been investigated but the last two decades have witnessed a revival of attention and a renewed appreciation of its importance. Whereas in the past only Panticapaeum was considered a residence of Mithridates VI, we now know that Phanagoria shared this distinction – it was also the burial place of Mithridates' wife, Hypsicratea, whose tombstone has been discovered<sup>14</sup> – and recently a fragment of an Achaemenid cuneiform inscription has been discovered here, unique for the whole Black Sea.<sup>15</sup> It is the first site in the region to receive such large-scale and lavish excavation (under the direction of V.D. Kuznetsov): there is the extensive Phanagoria Research Centre containing a library, an advanced conservation facility, accommodation, etc. It is the most extensively published as well. Many articles have appeared in different publications but here my task to bring to attention the noteworthy *Phanagoria* publication series, which publishes the results from the site and from archaeological work on the surrounding territory. The volumes of this series are not only important for the study of Phanagoria itself but for the whole of Black Sea archaeology, and I keenly await the publication of each new one.<sup>16</sup>

*Phanagoria* volume 7 has appeared, otherwise volume 4 in 'Material on the Archaeology and History of Phanagoria' (the two overlap confusingly). It is a collection of ten articles (some others in the series are monographs): the opening piece is dedicated to numismatics, the next to letters from the Phanagoria expedition in 1937 and 1939; a soldier's tomb is examined, likewise Phanagorian tombs of the 1st–5th centuries AD, materials of the Khazar period, trade connections with the Mediterranean world (evidence of amphorae helping to date the levels of the 'Upper City' in the 6th–3rd centuries BC), a new dedicatory inscription, an astragal, and a gold bracelet from the Phanagoria necropolis. Of particular interest is an article by Kuznetsov himself about the Archaic domestic architecture of the northern Black Sea littoral, a topic on which he has already published a large article.<sup>17</sup> He continues

<sup>14</sup> V.D. Kuznetsov, 'Novye nadpisi iz Fanagorii'. *VDI* 1 (2007), 238–43.

<sup>15</sup> For the latest, see G.R. Tsetskhladze, 'An Achaemenid Inscription from Phanagoria: Extending the Boundaries of Empire'. *AWE* 19 (2019), 113–51.

<sup>16</sup> For post-Graeco-Roman Phanagoria, see V.N. Chkhaidze, *Fanagoriya v VI–X vekakh* (Moscow 2012).

<sup>17</sup> V.D. Kuznetsov, 'Early Types of Greek Dwelling Houses in the North Black Sea'. In G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Ancient Greeks West and East* (Leiden 1999), 531–64.

to criticise all of the many who consider that pit-houses were dwellings: most scholars regard them as dwellings of the local population; some, like me, that they formed the abodes of the early Greek settlers;<sup>18</sup> he believes that what we have are the basements of houses or the remains of workshops. I shall not dwell on the details of this disagreement here: I am preparing another article about subterranean architecture (to be published by Archaeopress, Oxford in late 2020 in the proceedings of the Third International Workshop on the Black Sea in Antiquity, held at the International Hellenic University, Thessaloniki).

The Department of Classical Archaeology of the Institute of Archaeology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, has inaugurated a departmental annual, *Hypanis*, the first volume of which appeared in 2019. Its Editor-in-Chief is Kuznetsov, Head of Department, and the other editors are drawn from his departmental colleagues. Eight papers focus on Phanagoria and the Crimea: a publication of Late Archaic–Early Classical silver coins from Phanagoria; a solidus of Justinian I from a fire level of the 6th century there; the history of the north-western Crimea in Late Scythian times (2nd century BC–2nd century AD); an assemblage of glass vessels of the 5th–6th centuries recovered during underwater excavations at Phanagoria; notes about the secondary use of amphorae in Archaic Phanagoria; a graffito on a plate from the Kamennaya Batareyka necropolis, and another from underwater debris off Ak-Burun Cape; and use of marine life in the rural sanctuaries of the Crimean Azov region. The other three papers are devoted to the archaeology of Central Asia in ancient times, another focus of the department.

The second volume of *The Black Sea Region in Antiquity and Early Middle-Ages* contains papers presented to V.P. Kopylov to mark his 70th birthday – the first issue (in 2013) was dedicated to his 65th birthday – by his pupils, friends and colleagues (most Russian, but others from abroad). An introduction discusses Kopylov and his role in archaeology and the establishing the Don School of archaeology. There are five sections: ‘History of science’ (four papers presenting historical accounts of the investigation of different sites and publishing written material and drawings from them for the first time, from Chertomlyk to Chersonesos, by Y.A. Vinogradov, Polin, Goroncharovskii and Tunkina); ‘Publications’ (11: Phanagoria [Kuznetsov], Tyritake [Zinko], Elizavetovskoe, Volna I cemetery, Vani city-site in Georgia [Kacharava and separately Kvirkvelia], Roman-era burials on the south-west Georgian coast, Abkhazia, etc.); ‘Studies, issues, discussions’ (22: Scythia, Scythians, Animal Style, burials and *kurgans*; three on Elizavetovskoe, Olbia, Chersonesos, Apsarus; and concluding with an extensive piece about the Sassanid fortification of Derbent by the Kudryavtsevs); ‘Ceramic Studies, ceramic epigraphy and numismatics’ (eight: Apollonia Pontica [Dupont], Pichvnari [A. Kakhidze], Chersonesos [Ushakov], Tanais [Matera], Adjara [Varshalomidze], Thrace [Bouzek], etc.); and ‘On the crossroads of science’ (five: the Tanais river, Elizavetovskoe, the Taman Peninsula, etc.). This very interesting collection, broad in scope and publishing new evidence, ideas and interpretations, is worthy of the dedicatee.

On to *Landscape Archaeology in Southern Caucasia* (here defined as the territories of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, plus parts of eastern Turkey and north-western Iran;

<sup>18</sup> G.R. Tsatskheladze, ‘On the Earliest Greek Colonial Architecture in the Pontus’. In C.J. Tuplin (ed.), *Pontus and the Outside World: Studies in Black Sea History, Historiography and Archaeology* (Leiden 2004), 225–81.



it would have been more accurate to follow convention and exclude the last two). This is a relatively new approach for this region, though some surveys had been conducted by local archaeologists and the results incorporated into their field reports and publications. It would have been a much more important volume if work already done had been combined with new. I will return below to this problem below. It is, nevertheless, an interesting collection (written by scholars from Armenia, Australia, Georgia, Germany, Italy, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States); and its results indeed expand our knowledge. I have long wondered, however, how one can date a small piece of pottery lacking in any distinctive features, whereas surveys undertaken in conjunction with excavations, as was the case with my excavation at Pessinus in Central Anatolia, are of mutual benefit: for dating materials, the survey informs the excavation, and *vice versa*.

The Preface of Barbara Horejs, Director of the Institute for Oriental and European Archaeology, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, and Series Editor, explains the volume's background in one of the workshops staged within the 10th ICAANE congress, held in Vienna in 2016, its proceedings largely published by Harrassowitz in multiple volumes.

The introductory chapter by the editors, Hopper, Anderson and Robinson, makes a general presentation of the various projects described in the volume. I take issue with the throw-away line on p. 12 that Soviet archaeology be blamed for its Marxist-Leninist-inspired aims. Coming as I do from the former USSR, and having excavated and published there, I reject this clichéd assertion, copied from one publication to another. Marx and Lenin wrote nothing about archaeology, and the reality of Soviet archaeology was largely free from their baleful influence. Conventionally, to ease publication, a book might parrot a paragraph of Marxist Leninist cant; but after that, it was down to the real business. The West was always critical of the Soviet use of the term, approach to and theory of 'material culture', but now its use is becoming common here too.

There are ten other papers, from the region in general to Kvemo Kartli (southern Georgia), the Hradzan Basin, the Middle Araxes Basin, the Highlands of Samtskhe-Javakheti (southern Georgia), Samshvilde, mediaeval underground shelters in south-western Georgia, the Vayots Dzor Silk Road Project, and the Kura Plain in the Early Islamic period. For me, one stands out: D. Naskidashvili's on 'Phasis and its Landscape...'. First of all, it is very difficult to distinguish Phasis the Greek colony from Phasis the river. A lot of work has been done to identify the ancient delta of the Rioni/Phasis and (without success) the location of the colony. The wealth of available bibliography overshadows the mere ten items cited here. Indeed, this chapter reads more like an undergraduate essay.<sup>19</sup>

I mentioned difficulties above: most of the contributors lack the linguistic competences necessary to evaluate previous work: in the past and now, Georgians published in Georgian, Armenians in Armenian, etc. L. Fabian, as far as I know, has Russian, but despite this cites only four works in Russian. N. Erb-Satullo has five works in Georgian, but it is clear that these references were fed through intermediary publications. Of course, Georgian authors have plenty of references in their native language. From my own experience (as co-supervisor of his PhD in Melbourne), Anderson has no foreign languages, and his bibliographies are a true reflection of this.

<sup>19</sup> For the latest, see V. Licheli, 'Geoarchaeology of Phasis (Georgia)'. In A. Baralis *et al.* (eds.), *Géomorphologie et géoarchéologie des littoraux de mer Noire* (Montpellier 2016), 119–28.

J. Fornasier's book on Greek colonisation of the northern Black Sea ostensibly covers the 7th–5th centuries BC. In fact, there is much discussion of material from the first half of the 4th century. The work is arranged in a manner common in Russo-Soviet scholarship. It starts with a section addressing various aspects of Greek colonisation. Importantly, the author considers modern theories about this and concludes rightly that they cannot be used for the Black Sea. It is a pity that the book does not contain more on the reasons for colonisation. The author also raises the matter of pre-colonial contacts, an idea now rejected by all but one scholar. The next section is concerned with the Archaic period, arranged by area and then by site, although Borysthenes/Berezan is considered from the point of view of Olbia, which swallowed it at the beginning of the 5th century, when surely it merits a section to itself as the first Black Sea Greek colony.<sup>20</sup> The Classical period follows, again arranged by site, with the main focus on change and economic development, but also a characterisation of the Bosporan kingdom in the 4th century BC. The book concludes with comparisons between the northern Pontus and other shores of the Black Sea: the Scythians and Thracians are mentioned, but neither the Colchians nor the local peoples of the southern coast (where, even if we know little archaeologically about the Greek colonies, the plentiful written sources give a more-or-less clear picture).

The book contains 86 figures and an impressive 28-page bibliography, heavy in Eastern European works – as one might expect from an author who knows Russian very well and who has been/is involved in the excavation of Tanais and now of Olbia – and heavily based on Russo-Soviet scholarship.

There are many aspects of the book that deserve a critical response; I shall not cover all of them. Fornasier reinstates the old notion of an *emporion* phase in Greek colonies, long rejected by all but a few adherents. According to him, the beginning of the 6th century BC witnessed the intensive establishment of colonies. What really happened was a step-by-step expansion, with the numbers of colonies increasing only from the mid-6th century. The author believes Herodotus' information about the migration of the Scythians from Kerch to the Taman Peninsula, which he places in the first phase of colonisation. It is not clear why he has done so. Moreover, Herodotus' description of Scythian movements belongs to his own time, not earlier. There is no information that the migration caused problems for the Greek cities – this is a modern interpretation.

The author accepts the Scythian protectorate over Olbia, proposed by the late Y.G. Vinogradov but rejected immediately after his death. He also takes up uncritically Pericles' so-called Pontic expedition. This requires a fuller discussion; the evidence for the expedition should be treated with caution, likewise its proponents in modern scholarship. Reconstruction of the names of Pontic colonies from the list of the Delian League is doubtful; so few letters remain that they could be made to refer to almost any city in the Greek world.

In his periodisation of Greek colonies, the author uses ideas common in the 1950s–1970s: this is unsatisfactory, and the evidence has moved on.<sup>21</sup> He also discusses subterranean

<sup>20</sup> The earliest may be a settlement now completely submerged by the Sea of Azov, the evidence for which is early Greek pottery, found mainly on the sea shore, of nearly the same date as the earliest pottery from Berezan. There are various suggestions for the name of this settlement: see Tsetskhladze (as in n. 1), 1–2.

<sup>21</sup> See G.R. Tsetskhladze, 'Greek Penetration of the Black Sea'. In G.R. Tsetskhladze and F. De Angelis (eds.), *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation* (Oxford 1994), 111–36.

dwellings in the first phase of colonisation. I have written extensively on this and (as mentioned above) I am presently revisiting this topic. The pit-houses of Apollonia and Tomis are not known to me. According to new excavations (since the book was published), the same kind of domestic architecture is found in the southern Black Sea as well. It has long been known in Colchis.

V. Kozlovskaya's collection, published by the American arm of Cambridge University Press, was reviewed by S. Burstein in *AWE* 18 (2019), 425–27. There are some aspects of the book on which I would like to comment. The dust-jacket claims that '*The Northern Black Sea in Antiquity* embraces an inclusive and comparative approach while discussing new archaeological evidence, offering fresh insights into familiar questions, and presenting original interpretations of known artifacts.'<sup>22</sup> The editor, in her Preface, states that she '... also realized that it would not be possible ... to achieve singlehandedly a comprehensive interdisciplinary volume on the Northern Black Sea in antiquity.' Here it would have been better to have mentioned other (recent) publications on the ancient (northern) Black Sea, for the impression is left that none such exist. Black Sea Studies has made considerable progress in the West over the last 30 years. There are many English-language publications, even series and journals: *Il Mar Nero*, frequent articles in *AWE* itself, 13 volumes in the series *Colloquia Pontica*, of which the sixth was my own collection of over 500 pp. on the northern Black Sea;<sup>23</sup> not to mention ten volumes in *Colloquia Pontica*'s successor series, *Colloquia Antiqua*, the volumes of proceedings of International Congress on Black Sea Antiquities and of the International Workshop on the Black Sea in Antiquity in Thessaloniki, or the many volumes of the *Black Sea Studies* series published in Aarhus. And there is plentiful publication in German and French.

Kozlovskaya remarks (p. 1) that the word 'networks' in the subtitle derives from the thoughts of the late Prof. H. Heinen, whose premature death prevented him writing his own chapter. The subtitle has quite a contemporary feel to it. Surely it would have been desirable to include a chapter on 'connectivity', comparing the northern Black Sea with other parts of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, thereby plugging a gap: none of the published chapters answers the claims of the subtitle, and most are more focused on the publication of material than on theory. Theoretical approaches are not at all common in Eastern Europe, and it is for this reason that it would have been desirable to include a Western theory-based discussion of the various concepts embodied in the volume's subtitle.

How comprehensive is the volume's coverage? Again, there are gaps in regions and subjects. How much new material is presented? The latest Western work in the bibliography was published in 2013; just one Eastern European title is of later date, and only a few are from 2013. Thus, the claim to new, or even recent, materials sounds slightly hollow. I have direct experience of how difficult and laborious it is to assemble volumes and translate foreign-language papers into English, but when I encounter delay, I invite my contributors to update their pieces. Here, there is no evidence of this.

Llandrindod Wells, UK

Gocha R. Tsetskhladze

<sup>22</sup> For which the editor is presumably responsible.

<sup>23</sup> G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *North Pontic Archaeology: Recent Discoveries and Studies* (Leiden 2001). More comprehensive than the current volume.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANCIENT HISTORY DURING  
THE KAISERREICH AND ITS SUCCESSORS

- T. Beigel and S. Mangold-Will (eds.), *Wilhelm II.: Archäologie und Politik um 1900*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2017, 140 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11557-5
- V. Losemann, *Klio und die Nationalsozialisten: Gesammelte Schriften zur Wissenschafts- und Rezeptionsgeschichte Volker Losemann*, ed. C. Deglau, P. Reinard and K. Ruffing, Philippika 106, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017, xvii+311 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-10771-6/ISSN 1613-5628
- G. Brands and M. Maischberger (eds.), *Lebensbilder 2: Klassische Archäologen und der Nationalsozialismus*, ForschungsCluster 5: Geschichte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts im 20. Jahrhundert, Menschen–Kulturen–Traditionen: Studien aus den Forschungscustern des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 212 [MKT 2,1], Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2012, xi+256 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-3-86757-382-5/ISSN 2193-5300
- G. Brands and M. Maischberger (eds.), *Lebensbilder 2: Klassische Archäologen und der Nationalsozialismus*, ForschungsCluster 5: Geschichte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts im 20. Jahrhundert, Menschen–Kulturen–Traditionen: Studien aus den Forschungscustern des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 2.2 [MKT 2,2], Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2016, ix+436 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-3-86757-394-8/ISSN 2193-5300
- Ü. Yalçın and H.-D. Bienert (eds.), *Anatolien – Brücke der Kulturen: Aktuelle Forschungen und Perspektiven in den deutsch-türkischen Altertumswissenschaften / Kültürlerin Köprüsü Anadolu: Türk-Alman Eskiçağ Bilimlerinde Güncel Bilimsel Araştırmalar ve Yeni Bakış Açuları*, Tagungsband des Internationalen Symposiums ‘Anatolien – Brücke der Kulturen’ in Bonn vom 7. bis 9. Juli 2014 / 7–9 Temmuz 2014’te Bonn’da yapılan ‘Kültürlerin Köprüsü Anadolu’ konulu uluslararası sempozyum kitabı, Der Anschnitt: Zeitschrift für Kunst und Kultur in Bergbau Beiheft 27, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Deutschen Bergbau-Museum Bochum 203, Deutsches Bergbau-Museum Bochum, Bochum/Bonn 2015, 400 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-937203-75-1
- M. Fahlbusch, I. Haar and A. Pinwinkler (eds.), with a contribution by D. Hamann, *Handbuch der völkischen Wissenschaften*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., De Gruyter Oldenbourg, Berlin/Boston 2017, xxiv+2255 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-043891-8

Six works are considered here (two as a coda). The principal four are collections of shorter pieces, hence the references given below to their contents. In addition, two ethereal – or on-line – sources are cited, and their proper site locations indicated. The works: a collection of studies of emperor Wilhelm II and the study of archaeology, a collection of major studies by Volker Losemann, a two-volume collection of archaeologists’ biographies. On-line:

Altekamp's *Vorlesung* (Lecture Series) (2016/2014) on National Socialist archaeology, 'Rezeption' of *Lebensbilder* 2.1 in *JdI*.<sup>1</sup> The coda houses two 'background' works, one a two-volume handbook.

In his unfinished manuscript (pp. 4–5) on the Spartan state, (Ricardo) Walther Darré writes:

Der Staatsgedanke des Nationalsozialismus ist ohne die Vorarbeit des preussischen Staatsgedanken undenkbar, ja man kann geradezu sagen, dass Nationalsozialismus der in die Aufgaben unseres Jahrhunderts weiterentwickelte preussische Staatsgedanke ist.

Although maladroitly expressed and for the most part erroneous, Darré's statement does highlight the importance of continuities; in thought, in personnel and in reactions to times of crisis. It is such continuities which need to be held in mind in the study of archaeology and ancient history during the *Kaiserreich* and under its successor states. The importance of individual continuities will vary over time, become altered, even metastasised. In my day Atlantis remains Germanic and the Frobenian Kulturkreislehre for Africa, metastasised, persists.<sup>2</sup>

### *Kaiserreich*

Royal patronage of and involvement in scientific and academic studies were not unique activities in the 20th century. One may cite the progress in marine biology made by the emperor of the Shōwa era and Prince Takahito Mikasa's long patronage of and publication in the still-extant *Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center* in Japan. The essays considered above, edited by Thorsten Beigel and Sabine Mangold-Will, present the results of inquiries detailed first in the June 2012 congress 'Wilhelm II. – Archäologie und Politik um 1900'. Wilhelm's activities both as patron and participant in scholarship has often been ignored (*cf.* pp. 7–9), as I can attest by my own reading of those biographies appearing in the later 20th century. The editors and authors here consider the emperor's involvement as a whole: the support he provided for scholars' access to finds and their own willingness to offer their suggestions about his ideas, unscholarly as they may have seen at times. The editors are quite correct to point to archaeology as part of Wilhelm's lifelong programme of political legitimisation (p. 12) with its hopeful goal 'um seinen universalen Machtanspruch zwischen Okzident und Orient zu rechtfertigen'.

<sup>1</sup> Contents of Beigel and Mangold-Will: <http://www.steiner-verlag.de/titell/61109.html>; of Losemann: [https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/dzola/artikel/201/001/1375\\_201.pdf?t=1496750059](https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/dzola/artikel/201/001/1375_201.pdf?t=1496750059); of *Lebensbilder* 2.1: [https://www.academia.edu/30698054/G.\\_Brands\\_-\\_M.\\_Maischberger\\_Hrsg.\\_Lebensbilder.\\_Klassische\\_Arch%C3%A4ologen\\_und\\_der\\_Nationalsozialismus\\_1\\_Menschen\\_-\\_Kulturen\\_-\\_Traditionen.\\_Studien\\_aus\\_den\\_Forschungsbereichen\\_des\\_Deutschen\\_Arch%C3%A4ologischen\\_Instituts\\_5\\_Band\\_2\\_1\\_Rahden\\_Westfalen\\_2012.\\_Titelei\\_](https://www.academia.edu/30698054/G._Brands_-_M._Maischberger_Hrsg._Lebensbilder._Klassische_Arch%C3%A4ologen_und_der_Nationalsozialismus_1_Menschen_-_Kulturen_-_Traditionen._Studien_aus_den_Forschungsbereichen_des_Deutschen_Arch%C3%A4ologischen_Instituts_5_Band_2_1_Rahden_Westfalen_2012._Titelei_); of *Lebensbilder* 2.2: [https://www.academia.edu/28111814/Biagio\\_Pace\\_1889-1955\\_](https://www.academia.edu/28111814/Biagio_Pace_1889-1955_). Discussion of 2.1: [https://www.academia.edu/22700724/Klassische\\_Arch%C3%A4ologie\\_Nationalsozialismus\\_und\\_Gegenwart\\_2015\\_](https://www.academia.edu/22700724/Klassische_Arch%C3%A4ologie_Nationalsozialismus_und_Gegenwart_2015_). Altekamp's *Vorlesung* 2016/2014, link to text: <https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/handle/18452/14308>

<sup>2</sup> Atlantis: A. Behrends, *Nordsee-Atlantis: Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgen der Atlantischen Krieg* (Tübingen 1912). 'Frobenian': M. Bernal, *Black Athena*, 3 vols. (New Brunswick, NJ 1987–2006). I found this introduction to Frobenius to be of high value: C. Marx, *Völker ohne Schrift und Geschichte*: Zur historischen Erfassung des vorkolonialen Schwarzafrika in der deutschen 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert (Stuttgart 1988).

Marchand (pp. 15–21) outlines German archaeological activity beginning with the 1873 foundation of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI), which enjoyed Hohenzollern patronage and later an ‘Imperial’ appellation. The Ottoman empire represented the field in which Germany could make a name: a ‘secret excavation treaty’ – such secret treaties were common in the time of ‘GrossePolitik’ – enabled Berlin to retain half the results of their digs. In the waning days of the *Kaiserreich* there was some attempt to staunch the greed (pp. 19–21). Steinback discusses Wilhelm’s contacts with the scholarly world (pp. 23–38), opening with the plaintive cry of the emperor about the limited role he now had (1929) to play as advocate for technical education and practical archaeology. Wilhelm might have been styled the ‘Techniker-Kaiser’, for at an early age he was fascinated by scientific experimentation and new technologies (cf. p. 26), and, upon accession, was an active supporter for *Technischen Hochschulen*. In 1911 he founded the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft (now Max-Planck), its emphasis on natural history and engineering studies. Wilhelm’s archaeological interests – although reflecting well on king and country – were also a source of relaxation. In exile, the emperor sought out the company of German scholars, who visited him in the Netherlands. At the centre were the archaeologist Wilhelm Dörpfeld and the ethnographer/explorer Leo Frobenius who, after 1931, became head of the emperor’s Doorner Akademie (pp. 33–34). These men were not the most circumspect in their ideas about archaeology: for Dörpfeld, Helen of Troy was an historical figure; Wilhelm accepted the validity of Frobenius’s thesis that the French and English were descendants of Blacks and Berbers, while Germans came from a *Sonnenkultur* which extended eastward from the Ethiopian highlands to India. They were not alone in the time after the *Kaiserreich* for believing such.<sup>3</sup>

Vieweger, Serr and Serr (pp. 39–52) examine Wilhelm’s trip to Ottoman Palestine in 1898, which influenced the monarch greatly. A both political and moral reason for the journey was the dedication of the Redeemer Church in Jerusalem, purely political was the strengthening of German-Ottoman ties, already enhanced by the Deutsche Bank-financed Anatolian Railway. Wilhelm’s visit had as its last stop Damascus, at which the emperor, who, after praising his own perception of Saladin, promised the Ottoman sultan that he would remain a true friend to thousands of Moslems. In the midst of this came Franco-British tension over Fashoda, Russian and French fear of increased German influence, and the inscrutable plans of French military officers and Italian anarchists to utilise the impending visit of the Wilhelm to Egypt for activities nefarious to German interests (p. 46). Mockery of his speech (cf. pp. 58–60) provided the soundtrack. Wilhelm had tried to draw parallels between his Germany, Constantine and the Crusaders. The church he dedicated was believed to sit atop Jerusalem’s New Testament-era walls. Ottoman approval for excavations at Baalbek and Babylon enhanced German public perception of biblical archaeology – and Wilhelm.<sup>4</sup> This much-studied trip is considered as well by Mangold-Will (pp. 53–66), but in the context of the emperor’s wish to legitimise the Hohenzollern dynasty as anchored

<sup>3</sup> One may find a parallel to Frobenius in *Welteislehreroman*: E. Kiss, *Das Gläserne Meer: Ein Roman aus Urtagen* (Leipzig 1930). The 2011 printing (p. 259) has *Mitteldeutschland* as the landing place for the flood victims originally from what are now the highlands of Ethiopia.

<sup>4</sup> For the Ottoman satirical perception of the trip, see T. Henzelmann, ‘Deutschlands “reisender Kaiser” in der osmanischen Karikatur’. In M. Kommer (ed.), *Deutsche Presenz am Bosphorus* (Istanbul 2009), 238–53.



as a universal monarchy spanning East and West. The official summary of the trip paired the image of Wilhelm with that of the Hohenstaufen emperor Friedrich II, thereby pointing towards a crusade and pilgrimage. Both rulers entered Jerusalem peacefully (pp. 56–57), both were makers of peace between Christians and Moslems (p. 58). In the Damascus speech Wilhelm evoked ‘zwei ritterlichen Persönlichkeiten’, Richard the Lionheart and Saladin (as perceived in the West). It was a combination of wishful thinking and calmly stated warning when the emperor admonished the Ottoman sultan to display the same level of *Ritterlichkeit* as Saladin, Richard – and Wilhelm. During Wilhelm’s exile his short monograph on kingship in Mesopotamia continued that universal approach: Hammurabi became the Babylonian forerunner of Prussian founder Friedrich Wilhelm I. Thus a procession of kingship from East to West, embodied in the Hohenzollern dynasty, leaders of the procession by means of knowledge and technology, and revealers, by excavations, of past progress in joining two worlds. Although Wilhelm’s Baalbek costume (rear view, p. 83) bears a close resemblance to Gustav Dore’s illustration of Saladin, his patronage of the Baalbek excavations was a *Paradebeispiel* (Peterson, pp. 67–85), the site better known because of his own patronage of technology. Swift Ottoman approval led to a beginning of work in later 1898, and, following the drawing of a preliminary site plan, work began in full force from 1900–04. A field railway and necessary equipment were deployed to clear rubble; photographic records (evidence most available for display to the German general public) were prepared using the newly developed ‘photogrammetrischen Verfahren’ (p. 79). Although the fall of the *Kaiserreich* delayed full publication of results, the Baalbek dig set the standard for the 20th century: technology, archaeologists, architects and historians all worked toward a single goal (cf. below on *Lebensbilder* 2.1 and 2.2).

Beigel (pp. 87–99) makes the 1911 discovery of the Corfu Gorgo the pride of Wilhelm, dilettante, who saw this image as a transfer from Orient, in the shape of a Semitic deity, to Occident. Wilhelm was not alone in pride and misjudgment. Wiegand, responsible for increasing the emperor’s interest in archaeology, takes him to task (cited in *Lebensbilder* 2.2, p. 16) for placing value on the work of Dr Theodor Zell, who argued that the Gorgo might actually be the depiction of a gorilla.<sup>5</sup> One should not judge Wilhelm too harshly, given his interest in natural history and the widespread royal support for palaeontology, particularly in German East Africa (Tanganyika). Wilhelm also found support from his friend Dörpfeld who, like the emperor, believed that Phoenician influence could explain the Gorgo (pp. 91–93). Exile did not end Wilhelm’s inquiries, which centred on the identification of the Gorgo with a Phoenician-Arabic sun goddess (1924). Frobenius’s lecture at Doorn helped him along. In 1936 Wilhelm published his study on the Gorgo – which I believe, as Beigel suggests, displayed the emperor’s departure from the scholarship of the time into the fantasy of Frobenius.

<sup>5</sup> Zell, a pseudonym for Leopold Bauke, a jurist by training ([gutenberg.spiegel.de/author/theodor-zell-1347](http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/author/theodor-zell-1347)), wrote a number of works on natural history. Of interest here is his *Polyphem, ein Gorilla? Eine naturwissenschaftliche und staatsrechtliche Untersuchung von Homers Odyssee Buch IX v. 105ff* (Berlin 1901); and the Gorgo book: *Wie ist die auf Korfu gefundene Gorgo zu vervollstaendigen? Der Gorgon- und Chimaira-Mythus auf naturgeschichtlicher Grundlage erortet* (Berlin 1912). Both works are still extant. Some of his later works, for example *Die Entartung der Haustier* (Stuttgart 1927), should be kept in mind when considering Losemann’s discussion of Darré, below.

Franzen (pp. 101–31) discusses the origin and structure of the ‘Doorner Arbeits-Gemeinschaft’, a scholarly society founded and patronised by the exiled emperor as a result of his doctor’s concern over Wilhelm’s ‘seelischen Zustand’ (p. 102). This ongoing patronage served as a sort of substitute monarchy, Frobenius having advised him to give up plans for his restoration (pp. 103, 116–17). Franzen provides a list (pp. 117–28) of the ‘Vortraege in der Doorner Arbeits-Gemeinschaft’ (1927–38), of a value because it illustrates the continuities in personnel in Germanic academia, many of the lecturers appearing as the colleagues of or the subjects of the biographies in the *Lebensbilder* volumes (cf. p. 114).

Mangold-Will provides concluding observations (pp. 123–26) about Wilhelm’s involvement with archaeology. ‘Spatenwissenschaft’, bringing past realities to light, thus making history visible (p. 124), became a royal road to legitimising his rule. I might say German economic power followed the emperor’s spade. Wilhelm believed (p. 124, and n. 2) learning and technology would dominate the new century [20th], or in his own words: ‘Gross ist der Deutsche in seiner wissenschaftlichen Forschung, gross in sein Organisierungs- und Disziplinfähigkeit.’ One should not underestimate Wilhelm’s importance, which goes far beyond the present repairing of the Berliner Schloss from Soviet pillaging. As Gunnar Brands (*Lebensbilder* 2.1, p. 4) expresses it: ‘Mit dem Ende der wilhelminischen Epoche ging auch die grosse Epoche der deutschen Altertumswissenschaft zu Ende, die sich des besonderen Wohlwollens der Hohenzollern erfreut hatten.’ Today the technologies introduced during his reign and under his patronage – and the developments therefrom (satellite photography, magnetic resonance imaging) – are common in archaeological literature,<sup>6</sup> while in popular literature a highly technologically advanced royal *Luftschiff*, a super-Zeppelin, undertaking a survey in an uchronian 1902 Kamerun, finds itself locked in battle with cannibalistic slave-traders led by a Central European nobleman suffering from a most unusual form of Tropenkoller.<sup>7</sup>

#### *Kaiserreich* and Thereafter 1: Losemann

*Klio und die Nationalsozialisten* is a collection of important articles written by Volker Losemann during the period 1980–2010, edited by Claudia Deglau (who has just published a detailed study of the ancient historian Franz Hampl),<sup>8</sup> Patrick Reinard and Kai Ruffing. The topic of National Socialism and ancient history, as the *Geleitwort* establishes (p. vii), was at the time L. wrote his dissertation ‘schlüpfriige Terrain’, and remains so today, but his ensuing monograph<sup>9</sup> is still (p. x) the standard. L.’s study, along with the works by Chapoutot, Christ, Naef and Wiesehöfer are among the few detailed academic treatments of ancient history under National Socialist *Herrschaft* cited in the bibliography for the 2016

<sup>6</sup> S. Hauser, ‘Isidor von Charax [Stathmoi Parthikoi] – Annaecharungen an den Autor, den Routenverlauf und die Bedeutung des Werkes’. In J. Wiesehöfer and S. Müller (eds.), *Parthika: Greek and Roman Authors’ Views of the Arsacid Empire* (Wiesbaden 2017), 127–87. H.B. Grob, *Die Gartenlandschaft von Pasargadai und ihre Wasseranlagen* (Stuttgart 2017).

<sup>7</sup> J. Eggert, *Die Schwarze Pyramide* (Leipzig 2017).

<sup>8</sup> C. Deglau, *Der Althistoriker Franz Hampl zwischen Nationalsozialismus und Demokratie: Kontinuität und Wandel im Fach Alte Geschichte* (Wiesbaden 2017).

<sup>9</sup> *Nationalsozialismus und Antike: Studien zur Entwicklung des Faches Alte Geschichte 1933–1945* (Hamburg 1977).

annotated re-edition of *Mein Kampf*.<sup>10</sup> Pages xii–xvii detail chronologically L.’s extensive academic output. I will attempt to examine the studies collected in this volume by theme.

One may obtain an overview of L.’s work into 2007 from L. no. 10 (pp. 213–35),<sup>11</sup> which encompasses ancient history, classical archaeology and philology. The political profile of academics in these fields was ‘staunchly conservative’, the political system after the *Kaiserreich* having few supporters, evidenced by the post-war statement of Fritz Taeger (pp. 213–14). It should be remembered that this nationalist feeling was shared by all portions of German society, made clear by Lembke and Pomerance (*Lebensbilder* 2.2, p. 48) in the case of Otto Rubensohn, co-founder of the Verbands nationaldeutscher Juden e.V. Although National Socialists never debated Hitler’s contention concerning the importance of the ‘racial question’, support for such among the scholars in ancient fields was perceived by the SS as ‘only lip service’ (p. 224). Attempts to gain support of the classical fields bore little fruit. Projects supported by the scholarly/political Aktion Ritterbusch<sup>12</sup> found many of the contributions lacking in the proper level of consideration of ‘racial hygiene’. Involvement in Himmler’s and Rosenberg’s projects was limited, often never moving beyond the planning stage, attracting attention only from those scholars interested in funding or the possibility of career advancement. As L. states at the beginning of his study (p. 213): ‘A genuine National Socialist concept of classics did not exist.’ And on p. 228: ‘Research in the classics moved on a very different level from the programmatic demands of the Nazi ideologists for a racial history of the ancient world and consequent statements of certain classicists.’ Unlike Germanistik, pre- and early Germanic history, biology and ethnology, the classical fields were never counted among the ‘Kämpfenden Wissenschaften’ (Brands in *Lebensbilder* 2.1, p. 12) whose daily activities strengthened the foundation of National Socialist *Herrschaft*.

In two articles L. outlines the expectations and disappointments with National Socialist *Herrschaft*. L. no. 1 (pp. 3–41)<sup>13</sup> discusses ancient historians’ attitudes towards the *Macht-ergreifung*. Hitler valued antiquity, but distanced himself from full expression of the *Germanenwahn* shared by Himmler and Rosenberg, instead expressing favour for both Sparta and Rome. The early days of the *Herrschaft* focused on cleansing the colleges, not the presentation of an organised programme. Berve, followed by Schachermeyr, exercised the greatest influence in period, the latter announcing his intention to write a suitable work embracing the concept of *Entnordung*, used by Darré and Guenther as a warning (pp. 18–20). Thus

<sup>10</sup> C. Hartmann, T. Vordermayer, O. Ploekinger and R. Toeppel (eds.), *Hitler, Mein Kampf. Ein kritische Edition* (Munich/Berlin 2016). The first edition of *Mein Kampf* was released as two volumes, a structure this edition maintains. On the right page appears the text (with a record of printing changes) mapped to the original pagination. On the left, the commentaries. The modern volumes maintain an additional pagination which extends throughout both. Vol. 2, pp. 1793–1890 (literature appearing after 1945). Publication: [www.wbg-wissenverbindet.de](http://www.wbg-wissenverbindet.de).

<sup>11</sup> ‘Classics in the Second World War’. In W. Bialas and A. Rabinbach (eds.), *Nazi Germany and the Humanities: How German Academics Embraced Nazism* (London 2007), 306–40.

<sup>12</sup> In the books here reviewed I must have missed any reference to another product of the Aktion Ritterbusch: H.H. Schaefer (ed.), *Der Orient in Deutscher Forschung: Vortraege der Berliner Orientalistentagung, Herbst 1942* (Leipzig 1944).

<sup>13</sup> ‘Programme deutscher Althistoriken in der “Machtergreifungsphase”’. *Quaderni di Storia* 11 (1980), 35–105.

Alexander the Great was the precise opposite of the requisite Nordic leadership, the world he created one threatening the 'Auflösung des Nordischen'.<sup>14</sup> Berve, already an established scholar and party member since May 1933,<sup>15</sup> was interested primarily in avoiding the deleterious effects of political *Gleichschaltung*. He enjoyed partial success, but remained 'suspect' in the eyes of many National Socialist officials. Nor did he, like Schachermeyr, embrace *Rassenwahn*. A third figure, Walter Eberhardt, an outsider to the field, enjoyed only a moderate influence (pp. 40–41). In this 'Bewegung' the illusion of activity far outweighed the need for deliberate, thoughtful planning. Personal disillusionment is discussed in L. no. 7 (pp. 137–60),<sup>16</sup> an account of the long term (and sometimes strained) friendship between Altheim and Kerenyi (both participants at Doorn). When Kerenyi wrote in 1944 asking Altheim's help on behalf of his daughter sent to Auschwitz, Altheim repeatedly intervened with the National Socialist authorities with whom he had contact. Eventually she was released in Budapest.

Failures by National Socialist *Herrschaft* to reshape German education are detailed in three articles. In the first, L. no. 2 (pp. 43–59),<sup>17</sup> the vicissitudes of the National Socialist *Dozentenlager* are presented. Putatively designed to bring teachers and future teachers into a single setting with the purpose of creating a more National Socialist-fit educator, the intended participants viewed the *Lager* not as a 'Lebensgemeinschaft' but as an unnecessary and unpredictable interruption in studies. Running from 1934 to 1938, the camps excelled in the collection of style points, the exercising of opportunisms and the growth of hidden enmities. Projects for the reform of National Socialist *Hochschulpolitik* (L. no. 3, pp. 61–75),<sup>18</sup> beginning with the programme set down by the National Socialist *Studentenbund* – 'words on paper written in sand' – received little, if any, support from the potentially affected institutions. Disputes on plans and political infighting marked the failed development of a National Socialist 'alternative university' (L. no. 4, pp. 77–99)<sup>19</sup> regardless of ties between the Amt Rosenberg and the NSV (Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt) – and the course of a now 'total war'.

<sup>14</sup> On Schachermeyr's and Berve's conflicting views, see now J. Wiesehöfer, 'Alexander's "Policy of Fusion" and German Ancient History between 1933 and 1945'. In K. Nawotka and A. Wojciechowska (eds.), *Alexander the Great and the East: History, Art, Tradition* (Wiesbaden 2016), 355–62.

<sup>15</sup> See (cf. L. nos. 10 and 12, below), S. Rebenich, 'Alte Geschichte in Demokratie und Diktatur: Der Fall Helmut Berve'. *Chiron* 31 (2001), 457–96. See the preliminary note on p. 457 concerning the co-operation of Berve's descendants, not always automatic as evidenced in the *Lebensbilder* volumes.

<sup>16</sup> 'Die "Krise der Alten Welt" and der Gegenwart. Franz Altheim und Karl Kerenyi im Dialog'. In P. Kneissl and V. Losemann (eds.), *Imperium Romanum: Studien zu Geschichte und Rezeption. Festschrift fuer Karl Christ zum 75. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart 1998), 492–518.

<sup>17</sup> 'Zur Konzeption der NS-Dozentenlager'. In M. Heinemann (ed.), *Erziehung und Schulung im Dritten Reich*, Teil 2 (Stuttgart 1980), 87–109.

<sup>18</sup> 'Reformprojekt der NS-Hochschulpolitik'. In K. Strobel (ed.), *Die deutsche Universität im 20. Jahrhundert: Die Entwicklung einer Institution zwischen Tradition, Autonomie, historischen und sozialen Rahmenbedingungen* (Vierow 1994), 97–115.

<sup>19</sup> 'Auf dem Weg zur "Alternativ-Universität". Die Hohe Schule Alfred Rosenbergs und die "Wissenschaftsarbeit" der NSV in Marburg'. In W. Speitkamp (ed.), *Staat, Gesellschaft, Wissenschaft: Beiträge zur modernen hessischen Geschichte* (Marburg 1994), 365–86.

Continuities in ideas, *völkisch* and otherwise, from the 19th to 20th centuries are treated in four contributions. L. no. 6 (pp. 107–36)<sup>20</sup> examines the perception of the Dorians in the 30s and 40s. But one must move back to the 1840s. Did Karl Otfried Müller's examination of the Dorians influence Berve a century later? By examining Berve's image of the Spartans (which matched the basic positions of National Socialist ideology) and other contemporary treatments (for example Darré's), L. concludes such influence was negligible. Of greater interest is L. no. 9 (pp. 175–212)<sup>21</sup> which publishes and comments upon the undated document (1937?, cf. p. 191) by Darré, 'Sparta. Ein Staatsgedanke aus Blut und Boden (Grundlagen, Aufstieg, Niedergang)' – text on pp. 192–99. Darré's training in the 1920s focused on animal breeding and the problem of inherited characteristics. Note that the titles of his early works ('Gedanken zur Geschichte der Haustierwerdung' [1926], 'Das Schwein als Kriterium fuer nordische Völken und Semiten' [1927]) place him in the centre of *völkisch* thought alongside Zell (above) and the Aryan Atlantean wonderland of Edmund Kiss, in which the nobleman and 'nordischer Bauernsohn' Wigrid Ase Torsta is concerned with proper horse-breeding and the proper 'Aufsucht reinrassiger nordischer Menschen'.<sup>22</sup> Darré's later works on *Blut, Boden* and *Bauernntum* won him an advisory post in the National Socialist hierarchy and, after the *Machtergreifung*, the ability to put into effect his programme of *Erbhofpolitik* (p. 177).<sup>23</sup> These interests are reflected in the Sparta monograph: the danger of 'Entnordung' threatening the city-state, low birth-rate, problems in land inheritance and, mentioned in his other works, the sloppy selection of suitable heirs to land by Cleomenes III (p. 183). Darré's perception was shaped by Hitler's view that Sparta was the clearest example of a 'Rassenstaat', and well received publicly (cf. pp. 205–07).

Sparta could be joined by a figure much closer to home, as L. no. 11 (pp. 237–68)<sup>24</sup> elucidates: Arminius, 'Befreier Germaniens', focal point of monuments, scholarly discussions and *völkisch* imaginations. He grew in stature in the 19th century, identified as Siegfried and a monument to Wilhelmine victory over France (p. 241). In 1900, when Wilhelm II placed the foundation stone for the Reichs-Limes-Museum, he expressed an admiration for Rome (winning for himself rebuke) and then added '... damit es auch in Zukunft dereinst heissen möge, wie in der altern Zeit: civis Romanus sum, nunmehr: Ich bin ein deutscher Bürger!' (pp. 243–44). A *translatio imperii* just as noted throughout the Beigel and Mangold-Will volume. In the remainder of this piece L. (pp. 245–64) traces local and Germany-wide *völkische* and other treatments of Arminius from the *Kaiserreich*

<sup>20</sup> 'Die Dorier im Deutschland der dreissiger und vierziger Jahre'. In W.M. Calder and R. Schlesier (eds.), *Zwischen Rationalismus und Romantik: Karl Otfried Mueller und die antike Kulture* (Hildesheim 1998), 313–48.

<sup>21</sup> "Ein Staatsgedanke aus Blut und Boden." R.W. Darré und die Agrargeschichte Spartas'. *Laverna* 16 (2005), 66–120.

<sup>22</sup> E. Kiss, *Frühling in Atlantis: Roman aus der Blütezeit des Reiches Atlantis* (Leipzig 1933; repr. 2011), 20–21.

<sup>23</sup> Darré's programme appeared in the second half of 1930 and, *mirabile scriptu*, appears in similar form in Kiss (as in n. 22, p. 314) as part of the reshaping of Atlantean culture as 'Einführung und Ausdehnung des asischen Bodenrechtes'.

<sup>24</sup> 'Denkmäler, völkische Bewegung und Wissenschaft. Die römisch-germanische Auseinandersetzung in der Sicht des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts'. In H. Schneider (ed.), *Feindliche Nachbarn: Rom und die Germanen* (Cologne 2008), 229–69.

into its successor states. Dieter Tempe's view that Arminius was just a rebellious Roman officer proved unpopular in some circles. Germany as 'Arminien' appears as a potential namesake in L. no. 13 (pp. 283–94),<sup>25</sup> which discusses Rosenberg's and Himmler's desire to elevate the German past while working against those who sought to diminish it. *Frontkämpfer* like Reinerth and von Leers were pitted against opponents of this effort, notably Theodor Wiegand, head of the DAI, and those in Italy proud of 'Romanita': 'Zu einer amtlicher Bezeichnung der Römerzeit ist es im Dritten Reich nicht gekommen' (p. 293).

In three studies L. approaches the problem of the 'Rezeption' of the study of antiquity in the National Socialist *Zeit*. How do modern scholars, whether ancient historians and archaeologists or historians of modern Europe, interpret the National Socialist study of antiquity and its results after the termination of National Socialist *Herrschaft*? The first piece, a shorter presentation delivered in Marburg 1995, L. no. 5 (pp. 101–05)<sup>26</sup> focuses primarily on the service rendered by Karl Christ in modern times and briefly discusses the activities of scholars such as Berve. It is important to note that L. again emphasises (pp. 103–04) the concern expressed by scholars that Himmler and Rosenberg would cause a Germanisation of history: 'Ansatzpunkte fuer derartige Beigträger zur "Relevanzdiskussion" boten haefig einschlaegige Auesserungen des "Fuehrers" ...', which will see a parallel later in this review. Also of note is L.'s final line in this presentation – a suggestion still ignored: 'Die Grenzen thematischer und biographischer Ansätze dürfen dabei jedoch nicht zu eng auf des Zeitraum von 1933 bis 1945 fixiert sein!' (p. 105).

Greater detail is provided in the two studies, originally delivered in 1998 (L. no. 8, pp. 161–74)<sup>27</sup> and 2007 (L. no. 12, pp. 269–82).<sup>28</sup> Modern historians began in the late 1940s to examine historians' embrace of National Socialism (J. Werner on pp. 274–75; pp. 162–64). But 20 years later Christ's proposed conference on 'Alte Geschichte und Nationalsozialismus (1968)' was sentenced to oblivion by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (pp. 168, 276). L. (pp. 169, 277–78) reports on his own difficulties getting his dissertation published. There was little willingness to discuss the National Socialist period, historian Charles Maier indicating in 1990 that the 'Schüler-Generation' showed little interest in 'executing' their National Socialist-era 'fathers'. Although some scholars were willing in the 1980s to discuss the 30s and 40s, the 1990s saw a 'Radikalisierung der Perspektiven' (pp. 172–73, 278–79) in the wake of the so-called Goldhagen Debate.<sup>29</sup> Most unfortunate

<sup>25</sup> "Statt Deutschland sollte man kuenftig Arminien sagen!": Bermerkungen zur Terminologie der römisch-germanische Auseinandersetzung'. In K. Ruffing and G. Rasbach (eds.), *Kontaktzone Lahn: Studien zur Kulturkontakt zwischen Römern und germanische Staemmen* (Wiesbaden 2010), 167–80.

<sup>26</sup> 'Die Altertumswissenschaften in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus'. In *Die Philipps-Universität im Nationalsozialismus: Veranstaltungen Philipps-Universität zum 50. Jahrestag des Kriegsendes 8. Mai 1945* (Marburg 1996), 67–72.

<sup>27</sup> 'Nationalsozialismus und Antike. Bermerkungen zur Forschungsgeschichte'. In B. Naef (ed.), *Antike und Altertumswissenschaft in der Zeit von Faschismus und Nationalsozialismus* (Cambridge 2001), 71–88.

<sup>28</sup> 'Die "Zeitgeschichte der Alten Geschichte"'. In S. Rieckhoff, S. Grunwald and K. Reichbach (eds.), *Burgwallforschung in akademischen und öffentlichen Diskurs des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig 2009), 9–20.

<sup>29</sup> So noted as well in Brands *Lebensbilder* 2.1, pp. 1–2, Lehmann *Lebensbilder* 2.1, pp. 220–21.



was König's study of Joseph Vogt (pp. 173, 278–79), who after referring to Aly's and Helm's *Vordenker der Vernichtung*, labels Vogt 'Wegbereiter und Steigbügelhalter Hitlers'.<sup>30</sup> But real progress can be made as L. demonstrates in his assessment of Rebenich's Berve study (pp. 272–74).

L.'s studies have made a major impact in the study of the manner in which study of ancient history and classical archaeology was conducted during the National Socialism. They served as a model for Wiesehöfer's study published in 2008. Here and in his latest study of Muenzer (2017)<sup>31</sup> he called for an expansion of perspective beyond 1933–1945 in order to consider continuities and discontinuities in the German study of ancient history, and makes clear, with reference as well to Rebenich:

Auch die Biographien und Forschungsinteressen von Personen aus unseren Fachgebieten, die sich dem Regime andienten, von ihm profitierten oder Lehr- und Publikationsnischen suchten, sind wichtige Forschungsgegenstände fuer Untersuchungs-, nicht Strafrichter, wie Stefan Rebenich zu Recht betont hat.

Citing L.'s work and offering sober accounts of classical archaeology in the National Socialist Zeit are two studies by Stefan Altekamp, the first appearing in the aforementioned 2008 volume, the second as a lecture series in the Summer Semester of 2014, now on-line.<sup>32</sup> He notes that classical archaeology proved of little value as an instrument for repression, instead it moved between ideological militancy or haphazard verbal tributes (Altekamp 2008, p. 208). The series examined the university course titles preserved (Altekamp 2016/2014, pp. 61–83). They are for the most part 'traditionell, gewissermassen zeitlos, und mieden Hinweise auf eine mögliche ideologische Aktualisierung' (p. 69). The appearance of 'Rasse' does not mean that an extreme position was taken in these lectures (pp. 72–73, 81).<sup>33</sup> Altekamp (2016/2014, p. 23) advises his students: 'Für ein versuchsweise analytisches Vorgehen sollten zunächst apologetische oder moralisierende Kategorien, die Differenzierung ausweichen, vermieden werden.' Both his studies will help place into context the biographical data in the next work to be here considered.

<sup>30</sup> There is a new edition: G. Aly and S. Heim, *Vordenker der Vernichtung* (Frankfurt 2013). Cf. C. Madajczyk (ed.), *Vom Generalplan Ost zum Generalsiedlungsplan* (Munich 1994). He has collected the major documents related to the *plans*. Heydrich in Document 5 from 2 Dec. 1941, p. 21 uses the term *Heloten*, which appears in *Mein Kampf*. Otherwise these documents are representative of elements of *völkisch* thought and 'politically applied biology', a term often used to define National Socialism. See A. Bäumer, *NS-Biologie* (Stuttgart 1990).

<sup>31</sup> J. Wiesehöfer, 'Alte Geschichte'. In J. Elvert and J. Nielsen (eds.), *Kulturwissenschaften und Nationalsozialismus* (Stuttgart 2008), 210–22 – statement appears on pp. 210–11; 'Zur Vita Friedrich Münzers'. In M. Haake and A.-C. Harders (eds.), *Politische Kultur und soziale Struktur der Römischen Republik: Bilanzen und Perspektiven* (Stuttgart 2017), 29–37 – statement on p. 36.

<sup>32</sup> 'Klassische Archäologie' in Elvert and Nielsen as in n. 31, 167–209; 'Klassische Archäologie und Nationalsozialismus' (2016/2014), now as pdf: <https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/handle/18452/14308>. I thank Prof. Altekamp for his transmission of the pdf to me.

<sup>33</sup> An unwanted parallel to this observation can be offered by the titles given to the various editions of Johann Chapoutot's *Le national-socialisme et l'Antiquité* (Paris 2008); while the French and German editions bear antiseptic, descriptive titles, the English translation, issued in 2016 by the University of California Press, bears a *Modemeinung*-title: *Greek, Romans, Germans: How the Nazis Usurped Europe's Classical Past*, with Hitler posing with his 'loot' on the cover (cf. Krumme and Vigener in *Lebensbilder* 2.2, pp. 206–13) – the hope of higher sales, suspicions of lower academic standards.

*Kaiserreich* and Thereafter 2: *Lebensbilder*

*Lebensbilder*, subtitled *Klassische Archäologen und der Nationalsozialismus*, is a two-volume collection of biographical studies, the first volume appearing in 2012, the second (and final) in 2016. The volumes' editors, in June 2011 (*Lebensbilder* 2.1, p. xi), indicated that the volumes were envisaged to be a stand-alone project, predating the existence of Deutsche Archäologische Institut Forschungscluster 5, i.e. *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts im 20. Jahrhundert*, but that Deutsche Archäologische Institut officers approved its insertion into cluster publications and approved in 2011 a second volume (*Lebensbilder* 2.1, p. ix). After the autumn 2004, when his manuscript was submitted, but before its appearance in 2008, Altekamp (2008, pp. 208–09) described the existence of two separate projects. The first, *Lebensbilder* (under Gunnar Brands and Martin Maischberger): 'Das Projekt wird in eine Buchpublikation münden.' The second:

Das Deutsche Archäologische Institut läßt in Rahmen seines 'Forschungscluster 5' derzeit die Geschichte des Institut von 1900 bis 1979 untersuchen, wobei die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus einen Schwerpunkt bilden wird. Angekündigt ist integrierende Gesamtdarstellung, die sich durch Spezialstudien ergänzt. Die Federführung der Arbeit im Cluster obliegt einem Zeithistoriker.

The second project appeared in a 'modified' form. Marie Vigener, a 'Zeithistoriker', published under the rubric 'Menschen–Kulturen–Tradition: Studien aus den Forschungscluster des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts', as volume 7 in the series (for Forschungscluster 5) '*Ein wichtiger kulturpolitischer Faktor: Das Deutsche Archäologische Institut zwischen Wissenschaft, Politik und Öffentlichkeit, 1918 bis 1954*' (Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2012); cf. Altekamp 2016/2014, pp. 5 and 139. An examination of the publisher's web site ([www.vml.de](http://www.vml.de), January 2018) indicates for that same cluster the two *Lebensbilder* volumes (MKT 2.1, 2.2) and two volumes by Susanne Voss on the Deutsche Archäologische Institut Abteilung Kairo (MKT 8.1, 8.2).

I present the above data to prevent the reader from being misinformed about the nature of the two volumes. They are not a history of the DAI activities in all its *Abteilungen*. Not all the lives recounted were members of the DAI or even citizens of the *Kaiserreich* and its successor states. Not every planned contribution achieved final publication in the two volumes (*Lebensbilder* 2.1, p. xi, n. 1, p. 202, n. 83; 2.2, p. ix, n. 17).<sup>34</sup> Not every career described is restricted to the 12-year period of National Socialist *Herrschaft*. The construction of these biographies was not easy task. Archival material was lost in the war, tied up in heirs' legal battles or hidden by alien governments anxious to conceal their own crimes. Finding personnel to undertake the task would prove difficult (*Lebensbilder* 2.1, p. ix). I cannot regard the project, although 'abandoned', as a failure in any sense. Altekamp (2008), under the rubric 'Opposition und Exil', presents a list of scholars worthy of investigation (pp. 202–07). Of these names, biographies of Jacobsthal and Brendel appeared in *Lebensbilder* 2.1, of Karo, Curtius and Rubensohn in 2.2 (cf. 2.1, p. 34). By nature no prosopography is stable in content (cf. 2.2 notes on pp. vii–ix for newer works since 2.1;

<sup>34</sup> *Lebensbilder* 2.1 p. ix, n. 1, 2.2 pp. vii–ix. 2.2 p. vii, n. 9 indicated the pieces by Junker and Eickhoff appeared too late (as of March 2016) to be commented upon (texts: <https://www.academia.edu/22700724>).

Altekamp 2016/2014). In 2017 Wiesehöfer was able to present data on Münzer's final days.<sup>35</sup>

The cause for my decision to examine both volumes was the 'Rezeption' of the first volume, particularly that published in *JdI* 130 (2015).<sup>36</sup> After restating that the *Lebensbilder* was a stand-alone project, editor von Rummel introduces a pair of essays. That by Junker (pp. 377–410), written as if in disappointment that classical archaeology was never afflicted with a 'Vichy Syndrome' preceded by an 'épuration sauvage',<sup>37</sup> is interested in discovering, first, the use for modern times and, second, the effects on the field by the study of National Socialist-era archaeology, an inquiry reminiscent of the 'vieltimmigen Diskussion ueber die Bedeutung der Antike fuer die nationalsozialistische Gegenwart' (L. no. 5, p. 103). Eickhoff, in his reply (pp. 411–18), argues that the study of National Socialist archaeology counts not as a 'Fachgeschichte', and follows the advice of his colleague Blom, who believes it more important 'nach Kontinuitäten zu forschen – und die alles in einem internationalen Komparative Rahmen' (p. 412). The NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies study now underway (2017/18), an international effort to study how the National Socialist *Zeit* sought 'to denationalise the archaeologies of the European nations by creating a new unifying European archaeology on a racial base',<sup>38</sup> should provide evidence of the value of such an approach. Eickhoff (p. 416) continues: 'Es ist eine der vornehmsten Aufgabe der historische Forschung, solcherart vergangenes Unrecht präzise aufzuzeigen; gleichwohl sollte die Vergangenheit nicht als Blaupause für verkürzte Analogien herhalten müssen.' Junker is then criticised for the attention he pays to Bernal's *Black Athena* (cf. Junker, pp. 399–402) as a parallel 'die zu Phaenomen innerhalb der Geschichte der Archaeologie von 1945 bestehen' (Junker, p. 400). I place Bernal on the fringe of academic inquiry, his work the latest metastasis of a Frobenian-like methodology and misinterpretation, achieving parity with – and becoming a parody of – Himmler's and Rosenberg's *Germanenwahn*. The acceptance of his work is to be credited to the account of a certain ratio of academics, primarily American, who by 'gaze', 'close reading', 'unpacking', 'deconstruction' and 're-imagining' have 'informed' a singular amalgam of *Systemzeit* and *Rassehygiene*.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> As in n. 31, 33–36.

<sup>36</sup> Consisting of these essays: P. von Rummel, 'Geschichte und Gegenwart der Klassischen Archäologie', pp. 375–76; K. Junker, 'Klassische Archäologie, Nationalsozialismus und Gegenwart', pp. 377–410; M. Eickhoff, 'Replik auf Klaus Junker oder: Warum die Geschichte der Klassischen Archäologie im "Dritten Reich" nicht gleichzeitig Fachgeschichte sein kann', pp. 411–18.

<sup>37</sup> E. Conan and H. Rousso, *Vichy, un passé qui ne passe pas* (Paris 1994); B. Vergez-Chaignon, *Histoire de l'épuration* (Paris 2010).

<sup>38</sup> Details (as of January 2018): <http://www.niod.knaw.nl/en/projects/national-socialist-archaeology-europe-and-its-legacies>. Also: [e.nuitjenATniod.knaw.nl](http://e.nuitjenATniod.knaw.nl). One should also consult Eickhoff's earlier work which dealt with a very similar and difficult problem set (especially pp. 1–25, 80–109): M. Eickhoff, *In the Name of Science? P.J.W. Debye and His Career in Nazi Germany* (Amsterdam 2008).

<sup>39</sup> Beginning with the Colonial Congresses of 1910 and 1924 in Berlin efforts were made to argue for the 'gemeinschaftliches Sprachgut' of Ur-Bantu and Indogermanic. The deep connections between Frobenius's work and *Welteislehre* were expounded by the prolific author Hanns Fischer (with a discussion of Blut und Boden in that same 1928 work, below, p. 172). In the 1970s investigations were now carried in West Africa and Latin America, the former by Diop (the African origin of civilisation) and the latter by Jacques de Mahieu, who replaced the antediluvian Atlanteans of *Welteislehre* with the

*Lebensbilder 2.1*

The editors' *Vorwort* (pp. ix–xi) and Brands's introductory essay on archaeologists and the German past (pp. 1–34), both recipients of the criticism of reviewers, present the context in which the biographical investigations occurs. The scholar's entire life-span is discussed (p. ix) 'die es ermöglichen, Kontinuitäten, Brüche und Entwicklungen langer Lebenswege zu würdigen'. Brands's treatment in his essay is commensurate with the treatments I have found in Losemann, Wiesehöfer and Altekamp, the discussion of post-1945 events (pp. 24–34) especially valuable due to the focus on classical archaeology *per se*, emphasising in the concluding paragraphs (pp. 33–34): 'Fragen nach Ethos und Moral sind bei aller Empathie in diesen Zusammenhang unvermeidlich, Moralisieren oder Denunziation dagegen durchaus verzichtbar.'

Rachele Dubbini (pp. 35–49) introduces the life of Giulio Rizzo (1865–1950) by stressing that surviving documentation does not permit an easy characterisation of the man. An ordinary member of the DAI (1907), an Italian nationalist, member of the Fascist Party (attracted by official interest in antiquity), he never cut ties with his German colleagues, encouraging other colleagues not to do so. In spite of his independent streak and high respect he enjoyed in Italy, he was sent into 'Zwangspensionierung' due to academic politics (for example, his distaste for Paribeni). His personal stance resulted in his 1944 invitation to re-found the once-tainted Accademia dei Lincei, a position he later resigned from out of frustration, deeply disappointed with the pace of corrections and the desolate state of Italian politics.

Marcello Barbanera (pp. 51–63) introduces his study of Alessandro Della Seta (1879–1944) with observations about the flaw of the binary Fascist/Anti-Fascist. Director of the Italian School in Athens (1919–38), Della Seta, who as a result of his nationalism and the generally shared favourable expectations of Mussolini, was a supporter of Fascism, contributed much to the School's organisation, expansion and influence. He believed that since the Renaissance (p. 56) Italy was best suited to protect cultural monuments and thus was anxious to use archaeology to increase his nation's influence in Turkey. He remained a supporter of Fascism even in spite of the anti-Jewish laws causing his removal from his post in 1938 (pp. 60). Upon his death, the news of such was brought to his family by an old family friend, Robert Paribeni (thus paralleling Losemann's account of Altheim and Kerenyi).

Frederick Jagust (pp. 65–74) investigates the life of Paul Jacobsthal (1880–1957), whose work brought together classical and prehistoric art. He was seemingly apolitical (p. 74), a member of the DAI (1914, full 1926), and served as Director of the Archaeological Seminar in Marburg, instrumental in building up the facility which included prehistory, classical archaeology and other fields. His academic situation worsened due to his 'political activities'

Norseman/Vikings as the primary motor for cultural advances in Mexico, Central and South America. See *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910* (Berlin), in 'Diskussion' section at pp. 122–27 (Friedrichsen, Rungen, von Luschan); *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1924* (Berlin), F. Friedrichsen, 'Über gemeinschaftliches Sprachgut in den Bantu- und indogermanischen Sprachen', 307–15, at p. 315 Bantu linguist Meinhof's criticism; H. Fischer, *In mondlos Zeit* (Bad Harzburg 1928); C.A. Diop, *The African Origin of Civilization* (New York 1974); J. de Mahieu, *Des Sonnengottes grosse Reise. Die Wikinger in Mexico und Peru, 967–1532* (Tübingen 1972) – see pp. 154–86 on language similarities. De Mahieu's works are a series of nine such studies.

and then due to his percentage of Jewish ancestry. His contacts with Beazley were instrumental in his settling with his family in Oxford. After 1945 he reacted favourably to the now-Deutsche Archäologische Institut's request that he resume his membership, but remained in England as a British citizen rather than return to the heavily damaged Germany. Jagust points to the scanty data concerning Jacobsthal, which is now enhanced by improvements to the web site for his life (*cf.* p. 74), to be summoned as [www.arch.ox.ac.uk/jacobsthal-project.html](http://www.arch.ox.ac.uk/jacobsthal-project.html) (January 2018).

The family correspondence of Camillo Praschniker (1884–1949), whose life is investigated by Gudrun Wlach (pp. 75–89), was not open for external examination (p. 89). Never a convinced National Socialist, but rather a nationalist, Praschniker tried to adapt to the different settings he found himself in, under the Hapsburgs, the Austrian autocracy and the Ostmark era. Professor of archaeology under the successor states to the Hapsburgs, he became head of the Austrian Archaeological Institute (1934/5–38) until it was placed under the control of the DAI, made to involve itself with the addition of *Germanenforschung* and co-operate with the Balkan states. When the Gauleiter of Niederdonau, gripped by desire for self-aggrandisement, obtained support for the 'restoration' of work at Carnutum, the result was a turf battle with the Gauleiter, monetary outlays and nugatory results. When 'genetic research' revealed possible Jewish ancestors, Praschniker was not removed, but made to resign party membership. Post-war he was removed from his university post and then reinstalled. He claimed party membership was a means of protecting the aforementioned Austrian Archaeological Institute. Wlach finds his personality marked by 'Vorsicht, Aengstlichkeit, und Opportunismus' – which I find a natural reaction in times of tyranny and total war.

Armin von Gerkan (1884–1969), known for his work in architecture and topography, advocate of better training in architectural history, *Bauforschung* (technical and historical), is an example, as outlined by Thomas Fröhlich (pp. 91–106), of how one might try to reshape one's life in the midst of destruction and decay. A Czarist subject, who had the opportunity to work with Wiegand, with whom he maintained contact during the Great War, he spent those years moving from front to front, battling Bolshevik-inspired forces, then volunteering for service in the Kapp Putsch upon his return to Germany, after which he became a German citizen. He worked to increase his academic training, writing on the reconstruction of the Temple of Athena at Priene and working for a year at the Berlin Museum on the results of Wiegand's excavations. In 1924 he became Second Secretary at Abteilung Rom, and was known for his density in interacting with Italians and foreign scholars. After the elections of 1930, Gerkan, fearful of growing official support for prehistory, took up party membership in 1933, serving as 'political leader' for the membership in Rome. After an Olympian episode peppered with political disputes within the National Socialist hierarchy, he returned to Rome in 1937 to resume his older position until the forced retirement of Curtius led to his promotion. A short time later, in an audience before Hitler, Gerkan was accompanied by his replacement as Second Secretary, Fuchs, who later, with a density matching Gerkan's, pushed an agenda of *Germanenforschung* and enjoyed no support from his superior. When Fuchs was deployed to North Africa that agenda was ignored. In spite of his party membership, Gerkan was not a confirmed anti-Semite: he followed orders sent from above, trying to ameliorate their impact (pp. 98–100). Density took a hand in the conflicting accounts of his activities in the final days of Abteilung Rom and in his seeming low level of sensibility about National Socialist policies and his own role

as he underwent his 'Denazification' process. For Gerkan it was not his density, but *Pflicht* (p. 103) to do his job under the established order and meet its expectations.

Martijn Eickhoff (pp. 107–17), known for his treatment of a similar problem set in his study of Debye,<sup>40</sup> presents a short account of Alexander Willem Byvanck (1884–1970), Rector of the University of Leiden in the occupied Netherlands, who struck an uneasy balance between resistance and co-operation. Like other Dutch scholars, classical archaeologist Byvanck never subscribed to the *Modemeinung* of *Germanenwahnsinn*: art objects were part of ethnic identity as well as the result of overarching cultural developments. The Romans were to be admired as the first humanists of Europe, the Fascist Party was subject to his ambivalence, Mussolini a disappointment due to his level of *stultitia* surrounding the celebration of Augustus. After the removal of National Socialist forces, Byvanck never spoke publicly about his activities as Rector (the compelled Aryanisation, reaction to the ensuing student strike), the reasons behind his motivations remaining unclear (p. 117). It would prove instructive to compare Byvanck's career with that of Jerome Carcopino's, *de facto* Rector of the Académie de Paris in occupied France.<sup>41</sup>

Esther Sophia Suenderhauf (pp. 119–27), by means of archival records and living witnesses, outlines the life of Gerhart Rodenwaldt (1886–1945),<sup>42</sup> DAI president from 1922 to 1932, noted for his organisational and diplomatic skills. Rodenwaldt, who helped popularise archaeology under National Socialism, was able to work with the hierarchy, using Hitler quotations for political or cultural-political purposes as a means of retarding the influence of Rosenberg and Reinerth on the field (Wrede's appointment to Athens was his notable failure). Married to a partial non-Aryan, he did his best to place endangered colleagues abroad or allow them access to academic resources. Never a party member, Rodenwaldt was governed by 'seine in der Kaiserzeit ausgeprägte Diest- und Pflichtauffassung' toward the German state (pp. 124, 127). He did yield to Berve's request to participate in one Aktion Ritterbusch conference. But 'Hinter uns die Sintflut': Rodenwaldt and his wife committed suicide as the Red Army approached.

A fog surrounds the life and the veracity of the deeds of Ernst Buschor (1886–1961), Director, 1921–29, DAI Abteilung Athen, in writing about whom Mathias Rene Hoften (pp. 129–40) is made to remark (p. 137): 'Hier wird nun deutlich, dass Buschors politischer Horizont, nachsichtig formuliert, nicht von dieser Welt ist.' Apolitical and a Romantic, Buschor made claim to be a National Socialist, perhaps invigorated by their emphasis on youth and the new, and accepted that the Greeks and Germans had much in common. He was known for popularising writing which reflected his wide-ranging interests, some of his compositions quite lyrical. Temporarily suspended from his post in Munich (1946/47), Buschor remained, so Hoften (p. 138), 'blind und hilflos vor den wirklichen moralischen Herausforderungen der eigenen Zeit'.

Disputes among the heirs of Wolfgang Fritz Volbach (1892–1988) rendered difficult access to the Nachlass on the part of Wolfram Kinzig (pp. 141–59), who has hoped for further investigation. Volbach was noted for cataloguing and revising older records in the

<sup>40</sup> See above, n. 38.

<sup>41</sup> J. Carcopino, *Souvenirs de Sept ans, 1937–1944* (Paris 1953); S. Corey-Debracy, *Jérôme Carcopino. Un Historien à Vichy* (Paris 2001).

<sup>42</sup> Consult as well Altekamp 2016/2014, pp. 119–37, who discusses the brothers Rodenwaldt, the elder, Ernst, a *Tropenarzt* during the *Kaiserreich*.



Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, his partial Jewish ancestry forcing him to use his Italian contacts to arrange a post in Rome (pp. 145–47), where he became well-connected with church authorities, becoming a corresponding member (1936) of the Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. He also used successfully his intellectual skills on behalf of resistance activities. He returned to Germany in 1945, serving in a variety of capacities in the reconstruction of intellectual life. In 1950 he was appointed Deputy Director of the Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, and then Director (1953–58). Hardly inactive 'im Ruhestand', he organised exhibitions, and received honours in recognition of his work in Late Antique and Early Mediaeval art.

Walther Wrede (1893–1990), Director of the DAI Abteilung Athen (1937–44), and the highest representative of the NSDAP in Greece, owed neither post to his academic ability or organisational skill, as Michael Krumme (pp. 159–76) outlines. Corresponding (1924), then Ordinary Member (1927), he was posted to Athens in hopes of he would take up the then abandoned topographical investigation of the city. Wrede joined the party in 1934, factional fighting among the membership in Greece giving him a chance to advance. His appointment as Director was against the interests of the DAI, although Wrede expressed scepticism at the party's desire for more racial-biological themed investigations. The period of German occupation was marked by an Italian-German 'academic' rivalry, amidst efforts by Himmler and Rosenberg to take the lead in 'archaeological' activities. As academic activities fell away, the closing weeks of the war displayed a complete lack of coordination in closing and protecting the Abteilung and its contents. It still remains difficult to answer questions (pp. 175–76) about Wrede's moral or juridical responsibility; he seems to have been more impressed by the nationalistic and imperialistic features of National Socialist ideology.

Franz Miltner (1901–59), whose life is outline by Martina Pesditschek (pp. 177–91), known as well for her study of Schachermeyr, joined the party while it was still illegal in Austria, rose to a leadership position at the University of Innsbruck, and made a name for himself for 'pigheadedness'. A large number of his works were aimed at the general public, Britain and the USSR called to mind as stand-ins for the enemies of ancient Greeks and Germans. Miltner was anxious for the field of ancient history to take a 'völkische und rassenkundliche' direction, writing to the SS in a 'secret' report that *Mein Kampf* and Günther's works provided justification for the importance of the field. After the war, and in spite of the high regard in which he was held by National Socialist authorities, Miltner was classified as one of the 'Minderbelasteten', and remained active until retirement in 1947. Although he continued his scholarly activities, including leading the Austrian excavation at Ephesus (1954), pigheadedness remained a terrible thing to waste (*cf.* pp. 190–91).

Otto Brendel (1901–73), discussed by Katharina Lorenz (pp. 193–206), had a career set into unnecessary motion by the Nuremberg group of 'laws', which were destined for failure, being based on unscientific principles and shoddy interpretation of collected 'data'. Brendel's initial post was with Curtius in the Abteilung Rom, with whom he enjoyed excellent relations, maintained throughout their lifetimes. Marriage to a non-Aryan wife, rendering him an untrustworthy figure in official eyes, caused his removal. From 1935 he sought positions outside Germany, assisted by groups in London and the United States, holding appointments in Durham (where others believed him having trouble fitting in) and St Louis. His lectures at the Warburg Institute enabled him to display the ties between

ancient and later art, particularly in the case of allegories and religious representations. His stone-strewn way (p. 195) led him to Bloomington, Indiana (1941) and then Columbia (1956), from which he retired in 1973. He was granted full membership in the Deutsche Archäologische Institut in 1953.

Stephan Lehmann (pp. 207–222)<sup>43</sup> opens his account of Hans Schleif (1902–45) by emphasising that we need to consider all evidence and an entire career. Schleif's academic and SS careers seem to have advanced in parallel, joining the SS as a career move (p. 208, 219). Schleif was an excellent excavator, architectural historian and analyst of data (for example, his work at Olympia). I might suggest that just as some saw National Socialism as 'politically applied biology', Schleif viewed it as 'politically applied Bauforschung': excavate, gather (cf. pp. 210–11) and record the legacy of an admirable past, and then recreate on the future landscape those most valued features. The SS, Waffen-SS and Lebensborn e.V. (p. 221) were all royal roads to this end. The most recent work I can recall reading concerning intellectuals in the SS, Ingrao's,<sup>44</sup> although there is little mention of historians or archaeologists, helps make clear that by the 1933 *Machtergreifung* the table had long been set by Turnip Winters, the poison of Versailles and the stench of the *Systemzeit* for a range of attitudes from cautious tolerance to open acceptance: 'Everybody, welcome to the great future ... join us here right now ... Every young generation, through culture, our time will come.' The extent of his SS activities seems not to have been known to his archaeological colleagues (pp. 218–19 with nn. 64–65). Although his rise in the SS can be detailed, questions remain about his actual influence: Schleif appears sporadically in Schulte's account of Pohl's group but not in the most recent edited volume on the Waffen-SS.<sup>45</sup> One might also consult Nagel's works, although Schleif does not appear in them.<sup>46</sup> Schleif and his family committed suicide in April 1945.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Lehmann finished his manuscript in March 2008, submitted for publication October 2010. I note these dates in view of some more recent works cited below.

<sup>44</sup> C. Ingrao, *Believe and Destroy: Intellectuals in the SS War Machine* (Cambridge 2013); H. Earl, *American Historical Review* (June 2014), 999–1000 on its flaws; she advises consulting M. Wildt, *Generation des Unbedingten* (Hamburg 2003).

<sup>45</sup> J.E. Schulte *Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung: Das Wirtschaftsimperium der SS. Oswald Pohl und das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt 1933–1945* (Paderborn 2001); J.E. Schulte, P. Lieb and B. Wegner (eds.), *Die Waffen-SS: Neue Forschungen* (Paderborn 2014).

<sup>46</sup> G. Nagel, *Himmler's Waffenforscher...* (Aachen 2011); *Wissenschaft für den Krieg...* (Stuttgart 2012); *Das geheime deutsche Uranprojekt, 1939–1945. Beute der Alliierten* (Zella-Mehlis 2016). The above will serve as supplementary to the material in Lehmann pp. 214–18. So far (January 2018) there is no detailed scientific study of Hans Kammler who, in the popular imagination, has become master of time and space ('the face that launched a thousand [space]ships'), but there is an imaginative reconstruction of his life in R. Merkel, *Hans Kammler – Manager des Todes: Ein 'deutsche' Karriere* (Frankfurt 2010). However, Nagler (2016, p. 324) points to recent study arguing that Kammler was transported alive by the Americans to the USA: R. Karlsch, 'Ein inszenierter Selbstmord'. *Zeitschrift fuer Geschichtswissenschaft* 62 (2014), Heft 6, 485–505.

<sup>47</sup> During the past decade there has been interesting example of *Rezeption* in the case of Schleif: Schleif's grandson (from his first marriage), the *Schauspieler*, actor Matthias Neukirch, assisted by Julian Klein, conducted investigations into the career of Schleif, the results presented first as a stage play (<http://www.artistic-research.de/projects/current-projects/hans-schleif-2?lang=en>) and then as an academic study: J. Klein, 'Hans Schleif'. *JdI* 131 (2016), 273–418.

Siegfried Fuchs (1903–78), SA, SS and Ahnenerbe member, possessed, as Vignier outlines (pp. 223–36), a heightened view of his importance. Solidly anchored in the foundation of National Socialism (p. 224), his rise to the post of Vice Secretary Abteilung Rom was due in part to DAI President Schede's desire to place more emphasis on prehistory. Imperiously, Fuchs went to work as leader of the Italy-based National Socialist membership (pp. 226–32), excelling in propaganda activities while ignoring the value of others' time. Promoted to full membership he assured his colleague that both academics and National Socialist activities were well within his grasp. Temporarily assigned to the North Africa front, he was released from service due to the value his writing would have in shaping Germany's leading role in the new Europe, Italian sensibilities aside (p. 234). The final days of Abteilung Rom were marked by his greed and ill-planning. The Third Reich and his career both ended (*cf.* pp. 235–36 for an excellent comparison of Fuchs's career with his like-minded colleagues').

In recounting the life of Otto Wilhelm von Vacano (1910–97) Martin Miller (pp. 237–52) was able to rely upon von Vacano's private writings, interviews with the family and his own personal knowledge of the scholar. Von Vacano's early life was shaped by Versailles. Raised in orphanages and child-asylums, he joined the SA, then later the Hitler Youth, and the party itself in 1933. He spent his time popularising the National Socialist view of German antiquity, emphasising the importance of Nordic influence on the Dorians and on Greek development. An educator in the Adolf Hitler Schools until war's end, he published a reader on Sparta for school use. After the war, continued work in archaeology initially closed to him, he took a leadership role on behalf of homeless youths. He then began writing popularising books, on the Etruscans in particular, with a notable absence of his earlier *Germanenwahn*. His fame as an Etruscan expert grew and in 1958 he received a post at the Archaeological Institute at Eberhard Karls University of Tübingen, remaining active through retirement. After his death, it was as though his National Socialist-era career had never existed (p. 252) to others, the Versailles-inspired anger having long burnt itself out, permitting a more responsible path in education and archaeology.

### *Lebensbilder 2.2*

Theodor Wiegand (1864–1936), discussed by Althoff, Jagust and Alterkamp (pp. 1–37), was a man of the *Kaiserreich*, of 'military appearance' (duelling scars a sign of *auctoritas*?), noted for his diplomatic skill, especially in the Ottoman empire (see above), who survived the *Kaiserreich*'s fall only to find himself amidst 'von unter aufquellenden Abschaums' (p. 23). For Wiegand archaeology meant the examination of all phases of a site, thereby expanding the present boundaries of the field (pp. 13, 29–37). He shared an educational background and interests with the emperor, and, in addition to expanding the latter's interests, was not immune from criticising him about some of his less than academic royal perceptions. Like the emperor, Wiegand made extensive use of technology – for example, aerial photography during the Great War (p. 14). Wiegand missed the presence of the stable, respected *Kaiserreich*, the absence of the emperor permitting factional strife over opposing concepts for the Pergamon Museum to delay its completion (pp. 17–20). Wiegand became the President of the DAI in August 1932, and came to view the National Socialists as only a slight more acceptable manifestation of *Abschaum*, hoping (p. 25) 'dass Hitler durch besonnende Persönlichkeiten beeinflusst und seine Politik in moderate Bahnen

gelenkte werden könnte.' Never infected with *Germanenwahn*, Wiegand fought to the best of his ability to maintain the independence of the field until his death in 1936.

The life of Otto Rubensohn (1867–1964), presented by Katja Lembke and Aubrey Pomerance (pp. 39–54), provides yet another example of Nuremberg-*stultitia*. In June 1921 Rubensohn was co-founder of the conservative Verbands nationaldeutscher Juden e.V. (p. 48): 'Wir haben nicht den gleichen Weg mit Zionisten und Jüdischnational, mit "Zwischenschichtlern", die unklar zwischen Deutschtum und Judentum schwanken, mit international fühlenden Schwarmgeistern.' Rubensohn was a pioneer in the study of Roman household architecture in Egypt (p. 43), his 'Verständnis von Archäologie als einer Wissenschaft des gesamten Mittelmeerraums' (p. 44). Increasingly isolated from colleagues and access to academic resources, he received approval to move to Switzerland, one of the last Jewish archaeologists to leave. His departure provides yet another illustration of 'Abschaum-Intelligenz': forced to surrender his 'modern' valuables at the border, he was permitted to take his entire collection of antiquities. 'Das ist ja alles kaput, das können Sie mitnehmen' (p. 51). He resided in Basle until 1964, and resumed his membership in the now-Deutsche Archäologische Institut and Göttingen Akademie der Wissenschaften upon receipt of apologies for past organisational crimes. His Pauly-Wissowa study on Paros, belatedly published in 1947, remains the foundation for further investigation.

Georg Heinrich Karo (1872–1963), whose life is presented by Astrid Lindenlauf (pp. 55–78, now also in *Jdl* 130 [2015]), was noted as an expert in the Aegean Bronze Age and head of the Abteilung Athen (1929–36) until his ancestry led him afoul of the Nuremberg laws. His 'stark ausgeprägtes Nationalgefühl' (p. 55) and *Pflicht* caused him to remain at his post in spite of his disappointment at the collapse of the *Kaiserreich* and increasing isolation of German scholarship, and until he was unable to escape the effects of the laws (although he regained German citizenship). During the period, Karo, a popular figure in Greece, tried to both counteract anti-German propaganda and help threatened colleagues find new posts. Although Karo was no supporter of those National Socialist goals not commensurate with the 'von ihm hoch geschätzten Wertekanon des Kaiserreiches' (p. 77), he remained an object of suspicion during his time in America (1939–63), never permitted to hold citizenship.

Ludwig Curtius (1874–1954), as Sylvia Diebner and Christian Jansen (pp. 79–111) point out, was Latin Catholic, a supporter of Mussolini and Fascism, and embodied 'mehr den Typus des modernen Medien-Intellektuellen als den des Gelehrten' (p. 84) – along with customary celebrity-surrounding suspicions (p. 91). Taking up the post as head of Abteilung Rom in 1928 he aimed to make the institute a cultural centre, yet his incessant self-promotion and lack of restraint in his public behaviour plus his limited respect for *Germanenforschung* put him at odds with his superiors, leading to his replacement in 1937. But the store of goodwill which he had built up among the Italians eventually enabled him, alongside a Swedish representative, to act as a caretaker for the Abteilung after Mussolini's fall. He remained in Rome until his death, still a popular figure.

Robert Paribeni (1876–1956), as Massimiliano Munzi (pp. 113–29) reports, should not be classified out of hand as a 'fascist archaeologist' (cf. Della Seta, above), but rather a nationalist, attracted to Fascism (and then, later, to the Movimento Sociale Italiano) by the importance the leadership placed on Rome. To Paribeni Rome was superior to Greece in morality and law, and still served as a shield against the anti-European revolution seeping

in from the 'Sarmatian Plain' (i.e. the Soviet Union). By 1930, long before the German Aktion Ritterbusch, he held modern Italy comparable to Rome and superior to the contemporary Carthaginian avatar, Great Britain, whose archaeological remains of empire would be confined to shattered whiskey bottles (p. 121). He designed a series of stamps for the Italian government bearing lines from Virgil. *Centesimi 20: Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento* (*Aen.* 6. 851). Paribeni was eventually restored to favour in 1955.

The life of Fritz Krischen (1881–1949) is examined in a variety of its aspects by Peter Schneider (pp. 132–60). Member of the DAI, Krischen combined the study of architecture and archaeology – which could be seen in the aforementioned dispute on how to display finds in the new Pergamon Museum (especially pp. 148–52, cf. Althoff and Jagust pp. 19–20). He worked at Miletus as an architect, the experience increasing his interest in antiquity. A student of Wiegand, he received an appointment to the Technical High School in Aachen, where he encouraged his own students to attempt their own reconstructions of ancient monuments, many of said drawings appearing later in formal excavation reports. Krischen then took a similar post at Danzig, attracted by that institution's emphasis on the value of architectural history for the production of modern architectural projects. He later served as Rector, concerned by both the doubtful future of the architecture division and the worsening relations with Poland (pp. 142–45). There was some hope in 1933 (p. 143): 'Ostpreussen ist nicht mehr wehrlos.' During this period Krischen became increasingly interested in the regional architecture of Danzig and its environs. He ran afoul of the *möchtegern* National Socialist hierarchy in 1935 when his proposed reconstruction of the Theoderich-Grabmal placed it closer into the context of the architecture of late antiquity – this viewed as a frontal attack on German prehistory (pp. 145, 159–60). Early retirement followed in 1939; he had just not fit in well enough with the party direction. He continued scholarly activities thereafter, until the Soviet advance forced his westward flight with his remaining family. Research notes he was unable to bring were cleansed, along with his house, by those Soviet troops.

Martin Schede (1883–1947[?]), President 1938–45 (*de facto* 1936), receives a biographical monograph commensurate with his status from Martin Maischberger (pp. 161–201), who conducted a lengthy investigation assisted by Schede's daughter and son-in-law. Schede was noted for his organisational abilities, but also served as a party member and assisted in the implementation of racial hygiene in the DAI. Maischberger tries and successfully negotiates 'auf die schmale Grat zwischen wissenschaftlicher Objektivität und emotionaler Berührung zu einem möglichst differenzierten Gesamtbild zu gelangen.' He begins with a discussion of sources now available – and those still concealed in the East (pp. 162–63). Schede's first 30 years are then presented (pp. 164–67): at Miletus he set up a museum of inscriptions; in the final stage of the Great War he was active in monument preservation. During the immediate post-war period (pp. 168–69) he set up the Baalbek touring exhibition, becoming an Ordinary Member of the DAI in 1926. Later (pp. 169–73) he served at what was to be renamed Abteilung Istanbul (1924–36), which he wanted to investigate all epochs of Turkish history. Schede placed great value on maintaining photographic records. He was known for making frequent visits to neighbouring countries. Perhaps not closely attuned to the inner political working in Germany (p. 173) Schede applied almost as a matter of fact – and repeatedly – for party membership, which was granted at last in 1937.

Schede served as President, at first *de facto* based on the ill Wiegand's wishes, having won favour because of his success in Turkey, his support for fields outside classical archaeology and his organisational abilities. His position was not *de jure* until 1938, due to questions about his 'political trustworthiness' (pp. 173–75). His entry into the National Socialism (p. 176) was a matter of conformity and a result his lengthy distaste for the *Systemzeit*. The *Machtergreifung* could only mean better times and, as Schede's correspondence indicates, was in line with his explicit 'rassistische und antisemitische Einstellung' (p. 177). Always 'diplomatic' towards those he disliked, Schede shared in Blegen's fears of *Verjudung* spreading from New York, declared Direktor Bersu a little Jewish peddler in perpetual motion, and labelled the Aegean expert Gabriel Welter in terms which made him a personification of the *Systemzeit*. Hardly a forceful leader, as he had been in Istanbul, Schede reacted without any thought out strategy to ministerial pressures and military developments, for example by removing non-Aryans from the DAI and by considering the value of using civilian and military prisoners in excavations and monument protection (p. 184).

Schede never abandoned support for National Socialism, a necessary support for German cultural activities. When Nazi rule disappeared, Schede attempted to do the same for his wartime attitudes – with success (p. 191–97). But not with the Soviet military authorities fed by fear-inspired public delation. Fabricated charges, imprisonment, death in the East in the *Lager*. His wife received belated word of his death in November 1948. As Maischberger summarises (p. 201): 'Am Ende wurde Schede sein Pflichtgefühl und seine Obrigkeitshörigkeit zum Verhängnis.'

Carl Weickert (1885–1975), like Guido von Kaschnitz-Weinberg (see below), was among those who used their old academic friendships and skill – sometimes misplaced – in diplomacy to rebuild at least the Western German international status of archaeology following the National Socialist collapse. Krumme and Vigener (pp. 203–22) discuss a life respected for leadership abilities and a willingness, for example during the Leftist *Aufstand* in Munich, to compromise. Weickert's activities in the Munich museums, strengthened by his membership in the DAI, led to his appointment to an extraordinary professoriate in 1933, but only after submission of 'Aryan descent' documents. Thereafter he resisted unwarranted *Gleichschaltung* efforts in personnel matters. A leader of the Antiquities Collection in the Berlin Museum, Weickert relied on unusual channels to obtain artwork for the National Socialist *Herrschaft*, as in the case of the Diskobolus Lancelotti, which was ultimately returned to Italy (pp. 206–14). He relied on his Great War experience to preserve the Berlin collections from damage. In September 1945 he received a request from the DAI to take up an emergency leadership role following Schede's 'disappearance', which he accepted because of his sense of *Pflicht*. Overall his attempt to rebuild the now-Deutsche Archäologische Institut was successful, save that the East Germans wanted no co-operation with the West and that Weickert remained rigid in his desire to restore archaeology without delving into National Socialist-era decisions or accepting 'guilt' (p. 222).

Stephen Dyson (pp. 223–35), noted for his studies on the career of William Bell Dinsmoor (1886–1973), offers details on Dinsmoor's wartime presidency of the Archaeological Institute of America. An ordinary member of the DAI, Dinsmoor resigned his membership in May 1940 (pp. 229–31), in the hope of cleansing a blot on his copybook, and to the dismay of his German colleagues. Dinsmoor used his public position to push for American intervention in the European war and, once intervention occurred, deployed his architectural,



archaeological and organisational abilities on behalf of the American military efforts designed for monument protection. This was his *Pflicht*. At the end of the war, Dinsmoor, realising that archaeology needed a more widespread public presence, supported his successor's effort to introduce a more popular magazine. He worked with the Greek Archaeological Society (Athens) to recover from wartime damage and facilitated, within limitations, the re-entry of German-based scholars into the international field (pp. 223–35).

Biagio Pace (1889–1955), his life presented, with the subject's family's assistance, by Pietro Giammellaro (pp. 236–50), had a career coterminous with Paribeni's, and like him was very nationalistic, believed archaeology could precede the flag, and was active in Fascist politics, incited by the 'mutilated peace' of 1919. The archaeological campaign he led in Fezzan (1933) was notable for its composition of scholars from many diverse fields and institutions. In Italy he had helped inspire the foundation of an institute for the study of ancient drama (1925), and was instrumental in introducing a series of laws protecting sites and monuments as the patrimony of Italy. He expressed dissatisfaction with Mussolini's version of racial hygiene (pp. 246–47) as being ignoble, since the true nature of Italian nationality had existed at the time of Augustus. Removed from posts in 1945, he was restored with the assistance of colleagues, then participated in the foundation of the Movimento Sociale Italiano, and served as Director of the Scuola Archeologica Italiana (Rome) 1951–53. One might call to mind the observations of Rizzo (above in *Lebensbilder* 2.1 pp. 47–48) on the 'mangelhafte Aufarbeitung' of the past.

Umberto Zanotti-Bianco (1889–1963), who along with his fellow amateur archaeologist Paola Zancani Montuoro, located the Archaic Temple of Hera Argiva in 1934, was, as discussed by Nathalie de Haan (pp. 251–68), a nationalist, but inspired by Mazzini, and a trained jurist whose activities focused on public welfare following the disastrous earthquake in southern Italy (1908). The backward nature of the south was perceived by him as a threat to national unity, leading him to set up humanitarian organisations in Calabria, and later extending his efforts, due to an increased interest in archaeology, to the heritage of Magna Graecia until government pressure caused the society's shutdown in 1933. Never a supporter of Fascism, constantly spied upon by the authorities, it was not until after 1944 that he could resume his activities in full stride: President of the Italian Red Cross until 1949, leader of his revitalised philanthropic organisations for southern Italy and the re-founded Society of Magna Graecia, he was named a senator-for-life in 1952, permitting him an even greater role in protecting the Italian patrimony. However, the shadow noted above by Rizzo blotted out the post-war proper recognition of Zanotti-Bianco's and Zancani Montuoro's work, originally conducted beginning in the 1930s.

Guido von Kaschnitz-Weinberg (1890–1958), discussed by Wulf Raeck (pp. 268–94), was a scholar with a distaste for political in-fighting and opportunism, but who suffered from both. He began his career at the soon-to-be-reopened DAI Abteilung Rom, and displayed early on an interest in the then-popular 'Strukturforschung', concerning whose intricacies I refer the reader to Altekamp's *Vorlesung* (2016/2014, pp. 102–14). Von Kaschnitz-Weinberg's adoption of German citizenship in 1932 temporarily assuaged academic in-fighting in Königsberg. He later moved to Marburg, no oasis of peace, and then to Frankfurt in 1940, in which a larger city and faculty resistance to excessive National Socialist supporters offered a measure of calm. After the conclusion of the war and his recovery from 'nerves', he again took up his post at the now mostly destroyed university. He was cleared

of the stain of co-operation with National Socialist authorities (p. 281) 'weil er Widerstand geleistet und Nachteile erlitten habe'. His presence at the university was one permitting the assuaging of tensions among disputing parties. His innate *Anstand*, diplomatic and trustworthy nature, plus the high admiration his Italian colleagues had for him, permitted him to quell personal tensions and re-establish the new Deutsche Archäologische Institut Abteilung Rom as an institute run under the rule of law in the Bundesrepublik. Perhaps Raeck's wish for a more detailed account of his life will be granted (p. 290).

Fritz Schachermeyr (1895–1987), already the subject of a two volume inquiry, is here treated again by Pesditschek (pp. 295–308). The poison of Trianon ruined Schachermeyr's family finances, and perhaps his tolerance for others. In 1931, at Jena, he tried to encourage his students to join the party, in part as his own reaction to the dismissive attitudes of his colleagues. Still remembered as a promulgator of National Socialist *Rassenlehre*, something he later tried to conceal, his political reliability led to his appointment at Heidelberg and formal party membership in 1937. Schachermeyr believed a culture could avoid 'Verfall und Untergang' by avoiding racial mixing and the creation of an unhealthy physical environment. Schachermeyr was able to resume his career in Vienna (pp. 306–08). In his post-war writing 'nordische Rasse' was replaced with 'Indo-European'.

Erich Boehringer (1897–1971), as recounted by Vigener (pp. 309–25), helped rebuild the international presence of the Deutsche Archäologische Institut by his personal traits and skill in maintaining relationships. Initially, he worked at Pergamon, then at the Abteilung Rom. Appointed to the University of Griefswald, he joined the party under pressure from the University (Rust was convinced of his value), becoming a full member in 1938. He displayed no open acceptance of National Socialist ideology or anti-Semitism and maintained contact with as many scholars as possible. He served as cultural attaché in Athens from 1940 to 1943, the Foreign Office preferring him to a party official, which led to his successful 'denazification'. At war's end Boehringer began to rebuild German higher education by establishing the Akademische Burse Göttingen, based on the English college system with an admixture of the Georg-Kreis. In 1948 Weickert asked Boehringer to become active in the Western Sectors unoccupied by the Red Army, which surrounded the Deutsche Archäologische Institut buildings. Boehringer was voted successor to Weickert and now enjoyed a greater freedom since the Institute was placed under the rule of law in the Bundesrepublik. He was successful as a fundraiser and as a resister to the Ministry of the Interior's efforts to exert greater control. He left the Institute well-running organisation at peace with itself.

In spite of sealed and inaccessible archives, Phaedra Koutsoukou (pp. 327–42) has provided an exemplary introduction to the lives of Christos (1900–67) and Semni (1897–1994) Karousou, an exemplary *Lebens- und Arbeitsgemeinschaft* among Greek archaeologists. She offers high praise for their intellectual accomplishments and the high moral character of the pair who suffered the intervention of politicians into the nature and into the personnel involved in archaeological inquiries (Metaxas, Italian and German occupation forces, leftist-incited civil war, the *Obristenherrschaft*). Both Semni (one of the first women in the Greek archaeological service) and Christos had a long pre-war connection with German scholars and scholarship, but they eventually became targets of Marinatos, head of the archaeological service. Resigning their memberships in the DAI, both worked to place the Greek patrimony into secured storage, Christos finding himself as the Director of the National Museum at Athens now used for everything other than its intended

purpose. They maintained pre-war friendships as best they could, working in post-war years to revitalise relations with German scholars. They worked to preserve the remains of the one-time Abteilung Athen from the 'liberation' activities of various forces. Both were restored to Deutsche Archäologische Institut membership, reopened the Athenian National Museum and, more significantly, made archaeological activities understandable to the general public, thus attracting a new generation of scholars.

Anna Lucia D'Agata (pp. 343–62), assisted by James Carder (pp. 362–66), presents an almost lyrical recounting of the career of Doro Levi (1898–1991), in tune with Levi's use of literary citations, reference and allusions throughout his archaeological writings. No admirer of Fascist Pan-Romanism (evident in his treatment of Etruscan art), he intervened twice to preserve Italy's patrimony – from Göring's greed; from his crooked predecessor at the Sardinian Department of Antiquities (p. 354). Mussolini's version of racial hygiene forced Levi into exile in America where he worked at Princeton and Dumbarton Oaks, notably on the Antioch mosaics (pp. 364–65). The Fasces shattered, Levi quickly returned to Italy where he devoted himself to the establishment of an office for cultural relations with foreign countries. In 1947, as the result of the international respect he enjoyed and his distaste for Fascism, he became head of the Italian School of Archaeology in Athens, a post he held until 1977, embracing the advances in the technology of archaeology into his nineties.

Robert Heidenreich (1899–1990), his life considered by Lorenz Winkler-Horacek (pp. 367–82), was not a well-established scholar in the 1930s, but joined the National Socialists out of some internal conviction (p. 369), and expressed the belief that the past could be applicable in dealing with problems in the present (p. 370). His colleague viewed him as 'anständig und vornehm' in his behaviour. To improve his chances for funding, he often delved into contemporary racial questions. His work on the Ahnenerbe Ravenna Theoderich-Grab led to a promotion in 1940. Post-war he claimed his party membership was a youthful mistake. A lack of teaching personnel in the former Soviet zone, plus his ability to convince interrogators of his open support for its 'democratic developments', led to appointments at Jena, then Leipzig. Heidenreich's long life enabled him to become a member of the 'versunkenen Generation' (p. 369), brown and red tides washing away his existence.

Henri Stern (1902–88), as Jean-Pierre Darmon (pp. 383–89) explains, was marked by 'un humanisme sans limites' and a life marked by trials. Fleeing after the *Machtergreifung* to the soon-to-be-occupied France, then to the French State, he lived under a false name and false papers in Lyons. In August 1944 he was able to return to the CNRS, and resume work on art history, his focus on Early Mediaeval Near Eastern art. He did much to start an international project on ancient mosaics, an outgrowth of his earlier inventory of mosaics in Gaul. In order that Stern receive his due attention, Darmon details (p. 389) the archives concerning the scholar, including those apparently still inaccessible.

Irma Wehgartner's account (pp. 391–404) of Gerda Bruns (1905–70) also illustrates a little investigated aspect of archaeology. *Abb. 3* (p. 397) depicts Bruns with her colleague, Jale Inan, one of the Turkish women permitted by her government to study abroad (1940). Bruns's first major excavation was at Pergamon (1931) where German diplomats prevented Wiegand allowing her to take control. Instead the subterfuge of 'technische Leitung' permitted her to take charge of a staff of over 80 and keep the excavation diary. An amoebal infection permanently damaged her health in 1933. Never a member of the party, which looked with disdain at professional women, she took up an important post, working

alongside Weickert at the Berlin Museum and became his chief aide in securing the art work in a safe place. In the final days of the war she proved more than Germanicus' Agrippina – preserving remaining artwork and archives, but also those seeking refuge in the Museum's structure. In 1946 she began the series *Kunstwerk aus den Berliner Sammlungen*, illustrations of material 'liberated' by the Soviets who left the Museum Island submerged under Marxist filth. She worked with Weickert in rebuilding the Deutsche Archäologische Institut, took up a post at the Abteilung Rom, and in the 1960s travelled throughout Germany to prepare a study of the state of archaeological work by German scholars. Had it not been for an amoeba and a brown bacillus Bruns would have enjoyed greater renown.

With the Bruns biography the work ends, although it was obvious to the editors that additional investigations could be undertaken (p. ix). The two volumes represent in themselves an important collection of source material and provide models for new inquiries.<sup>48</sup>

### *Anhang*

The final two works are here considered because they provide a measure of background and contexts for a number of the scholars and activities discussed above. However, their time of publication and editors' decisions concerning their structure require a modicum of caution in their use.

The first records the proceedings of the meeting 'Deutsch-Türkisch Jahr der Forschung, Bildung, Innovation 2014', which details the co-operative efforts of the two countries in the investigation of all aspects of the Anatolian past. The volume is printed in German and Turkish, thus offering an advantage to one wishing to learn Turkish archaeological terminology. Yalcın (pp. 21–38) provides an overview of archaeological investigations, well illustrated with historical and contemporary portraits. Proper pride is taken that in Turkey the door to foreign scholars was always open, and that archaeological work was expanded to include the preservation of the cultural heritage while at the same time the number of universities participating in research was growing. Pirson (pp. 39–46), beginning with Schede's establishment of the Deutsche Archäologische Institut Abteilung Istanbul in 1929, outlines the increasing multi-disciplinary nature of the German-Turkish projects, and his own view that the Deutsche Archäologische Institut has become part of Turkish scholarship. Sayar (pp. 59–89) discusses the history of German-Turkish co-operation in ancient studies. Of particular value is the account of Turkish scholars who received their training at German universities beginning in 1931 thanks to the efforts of Mustafa Kemal (pp. 80–86), including the aforementioned Jale Ogan (Inan) (p. 83, Abb. 8), colleague of Bruns and one of the first recipients of a grant from the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung, and who studied with Rodenwaldt and Buschor. Additional articles describe joint work at such traditional sites as Pergamon, Assos and those occurring post-war, including rescue excavations. In this retrospective account it is understandable that little attention is paid to internal German policies under the National Socialism (*cf.* pp. 69, 72). However, the presentation of new discoveries also carries with it the danger that *Stultitia* will take a hand. Thus, in the Anglo-Saxon world the Neolithic site Göblekli Tepe has been made to carry aloft the banner of

<sup>48</sup> Now see V. Losemann and K. Ruffing (eds.), *In solo barbarico ... Das Seminar für Alte Geschichte der Philipps-Universität Marburg von seinen Anfängen bis die 1960er Jahre* (Münster 2018).

*Welteislehre*,<sup>49</sup> while the now deleterious influences of *Merkelpolitik* has blotted from existence the optimism expressed in 2014.

The two-volume handbook of *völkische Wissenschaften* will provide basic data on some of the scholars and institutions which occur in the books reviewed above, but suffers to an extent in chronology and scope. The focal point remains the period of National Socialist *Herrschaft* (with the occasional inclusion of one post-war organisation, pp. 1846–53, and one contemporary *Modemeinung-Theorie*, pp. 1140–47). Its scope falls primarily within the boundaries of *völkisch Wissenschaft* tolerated by the party (for those who fell without, cf. Oberländer on pp. 547–51; Wirth on pp. 902–07). This work is best complemented by those studies which take a longer view, for example the Puschner and Grossmann edited volume.<sup>50</sup> There are a number of differences between this handbook and the type which appear from Oxford or Wiley-Blackwell. Although each article is accompanied by footnotes, there is no presence of an organised bibliography for each nor the rubric ‘for further reading’. Occasionally the notes will indicate why a particular scholar was invited or assigned the entry (for example Reitzenstein, who has published on the Ahnenerbe, and here writes pieces on Sievers, the Strassburg skull collection and the Ahnenerbe). Unfortunately, no clear path for further research is offered to one unfamiliar with the modern period.

Volume 1 offers brief biographical sketches of some of the scholars of the period. One will find value in the articles on Günther, Hauer (India), Kossinna, Ritterbusch, Hans Heinrich Schaefer (Persia), Sievers, von Schroeder (India), Wirth and Wüst. The second volume is organised by ‘Forschungskonzepte’ (pp. 945–1315, including an English language summary article on esoteric and religious movements, 1890–1945), ‘Institutionen’ (pp. 1319–1730, including so-called Reichs-Universities), ‘Organisationen’ (pp. 1732–2048, including the Ahnenerbe and its various commissions) and ‘Zeitschriften’ (pp. 2051–2151, most of short-lived existence). I do want to draw attention to Baijayanti Roy’s pieces on von Schroeder (pp. 737–41) and ‘Völkisch Indology’ (pp. 1190–98) for these fill a gap in the 2008 collection mentioned above in n. 31.<sup>51</sup> Volume 2 ends with an index of people, topics and expansions of abbreviations. Again, you will find answers to basic questions, but the structure of the handbook leaves it a *Suda*-Lexicon-like work.

Berkeley, CA

Michael Weiskopf

<sup>49</sup> A. Collins with G. Hancock, *Göbelki Tepe: Genesis of the Gods. The Temple of the Watchers and the Discovery of Eden* (Rochester, VT 2014).

<sup>50</sup> U. Puschner and G.U. Grossmann (eds.), *Völkisch und National: Zur Aktualität alter Denkmuster im 21. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt 2009). See especially the Vorwort, pp. 9–14. Also for the period before National Socialist *Herrschaft*, see S. Breuer, *Die Nordische Bewegung in der Weimarer Republik* (Wiesbaden 2018).

<sup>51</sup> In spite of the reference in her n. 5 to the unfit Adluri and Bagchi work, she provides a good introduction in English to the history of a discipline too often the subject of modern ‘scholarly’ fantasies. Consult R. Grünendahl, ‘History in the Making: On Sheldon Pollock’s “NS Indology” and Vishwa Adluri’s “Pride and Prejudice”’. *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 16 (2012), 189–257.

## PANNONIA AND THE LOWER DANUBE

P. Kovács, *A History of Pannonia in the Late Roman Period I (284–363 AD)*, Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2016, viii+327 pp. Hardback. ISBN 978-3-7749-4007-9

F.-G. Fodorean, *Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia in the Ancient Geographical Sources*, Geographica Historia 34, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016, 208 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11262-8

The appearance of these two volumes on the ancient history of much of South East Europe should be cheered by any hardened research specialist. Both works are focused on the evidence itself.

Péter Kovács provides a thoroughly dry and workmanlike analysis of what happened in Pannonia from Diocletian to Julian. His 'history' is neither narrative nor analytical narrative. Rather, it is a critique of various scholarly notions about key developments, based on close reading of sources, plus a hefty dose of cataloguing. He sets out his study in five chapters, the titles of which begin to convey a flavour: 'Pannonia under the First Tetrarchy' (pp. 1–28); 'Pannonia under Constantine (306–337)' (pp. 29–66); 'Pannonia under Constans, Constantius and Julian (337–363)' (pp. 67–145); 'Martyres Pannoniae – The Pannonian martyrs' (pp. 146–212); and 'A history of the Pannonian Church between 314 and 363' (pp. 213–57). Four appendices complete the volume – three on specific nuggets of evidence (an inscription; an entry in the *Consularia Constantinopolitana*; and an epigram of Palladas) plus one on the toponym 'Constantia' in the province of Valeria. Overall, the book has the character of a reference work. Each chapter comes with one or more sections listing relevant sources, frequently cataloguing quotations in Latin and Greek that range in length, *per* source, from a single phrase to several paragraphs. (Chapter 4 essentially *is* a catalogue of sources.) Each chapter also comes with an assortment of tables, 14 in all. Simply to convey a flavour, again, one might mention those citing the imperial presence in Pannonia, or listing events (whether, for example, in Constantius II's war against the Sarmatians or in St Martin's life).

In amongst all this, the various topical discussions that K. offers are intelligent and scrupulous, whether (for example) on 'The settlement of the Carpi in Pannonia' (pp. 1–5); 'Licinius, Carnuntum and the division of Pannonia superior' (pp. 30–35); or 'Julian and the Sarmatians' (pp. 135–38). Each such discussion is, in effect, a short essay to which one can turn for an informed and critical view. K., therefore, has provided – if not remotely 'a history' in the full and proper sense of the term – then certainly the humus from which some obvious elements of a history must spring. But political, military and ecclesiastical matters aside, we are left little the wiser about the real texture of the economic, social and cultural experience of Late Roman Pannonia, so this volume also serves as a stark reminder of how much else one wants to know.

The leaner study of Florin-Gheorghe Fodorean has a broader geographical and chronological focus, but a narrower one thematically. F. is interested in the whole of the Middle and Lower Danubian region, roughly from the first Roman conquests in the region to the Antonines, with special reference (as his title makes clear) to geographical sources. Chief among these are the Peutinger Map and the Antonine Itinerary. Three slim chapters (pp. 17–40) set out, by region, the archaeological, historical and geographical background of Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia. Chapter 4 provides a 'History of Research' on the three regions



in the ancient geographical evidence (pp. 41–52). After these preliminaries, Chapters 5–7 discuss each region ‘in the Ancient Geographical Sources’ at greater length (Pannonia at pp. 53–82; Dacia at pp. 83–100; and Moesia at pp. 101–24). After featuring regularly in the preceding chapters, chapter 8 looks at: ‘The Peutinger Map and the Military Itineraries. The Antonine Itinerary and Cursus Publicus. Comparisons’ (pp. 125–55). The book then closes with ‘Conclusions’ (pp. 156–63).

As will be obvious, this again is a very workmanlike study. Its principal chapters involve much cataloguing of roads and tabulation of locations, with the textual discussion forming an analytical commentary on the material. The evidence of the principal sources is critiqued not only by comparison with each other but also by reference to the *Itinerarium Burdigalense sive Hierosolymitanum*, the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the *Cosmographia* of the anonymous author of Ravenna, and the milestones of these regions. In his conclusion, F. disagrees with Ray Laurence’s notion that shorter mileage between stops (as in Britain, when compared with Italy) reflected the poorer quality of the roads and hence the slower going in Britain. F. notes that Pannonia and Moesia – Pannonia especially so – do not fit the notional frontier pattern of shorter distances that one might expect on Laurence’s hypothesis. He favours instead an interpretation based on ‘the marching stages of the Roman army during the military campaigns’ (p. 160). To the present reviewer, this is interesting but inconclusive. One might equally hypothesise that Pannonian and Moesian roads were always likely to be better than British ones and that it is a modern fallacy, based on ancient prejudice of course, to suppose that we should expect the Danubian provinces to fall on the under-developed end of the spectrum. In other words, it is quite possible that Laurence and F. are both right in their different ways – and also surely likely that the distances between stops depended on other factors besides road quality and marching habits. F. is persuasive, however, that the Peutinger Map and the Antonine Itinerary have different sources and origins.

Virtual Centre for Late Antiquity, London

Alexander Skinner

N.J. Andrade, *Zenobia: Shooting Star of Palmyra*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2018, xvii+284 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-063881-8

The subtitle of Nathanael Andrade’s work and the cover illustration of enchained Zenobia contemplating an alien-looking landscape (the astute will summon up images of Princess Leia) are the first objects which will attract general interest. But an examination of the book’s contents reveals that A. has crafted an exemplary presentation for both specialists and the educated public (p. ix), among whom I include enterprising high school students, of the difficulties in reconstruction an ancient life and past civilisation. His initial chapter (pp. 1–13) evokes a battle between dark and light: literary sources concerning Zenobia are a mixture of rumour and confusion, her coin portraiture only an approximation of her likeness combined her expectations about others’ anticipated perception. Inscriptions present an educated populace expressing themselves and their conceptions in multilingual fashion.

Zenobia was a noblewoman as were others. The shape of her life can be elicited from evidence about her contemporaries, reflections now shattered, that latest cultural achievement of a more-than-Thousand-Year-Reich of intolerance. The physical and social landscape can still be reconstructed, as A. does aptly (pp. 17–55) by having us accompany Zenobia in

procession though the city, which permits him to comment on how the Palmyrene world was fashioned. Zenobia was a *civis Romanus* – a title which covered many individual manifestations (especially pp. 52–55). Evidence concerning elite Palmyrene women permit a consideration of Zenobia's life before marriage (pp. 59–108). A circumspect effort places limits on uncertainties (for example pp. 104–07), but emphasises her exposure to various cultural traditions in her household (pp. 71–74).

For Zenobia's own household upon maturity (pp. 109–61), the focus is on her marriage to Odainath, a Roman citizen, who having forged ties to Roman central administration, revived the Roman East in the face of Sasanian power, her children by Odainath (only son Wahballath seems a certainty), and her management of her own and Odainath's property. He held the title *mtqnn* (p. 127, etc.), which by 'dynamic equivalence' (p. 139) was a Palmyrene version of *Rector*. I call to mind the parallel of Admiral Horthy, known as *Regent* following the collapse of Hapsburg administration. Very little of certainty can be said concerning the Rector's death and that of his first son, Herodian Hairan, but A. does try (pp. 143–52). Unfortunately there are few differences between this web of conspiracy theories and those now fabricated concerning the assassination of Kennedy or the vehicular-enabled death of Princess Diana.

Zenobia is presented (pp. 155–211) at the height of her responsibilities – for family, economy and *patria*. She created a balance between Palmyrene dynastic legitimacy and the now malfunctioning central administration. Odainath's titulature was reused for her son, some documents even indicating a 'joint-reign' of Aurelian and Wahballath (p. 176, etc.). The open break came in AD 272, the Zenobian family's titulature mirroring the Roman. Her family's power was crushed by Aurelian, displaying her in Roman triumph. But she and her children remained Roman citizens, their descendants serving in the administration.

A.'s last chapter (pp. 215–29) recounts various *Rezeptionen* of Zenobia, most of which seem to have little claim to intellectual acuity. Of far greater consequence, especially for the educated public, are the appendices (pp. 232–43) and bibliography (pp. 245–78): the destruction of monuments, the nature of Palmyrene Aramaic, original language version of inscriptions detailing Zenobia's household (Aramaic in transliteration). These and the bibliography illustrate the multinational and lengthy careers those building upon intelligent assumptions in the recreation of an ancient site. A. (p. 211) summons the image of Zenobia singing as a swan upon death. Perhaps she, accompanied by the other singing swans of Thule, will return to exact vengeance upon those who destroyed her land: there's a ransom and a price they'll have to pay.

Berkeley, CA

Michael Weiskopf

D. Andrianou, *Memories in Stone: Figured Grave Reliefs from Aegean Thrace*, MEΛETEMATA 75, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute of Historical Research, Athens 2017, 472 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-960-9538-64-0

This book continues a series of publications on the gravestones of the northern Greek world. After a comprehensive volume on the tombstones of Macedonia<sup>1</sup> and a smaller book

<sup>1</sup> M. Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia, Fifth–First Century BC* (Oxford 2016).

on the funerary reliefs of the West Pontic area,<sup>2</sup> this study is devoted to the figured grave reliefs from the region of Aegean Thrace. In roughly 170 pages Dimitra Andrianou tries to shed light on all the pieces that were found in this area, as far as she could get hold of or was granted access to them. Unfortunately, the stelae from places such as Abdera are missing to a good part, but A. cannot be blamed for that; and anyway they would not have changed the picture obtained. The gravestones are considered from various angles in a thoroughly conservative approach, arranged at first according to chronological, then typological and finally iconographic aspects.

Overall, the book features a clearly arranged 44-page catalogue of the 70 pieces under discussion, offers an elaborate bibliography of another 20 pages and a few maps, tables and short indexes. A remarkable, most welcome and almost 200-page-long section of black-and-white figures as well as colour images lavishly (sometimes even wastefully) completes the text on the grave reliefs or fragments. This has to be emphasised, as many of the stones were as yet unknown (or not well-known); they certainly have never been brought together and were rarely depicted in adequate quality as well as in detail, including all side views. So far, the reader will be delighted (even top views of the stelae are provided) and will especially appreciate the colour images. Nevertheless, not all of the images (of admittedly sometimes rather worn and bruised pieces) are of the highest possible printing quality; a few remain rather blurred and without much contrast, which makes it hard to discern details. Moreover, the frequent change of background colour (white, grey and black for the black-and-white part; white and red for the colour part) is more irritating than helpful – this is especially valid for the truly unnecessary bright red colour plates at the end of the book.

A. gives a brief introduction on the historical and topographical situation, i.e. the role the landscape and region played in ancient sources. She then starts her study with four chronological sections, dividing her material into 7th–5th, 4th and 3rd–1st centuries BC and 1st–3rd centuries AD. Thankfully, the various periods with their respective monuments are accompanied by a short but extremely useful overview of the sites and necropoleis in focus, funerary structures and burial forms, as well as identified burial customs, finds and epigraphical habits. There the reader can also find some information concerning the various problems archaeologists still face when it comes to interpreting these remains. However, these paragraphs do confirm the impression of extensive diversity (as well in terms of execution) among funerary monuments of this region, a matter one would have already suspected from known examples and contexts.

Most welcome are some further remarks on those monuments – again very diverse in shape – which only feature inscriptions and no figural depictions. This is partly due to the fact that the study in its assemblage relies on the recently published epigraphic corpus of Aegean Thrace. Interestingly, the number of stelae with inscriptions **and** reliefs (18, mostly Roman, out of 291 inscribed pieces) is notably low; 55 more yield figural depictions but no inscriptions (again, the majority from Roman times). Obviously, grave reliefs/stelae were at least in the beginning not a common thing in this region, and occasionally it even remains doubtful whether the examples under discussion are grave or votive monuments. It would have definitely been helpful to depict some of the undecorated stelae as well, or at

<sup>2</sup> A. Petrova, *Funerary Reliefs from the West Pontic Area (6th–1st Centuries BC)* (Leuven 2015).

least to provide an overview of their respective forms. Unfortunately, the plain shaft stelae—together with many more decorated/undecorated pieces or fragments mentioned at the end of the respective chapter—remain unillustrated. One would have gladly sacrificed some of the unused space in the picture section, or some less important pictures of the main pieces, for images of those only mentioned or uninscribed/without relief.

Finally, A.'s closer look at the various pieces consists mainly of descriptions and summaries of what earlier scholars have already written about them. Right from the start the text frequently leaves the reader puzzled by certain details: is there really a group of slender Ionic stelae with depictions on both sides resembling stele no. 2 from Dikaia? How can the man on relief no. 3 with the carriage scene possibly be standing? A discussion on the 'invention' of stelae with two figures without more recent publications? Instead, A. focuses on the provenance of marble and craftsmen/artisans, which, at least concerning the latter aspect, does not turn out to be a very fruitful approach. Unsurprisingly, the chapter on Archaic stones is the bulkiest one of the pre-Roman era; it contains without any doubt the most interesting (and also most significant) contexts and examples. Still, the synthesis is extremely short and the following two chapters, on the stelae of the 4th and 3rd–1st centuries BC, show an almost identical pattern.

Again, some details (the comparison of nos. 13 and 14 with the stele of Hegeso?; Ionian features of more than strongly Atticising relief no. 17?; the head of no. 20 has nothing to do with the figure on Berlin Sk 738, as its gesture is more than grieving—rather it is very much reminiscent of the heads of the servant maids Berlin Sk 498/499) as well as dating suggestions (especially those from the 1st century BC) make the readers raise their eyebrows from time to time. Still, unlike similar studies, A. does not stop with the Greek era and extends her study to the first three centuries AD, which doubtless makes sense, as they form about 50% of her material—even though they are clearly a different story. A good part of these stelae were as yet unpublished; others, especially in regard to their motifs, have already been discussed at length (for example by A. Slawisch in 2007,<sup>3</sup> but in general A. makes only occasional use of this book).

The middle, and in terms of interpretation more important part, is focused on the typology (only a short overview, rather a summary, offering no new insights) and iconography of the depictions. In general, A. remains thoroughly loyal ('seated male', 'seated female', 'standing male', 'standing female', etc.) to the idea of a real 'corpus' of gravestones from this region. It remains doubtful to the reviewer whether such a diachronic approach can prove to be useful in regard of the small numbers of highly diverse depictions evaluable. Moreover, her collection of pieces remains rather disconnected within its historical and geographical framework: none of the stelae was found in its original context, an obstacle for which A. certainly cannot be blamed. Admittedly, it is hard to detect typical features, i.e. common outlines, within a rather small number of stelae from a time-span of roughly 1000 years (a fact of which A. is well aware), but an attempt could have been made similar to that applied to Macedonia, for example (the article by F. Felten<sup>4</sup> is in any case missing from the bibliography).

<sup>3</sup> A. Slawisch, *Die Grabsteine der Römischen Provinz Thracia* (Langenweißbach 2007).

<sup>4</sup> F. Felten, 'Themen makedonischer Grabmäler klassischer Zeit'. *Archaiia Makedonia* 1 (1993), 405–31.

Instead, A. focuses at length on the fiercely debated but otherwise well-known phenomenon of the so-called Thracian horseman motif on gravestones; furthermore, she deals with the concept of the funerary banquet. Both chapters (together approximately 30 pages), of course not concerning the Archaic and Classical periods, are valuable summaries of the state of research, but they offer no substantial new insights. More interesting could have been A.'s unfortunately very short reflections on phenomena such as 'Archaistic features', the 'Upraised hands' and the 'Dexiosis' – they all deserve some elaboration. A valuable chapter on relief production in Thrace (rather a summary of the study) concludes her book, together with a short onomastic section, and in terms of arrangement reveals a close relationship to Petrova's above-mentioned book on stelae of the West Pontic area (does Tauric Chersonesos really qualify for this region?) – without the interpretative approaches made there. At the very end, the problem of provenance determination through isotopic and petrographic analysis is briefly addressed (as too in a short appendix by Lorenzo Lazzarini) – but only to express A.'s sceptical view of this method.

To sum up, the book is a comprehensively documented and luxuriously illustrated catalogue of the grave reliefs from Aegean Thrace – but not much more. There are only few new ideas brought into the discussion, there is only limited comparison with other regions (a lot of literature on this aspect is absent from in the bibliography; A.'s favourite area of comparison remains Macedonia). The reader will look in vain for inspiring in-detail studies of some of the very spectacular examples, especially from early times. One would have wished for some more considerations about questions raised in the text – how might the monuments have been displayed, and where might they have stood? What about the goal mentioned of making the Thracian population visible or reflecting on the degree of 'Romanisation'? A. does not offer much in this respect. Nevertheless, her book is an indispensable tool and a useful compilation of data for those who want to dig deeper into the archaeology and history of this region – and for research on Greek gravestones in general. It is in fact the first systematic and synthetic study on these reliefs – which is still a major achievement, after all.

University of Tübingen

Richard Posamentir

J.-S. Balzat, R.W.V. Catling, É. Chiricat and T. Corsten, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, V.C: *Inland Asia Minor*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 2018, l+477 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-881688-1

Ce nouveau volume du monumental *LGP*N, instrument de travail incontournable surtout dans les études onomastiques, mais aussi largement au-delà, recueille les anthroponymes attestés dans les régions centrales et orientales de l'Asie Mineure: Phrygie, Cibyratide, Cabalide, Milyade, Pisidie, Galatie, Lycaonie, Isaurie, Paphlagonie, intérieur du royaume du Pont, Cappadoce et Arménie Mineure (la côte sud de la mer Noire ayant été déjà parcourue par le volume V.A).

Il va sans dire qu'il s'agit d'une entreprise digne de toute estime, car le stock onomastique de ces régions est difficilement contrôlable à cause notamment de la dispersion des sources épigraphiques: peu de corpus régionaux (un défaut que les parutions des dernières années ont quand même l'air de remédier), publications parfois très anciennes et souvent

difficiles d'accès, rareté des approches onomastiques ou prosopographiques de plus large portée (à l'exception des corpus recensant les noms indigènes), etc. Comme d'habitude, cet exploit fut rendu possible grâce à la collaboration, mise en avant dans les 'acknowledgements', de plusieurs savants ayant parfois généreusement offert aux éditeurs même les anthroponymes extraits d'inscriptions encore inédites. C'est ainsi que Peter Thonemann contribua avec les anthroponymes révélés par 76 inscriptions inédites recueillies par W.M. Ramsey en 1906 et 1911, dont les carnets devraient être bientôt publiés, Stephen Mitchell et Christian Wallner avec les noms de Galatie, Mehmet Alkan avec le matériel onomastique tiré du volume édité par lui en collaboration avec Mehmet Kurt, *Hacı Baba Dağı. Isauria Bölgesi'nde bir Epigrafi ve Eskiçağ Tarihi Araştırması*, paru entre-temps (2016), Timothy Mitford avec les noms de Cappadoce, Thomas Corsten avec ceux de Cibyratide, de Cabalide, du Pont et d'Arménie Mineure, sans compter beaucoup d'autres savants tout aussi actifs. Je retiendrais surtout le fait que la riche moisson épigraphique fournie par Dorylaion (Eskişehir), intéressante à plus d'un titre, y compris du point de vue onomastique, mais largement inédite, n'a heureusement pas échappé aux éditeurs qui, grâce aux bons soins de Christian Marek et de Thomas Corsten, ont eu accès au corpus en manuscrit légué par le regretté Peter Frei. Soit dit au demeurant, il serait hautement souhaitable que ce corpus d'inscriptions d'Eskişehir soit publié le plus vite possible.

Comme d'habitude, le recueil comprend aussi les anthroponymes non grecs figurant dans des inscriptions grecques. Cela est extrêmement important, car les régions couvertes par ce volume ont fourni un nombre considérable de noms indigènes. Rien de plus édifiant que de remarquer que, d'après le tableau 2, qui enregistre les 25 noms les plus fréquents dans cette aire, les noms non grecs sont plutôt bien représentés chez les hommes et même majoritaires parmi les femmes: une différence que l'on a parfois commentée et qui devrait désormais être soumise à de nouvelles enquêtes socioculturelles. En effet, pour ce qui est des anthroponymes masculins, les places 7, 17, 18 et 20 et 22 sont occupées respectivement par les noms indigènes Τροκονδας (pisidien), Μανης, Μολης (pisidien), Παπας et Παπιας, alors que les noms latins Γάιος et Μάρκος sont, eux aussi, très bien représentés (quatrième et neuvième place respectivement), de même que Λούκιος (avant-dernière place). La situation est encore plus frappante en ce qui concerne les noms féminins, où les anthroponymes non grecs dominent largement: le plus fréquent est Αμμια, et l'on trouve ensuite parmi les 25 premiers noms Τατεις, Αρμαστα (pisidien), Τατια, Νανα, Τατα, Αμια, Αππη, Γη, Βαβεις, Οα, Απφια, Αμμιας et Μα, à côté des noms latins Δόμνα, Ματρώνα, Ίουλλια et Μαρρία. Il ne reste par conséquent que sept noms grecs dans ce groupe majoritaire, dont le théopore "Αρτεμις (nom de la déesse) et le chrétien Μαρία. Grâce au travail des éditeurs, ce stock onomastique est maintenant présenté de manière raisonnée, la voie s'avérant désormais ouverte à des approches ayant trait aux stratégies onomastiques dans les milieux phrygiens, pisidiens, cappadociens, celtes, iraniens ou autres.

Hormis le tableau que je viens de commenter brièvement, l'ouvrage en comporte encore un autre (1), lequel rend compte de la distribution des noms grecs, italiques, indigènes, celtes, thraces, iraniens, sémitiques et des *Lallnamen* au sein de chaque région. Là aussi les conclusions sont fort intéressantes: sur les 42 830 noms recueillis, les anthroponymes grecs ne font que 59.8% sur l'ensemble. Ils arrivent jusqu'à 68% en Phrygie, mais descendent jusqu'à 41% en Lycaonie, voire à 22% en Isaurie. Les noms celtes, thraces, iraniens et sémitiques sont faiblement représentés, entre 0 et moins de 1%. Enfin, le tableau 3 offre des



données chiffrées sur le rapport hommes/femmes parmi les individus porteurs des noms recensés: aucune surprise, les hommes sont manifestement mieux représentés (entre 74% en Paphlagonie et 90% en Milyade) car ils sont, pour des raisons multiples, plus visibles dans les inscriptions.

Robert Parker, le *spiritus rector* de l'entreprise après la disparition prématurée d'Elaine Matthews, ajoute à l'introduction des éditeurs une brève histoire du *LGPV*. Avec ce volume, l'Asie Mineure est désormais entièrement couverte. Sachons gré à l'ensemble de l'équipe des éditeurs d'avoir mis à la disposition du monde savant un ouvrage d'une telle qualité et d'une telle richesse.

Le Mans Université

Alexandru Avram

H. Beck, B. Eckhardt, C. Michels and S. Richter (eds.), *Von Magna Graecia nach Asia Minor: Festschrift für Linda-Marie Günther zum 65. Geburtstag*, Philippika 116, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017, xxiv+376 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10907-9/ISSN 1613-5628

This volume for the ancient historian Linda-Marie Günther, in honour of her 65th birthday, is edited by her former students. It gives a full list of her published works, showing the wide range of her historical interests, which are reflected both in the title of the present work and in the subject matter of the papers it contains.

The first paper, by Jan-Marc Henke, publishes two clear glass cups, reconstructed from small fragments found in recent German excavations at the Heraion of Samos, in the levels concerned with Altars V and VI, dating from the 8th century to 570/560 BC. Given the character of the scattered fragments the reconstruction is very well done. There is a full catalogue of each fragment. The cups are discussed within the context of their form and decoration, in other materials as well as glass and the general distribution of the form over Asia Minor, the Near East and Egypt considered, with Cyprus named as a possible place of origin.

Next, Hans Beck looks at globalisation and interconnectivity in Greek States, the connection between local communities within the *polis* and the wider links. He looks at this from the point of view of religious practice, the acceptance of cult from a purely local level up to the Panhellenic centres of Olympia and Delphi (though not Delos). Finally, he considers Skillous, where Xenophon eventually settled, within the orbit of Olympia but where he supported a local cult of Artemis.

Andreas Mehl writes on Greek concepts of biological inheritance, looking at the ideas of the philosophers as well as the concepts displayed in the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus, the relative roles of both fathers and mothers.

Bernd Lehnhoff considers the relationship of the dimensions for the diameters in Attic red-figure cups of the bowl and the feet. He investigates the mathematical details of the relationship involved, with reference to the smaller cups attributed to the potter Euphronios, with the formulas involved. He proposes the ideal relationship, though whether this was a conscious choice on the part of the potter or rather an artist's natural feeling for what was right might be debated.

Reinhold Bichler turns to Herodotus and debates whether he was in fact widely travelled rather, perhaps, than widely read. He considers the various reports Herodotus makes of information gathered from a wide range of places, including Egypt.

Lara Sophie Köcke looks at the legend which is the subject of Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, the 50 daughters of Danaus fleeing from Egypt and seeking asylum at Argos in the light of present day debates and attitudes to the arrival of refugees in Western Europe.

Egon Flaig writes on human failure in Protagoras and Sophocles. He considers the relationship between Sophocles and Protagoras as illustrated by concepts in the Protagoras of Plato and Sophocles' *Antigone*.

Klaus Scherberich takes up the point raised by Mogens Hansen about the 'machine' used for selecting appointments made by lot in 4th-century Athenian democracy, discovered in the American excavations of the Agora of Athens: that no one had calculated how long this procedure took. He carries out a restaging of the process, based on the reconstruction of the machine from the fragments discovered in the American excavations. The result, of five minutes per appointment he suggests would have been improved by actual experience in antiquity.

Katharina Martin, between rural economy and myth, considers coins depicting grazing horses from the Troad (Neandria, Alexandria Troas), Thessaly (Larisa) and elsewhere, together with the relevant cult contexts.

Michael Zahrnt discusses Philip II, Athens and the plan for a war with Persia. He notes the stages in the development of Philip's territorial control over areas adjacent to Macedonia as preliminaries. Then, following Chaironeia, the very different treatment of Thebes and Athens. He then investigates the arguments of the English ancient historians of the 1970s who were concerned with Philip, namely J.R. Ellis, G. Cawkwell and G.T. Griffith and then other historians who considered Philip's plans for war with the Persian empire.

Next, three papers on Demetrius Poliorcetes, following Prof. Günther's studies on the topic. Benedikt Eckhardt looks at war, the gods, women, Demetrius Poliorcetes' representation of power, that is military career and achievement along with the representation of Victory on board a ship on his coinage. Then, the place of Demetrius in the history of the Hellenistic ruler cult. Finally, Demetrius' queens and the attitudes of the historical sources to these aspects of Demetrius as ruler. Secondly, Christoph Michels on Demetrius and representations of power, again with reference to the coins as well as the literary texts. This leads on to the way in which supporting individuals and states reacted to him and the form of respect they paid to him. Thirdly Sonja Richter, Demetrius Poliorcetes, historical failure at the highest level takes up a theme discussed by Prof. Günther in a seminar at the University of Bochum in 2007/08. This pays reference to Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius* in parallel to that of Mark Antony. Again, his marriages are discussed, and his alliances.

Sabine Müller writes about Demetrius of Phaleron, his procession and Demochares' criticism. She looks at the political situation in Athens in the period of Cassander's authority, 317–307 BC and the various groupings. She discusses Demochares' political attitude and position after Demetrius of Phaleron's flight from Athens in 307.

Norbert Ehrhardt discusses the arbitration award of the satrap Struses. This is concerned with the inscription found in the German excavations at Miletus in 1899 and a second fragment found in the following year, which recorded the arbitration of a boundary dispute

between Miletus and Myus settled by Struses, who was satrap of Ionia. The date is between 392/1 and 388 BC.

Ernst Baltrusch's paper is concerned with history as a weapon – the political possibilities of Greek historiography during the Roman empire. After discussing Polybius writing his *Histories* in a Roman context he goes on to consider Josephus.

Eftychia Stavrianopoulou writes on altars on roads erected for 'sons of the people'. This looks at the intensification of Roman dominion after the Mithridatic War and the creation of two new provinces in Asia Minor. It considers the payment of quasi-divine honours to prominent benefactors of the cities and the terminology involved. She discusses the honours paid to Diodorus Paspáros at Pergamon (*IGR* IV 292).

Klaus Zimmermann's subject is a sacred law for the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos at Patara. This follows on from archaeological work at Patara over the last two and a half decades. An inscription found in the excavations lays down the part of each sacrifice to Zeus Labraundos or any other deity of the sanctuary which is to be given as first fruits to the priest.

Peter Weiss writes on the weights of Greek cities, a second paper following after one which he published in the *Festschrift* for Elmar Schwertheim in 2008. This comprises stamped control weights for the chief deities in imperial stations in Ionia and Lydia. He shows, with illustrations, examples from Ephesus, Magnesia on the Maeander, Kolophon and Sardis.

Burkhard Meissner investigates the materials used for the springs of torsion artillery in antiquity: sinews, hair (or either), what type of hair – but not, apparently, intestines.

Peter Mittag looks at the coin evidence promoting the eternity of the emperor (*Aeternitas Aug.*) and the well-being of the empire, examples from Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan and Hadrian, and *Aeternitas PR* for Vespasian.

Hans Kloft writes about the Maccabees, history and memory, the way their history was recorded and celebrated from antiquity onwards, in the church, the mediaeval canon of good heroes (of antiquity), Jewry (Judas Maccabaeus) and Christianity, including the Revd Thomas Morrell's libretto for Handel's oratorio.

Finally, a paper by Gregor Weber on the painting 'La clef des Songes' by René Magritte in the Gallery of Modern Art at Munich and the *Ονειροκριτικά* of Artemidorus.

Birmingham, UK

Richard Tomlinson

A. Berlejung, A.M. Maier and A. Schüle (eds.), *Wandering Arameans: Arameans Outside Syria: Textual and Archaeological Perspectives*, Leipziger Altorientalistische Studien 5, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017, x+298 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-10727-3/ISSN 2193-4436

This volume represents the revised and expanded proceedings of the 2014 Leipzig conference (pp. ix–x) concerning Aramean culture and its impact on neighbours. There are two sections, each arranged by author's last name: Syria and Palestine; Mesopotamia and Egypt. The first group represents those topics forming the foundations for further investigations. But for both groups one is rightly cautioned that neither the Arameans nor their language(s) were a single entity, identifying markers difficult to fix.

The first section opens with Greer's (pp. 3–18) consideration of whether the cult at Tel Dan was Aramean or Israelite. While the architectural remains display similarities with other (multi-ethnic) Aramean sites, 'strong resonances' (p. 13) between these remains and priestly biblical texts' descriptions of Israelite religious practices do not permit identifying the cult as 'uniquely Israelite'. Aramaic was to become an imperial language: Gzella (pp. 19–37) traces the linguistic diversity in pre-Achaemenid Aramaic. Assyrian control over Aramaic lands and the empire's open provincial borders facilitated the growing presence of Aramaic and its administrative use, although not in a standardised linguistic format. 'Achaemenid Official Aramaic' represents the Achaemenid rigor to standardise spelling and language, Aramaic already a written idiom in both Syria and Mesopotamia. Gzella suggests the Babylonian variant might represent the base. Levin (pp. 39–52) argues that Aram and Israel, biblically related peoples with a shared history, were separated by language, land and religious practice. Like Gzella's contribution, Maier's on material evidence of Aramean influences and presence in Iron Age Judah and Israel (pp. 53–67) is significant in arguing that suggested identifications are 'insufficiently robust' to accept without doubt and in his necessarily cautious approach toward the evidence (p. 57): 'Too little attention has been paid to the fact that even if one can identify specific sets of material culture that can be associated with specific groups, such group identities are highly fluid and changing, and as often demonstrated, group identities can easily change – and members of a specific group can have multiple – and even conflicting – identities at the same time.' Such is to be held in mind while examining Vittmann's contribution (below). Schuele's discussion of that Balaam at Deir Alla (pp. 69–80) concludes that the carefully executed plaster inscription, probably composed by followers or students, gives witness to a local tradition, but not in the dialect of the Aramean cities of the north. This first portion of the volume closes with Sergi's consideration of the rise of Aramean hegemony in the southern Levant in the second half of the 9th century BC (pp. 81–97). The anti-Assyrian alliance wore out one-time allies who faced an internal weakening of the support for their respective dynasties. The Omride dynasty of Israel fell to internal rebellion, its precipitators in turn falling under Aramaic control, which then extended into Judah.

The section on Mesopotamia and Egypt begins with Berlejung's investigation into documentation for Judean and Western Semitic exiles in Babylonia (pp. 101–24), distinguishing between nobility and non-nobility, who settled in rural areas, with only limited contact with the Babylonian urban and temple elite. Since this non-nobility's legal position was not too different from ordinary Babylonians', they, too, were able to improve their economic position, as Berlejung traces over two generations, this latter generation becoming more active in urban affairs. Social mobility was enhanced within the Babylonian and later, Achaemenid administrative structure. Hackl (pp. 125–40) discusses the scribes who prepared some of the documents for the above groups. The persistence of errors plus unusual forms and structures leads him to suggest that many of the scribes, although trained at urban centres, were sent out to the countryside after completing their education at a relatively lower level. Oshima (pp. 141–67) traces the legends and proverbs assigned to Ahiqar, some of which appear at Elephantine in Egypt. Although no figures in cuneiform texts of the 7th century BC can be definitively identified with Ahiqar, it seems his name appeared in at least one list (Uruk, 165 BC) as a matter of scribal self-promotion.

Quite valuable is Streck's 'Late Babylonian in Aramaic Epigraphs on Cuneiform Tablets' (pp. 169–94), a corpus beginning in 626 BC of 239 items, of which nos. 232–239 are new. The transcriptions of late Babylonian into Aramaic may be permit reconstructions of pronunciation. Although my own education did not include cuneiform (I must have been at the very low level), I can indicate that his careful investigation of these data parallels in high quality the recent treatments of Kushan-era Bactrian documents using a variant of Greek letter forms. Young (pp. 194–224) discusses the conflicts between the Assyrians and Arameans, with focus on Tiglath-Pileser I, who had a twenty year period to conduct policing actions, not all successful, while he maintained peace with Babylonia. Invaded Babylonia cost him two heirs and the expenditures on those campaigns permitted Aramean inroads into the Assyrian core, accelerating the erosion of Assyrian power.

Vittmann's 'Arameans in Egypt' (pp. 229–79), concluding the volume, is a lengthy and cautious examination of evidence which follows Botta's lead (p. 229): neither names nor script are reliable guides to an individual's origins. Egypt possessed a mixed population which spoke Aramaic, but possessed differing ancestral traditions. Egyptian language terminology (pp. 231–37) often did not reflect present geographic and ethnic realities. Vittmann will await new studies of partially published documents (for example Zauzich's, p. 235). He then surveys the find places of documents (pp. 238–59, map p. 238) and their characteristics. Groups of differing composition lived in close contact, high degrees of literacy have been the norm, and neighbourhood maps can be prepared. How the residents actually got along on a day-to-day basis is not recorded, but genealogies produced for some extended families (pp. 245–46) display a mixture of Semitic and Egyptian names (proper names and naming conventions are discussed on pp. 263–69). There are also appears to have been, in addition to the simple adoption of Egyptians funerary practices, knowledge of Egyptian ethical concepts. Vittmann is able to supplement the Tavernier lexicon with data from Demotic papyri (Saqqara) preserving Achaemenid military, administrative and construction terms (pp. 258–59). In sum, an interesting and useful volume. I recommend highly the Gzella, Streck and Vittmann contributions.

Berkeley, CA

Michael Weiskopf

M. Bettini and W.M. Short (eds.), *The World through Roman Eyes: Anthropological Approaches to Ancient Culture*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2018, xvi+471 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-15761-3

Edited by Maurizio Bettini, Director of the Centro Antropologia e Mondo Antico (AMA) at the Università di Siena with W.M. Short from Exeter's Department of Classics and Ancient History, this volume explicitly aims to 'familiarise a wider audience with the research programme' of the Centre, founded in 1986, and to 'present the theories and methods' of classical anthropology (p. 17). Individual chapters, however, vary in the degree and explicitness with which they refer to anthropological theory and practice. In fact, only two of the authors are listed as current members of the Centre, although most are from faculties of the University of Siena. The others include scholars from the universities of Paris, Geneva and Verona, as well as Exeter, although all chapters are in English.

As might be expected, 'Myth' (Bettini), 'Kinship' (M. Lentano), 'Friendship and the Gift' (Raccanelli and Beltrami), 'Economy' (C. Viglietti) and 'Images' (G. Pucci) are among the most explicitly anthropological papers, outlining the impact of conceptual approaches including, for example, those of Malinowski, Lévi-Strauss, Mauss and Polanyi. Helpful and clear summaries of different schools of thought are provided. Less obviously anthropological are other chapters such as 'Polytheism' (Pironti and Perfigli), where the focus is a close 'emic' comparison between Greek and Roman practices. Many of these are untrammelled by any excursion into theory.

Archaeological or even epigraphic or payrological evidence appears only rarely. There is a brief reference to burial evidence and early Roman houses in 'Economy', but little elsewhere, and, surprisingly, none at all in chapters on 'Animals' (C. Franco), 'Plants' (S. Hautala), 'Sacrifice' (F. Prescendi) or even that on 'Space' (G. De Sanctis). Attention to recent works by scholars integrating archaeological evidence with other fields, such as N. Sykes or M. Bassani,<sup>1</sup> for example, might have added a further dimension. Rather, the focus is firmly on textual evidence, mostly traditional literary sources such as Virgil, Cicero, Ovid, Livy, Lucretius, Pliny and similar classical authors.

Perhaps for this reason, the chapters in this volume focus overwhelmingly on the Republican to the Early Imperial period, with little extension beyond the 1st century AD. There are only occasional brief references to the writings of Symphosius ('Riddles', S. Beta), Isidorus ('Metaphors', Short) and Prudentius ('Space', De Sanctis). Comparisons with Greek cultural practices are prominent in many chapters.

The broad overviews provided of important aspects of Roman society such as the economy and inter-species relationships are balanced by the studies of specific aspects of society mentioned and additionally two detailed studies of 'Witches' (L. Cherubini) and 'Signs' (G. Manetti).

University of Melbourne

Tamara Lewit

- L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, *Rure vivere in Moesia inferior: La population dans le milieu rural d'une province périphérique de l'Empire romain*, Philippika 123, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2018, xv+419 pp, illustrations. Cased ISBN 978-3-447-11062-4/ISSN 1613-5628

There has been in recent years a welcome shift from research undertaken within the limits of modern state borders (not so long ago almost a rule in Romanian and Bulgarian publications pertaining to the antiquities of these countries) towards research referring to geographical, territorial or administrative units of the ancient world. This book is an example of this new trend, a useful, comprehensive, rich in detail and clearly written example. Modern realities have, however, their own nasty way of interfering: in this case, in the guise of the language barrier. As Lucretiu Mihailescu-Bîrliba freely admits, he has no Bulgarian, so his bibliography is heavily tilted away from publications in that language.

<sup>1</sup> N. Sykes, *Beastly Questions. Animal Answers to Archaeological Issues* (London 2014); M. Bassani, *Sacra privata nell'Italia centrale. Archeologia, fonti letterarie e documenti epigrafici* (Padua 2017).



After an introduction in which B. defines his terminology, gives a brief survey of the province of Lower Moesia and a critical discussion of the work of his predecessors in the field of rural milieux in Roman provinces, the book is structured in four parts. The first three examine the rural territories of, respectively, the Greek cities on the Black Sea coast from Istros to Odessos, the inland cities between the Danube and the sea, from Ibida to Montana, and finally the cities on the Danube, from Noviodunum to Dimum. Some omissions remain unexplained: due to the scarcity of relevant finds, Callatis and Odessos are lumped together in one sub-chapter, which also includes references to Dionysopolis; and Mesambria, which was part of Moesia Inferior down to the reign of Septimius Severus, was left out entirely. The fourth part discusses the aspects deemed most relevant of rural life in Lower Moesia: the social and political role of the veterans; soldiers of the Roman army originating from this province; the owners and personnel of the *villae*; the Romanisation of Thracian names. A chapter of conclusions summarises the most important achievements of the research and is followed by a comprehensive bibliography and an economical index that includes only the sources and the place names.

The chapters dedicated to the individual territories have similar structures: an introduction concerning the extent, borders and status of the area under discussion, as well as a survey of previous literature and of archaeological research; the epigraphic sources for the population of the region; where necessary, a separate discussion of a settlement presenting special issues (such as the *vicus Ulmetum* in the territory of Istros, or the *vicus Bad* and the question to which territory it belonged); and conclusions summarising the main results of the chapter, especially concerning the ethnic and social structure of that territory's population. Each chapter ends with several illustrations of the most relevant epigraphic documents, as well as with tables summarising, variably, social, juridical or professional categories of people (Roman citizens, magistrates, veterans); documented origins of soldiers/veterans and of civilians; persons of Thracian origin who either kept their Thracian names or discarded them in favour of Latin ones; or genealogies of families discussed in the text.

Out of all this, the most extended part, as well as the major contribution of the book, is the detailed and in-depth analysis of epigraphical sources, which dwarfs all else. As such, B. has scope to deploy his considerable expertise in this field, and especially where interpersonal relations and prosopographical connections are concerned. These he discusses with insightful and thorough care for detail. There is for instance a meticulous examination of the family of the Baebii in the territory of Tomis, whom B. follows up across the province, within the military milieu and back towards a possible Italic origin. There is an analysis of the *gens* Cocceia of Capidava and her connections in other communities of the province. There is an ample discussion (much of it going back to even more detailed, previously published work of the author) of the population in the rural milieu of Troesmis, especially of the *canabae* and the civilian settlement pertaining to the fort of the *legio V Macedonica*, prior to its removal to Dacia.

The handling of such a vast and intricate topic as the population of the rural milieu of an entire Roman province is fraught with methodological difficulties. An obvious one is the fact that it is in the rarest cases that we have any sound criteria for sketching the course of the borders of the territorial and administrative units to be found in the province of Lower Moesia. One is reduced to more or less educated guesswork, and this pertains also to the ascription of individual epigraphic monuments to one or the other of several possible territories.

One other is the status of the various urban and non-urban communities whose rural territories are under discussion here. Whether the inhabitants of the countryside were part of a Roman colony or *municipium*, of a Greek *polis*, of an autonomous community without an urban centre or of a territory controlled by the military is relevant for some of the topics broached in this book, such as population structure or geographic and social mobility. B. gives the opinions argued for in recent research concerning the juridical status of the various communities, usually siding with one of them, but not always succeeding to move the discussion forwards.

Given these uncertainties, B. decided upon a maximalist approach: he included in his research everything and everyone who is not an inhabitant of an urban centre. A net cast so broadly captures also people which were *in*, but not *of* the rural milieux he discusses: such as soldiers in active service, of whom there is no certainty that they either were originally from Lower Moesia or that they decided to settle here after their discharge; members of the imperial administration, such as *dispensatores* or tax collectors; and evidence from such settlements which were initially non-urban but were later granted the status of *municipium* or *colonia*, such as Troesmis.

The elephant in the room is the issue of Romanisation, which B. never enters into so as to define and nuance his use of the term. He often makes it clear that he is referring to the Romanisation of names, but this is by no means the only use of the term in this ample book. Given the nature and intensity of the debate over Romanisation in the past decades, one cannot but sympathise with his reluctance to enter the fray; however, a more precise specification would at least have spared him the necessity of using the clumsy device of setting quotation marks around the word. He explicitly limits his discussion to persons of Thracian origin and their handling of Roman names. Given that his area of research includes the territories of Greek cities, in which interactions (including on the onomastic plane) between Greeks and Thracians go back a long time, given also the presence of persons bearing names other than Thracian/Roman/Greek, this limitation is somewhat surprising.

Nonetheless, given the scope and difficulties facing such an undertaking, the amount of material to be handled and the state of research overall concerning this province, the book manages to deftly handle this great amount of data and to examine in a nuanced and thorough manner individual cases as well as general issues, such as the dynamics of population in the rural milieu of Lower Moesia or the interaction of colonists and local population. As such, the book is a valuable contribution to the research of social and ethnic structures in a Roman province of the Balkans.

Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca

Ligia Ruscu

J. Boardman, *Alexander the Great: From His Death to the Present Day*, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2019, x+160 pp., illustrations, 8 pp. of colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-18175-2

This book about Alexander is different. Written by Sir John Boardman, a notable scholar of unrivalled reputation, it concerns 'the mythical (and dead) Alexander and the way he has been treated by authors and artists since antiquity – not "real" history' (p. 4). B. modestly

defines his work as 'my story (rather than "study")' and clarifies: 'I would not claim this as a work of original scholarship, except in its assembly' (p. 2).

It should be noted that B. considers the main character of the book, Alexander the Great, to have been Macedonian not Greek, 'for his upbringing, royal undemocratic background, and behaviour, whatever some of his genes may have been' and that in his view Alexander 'seems not to have spoken the Greek vernacular but, allegedly, could read Greek (Homer)' (both p. 4). In fact not a small portion of the Introduction deals with the differences between the ancient Macedonians and the Greeks, as B. believes that the Macedonians 'were remotely related to the Greeks' and that they were Indo-Europeans who 'spoke a language related to Greek'.

The book is divided into nine chapters. Chapter 1 (pp. 13–22) offers a short overview of Alexander's biographers. B. ignores Diodorus since, in his view, his work was rather a summary, and dwells on Curtius, Plutarch and Arrian.

Chapter 2 (pp. 23–37) concerns the views (ancient and modern) as to the cause of Alexander's death, as well as Alexander's own choice of his burial place, the fate of his body, and the modern attempts at finding it.

Chapter 3 (pp. 38–52) is devoted to Alexander portraits in antiquity, from Greece, Macedonia, Italy and Asia. Here B. traces the depictions of Alexander on coins, pictures, portrait heads, etc.

Chapter 4 (pp. 53–85) discusses the Alexander Romances of the Middle Ages. B. points out that these stories find their origin mainly in Ptolemaic Egypt and that the Greek version was the source of all the mediaeval versions in European languages in Europe, while the Syriac translation was the source of all the Eastern. He compares the information provided by ancient works on Alexander's parentage, his wives and lovers, his horse Bucephalus, his ingenuity, and so on and so forth. It is interesting to note that B. does not rule out the possibility that the Egyptian pharaoh Nectanebo II (in some versions the real father of Alexander) might have travelled to Macedonia and met Alexander's mother Olympia, 'a feisty woman, quite ruthless and self-willed', who 'might admit a regal Egyptian lover', which 'seems not altogether out of character'. Yet, he notes that 'physical indications of Egyptian parentage are, to say the least, flimsy'.

Chapter 5 (pp. 86–97) focuses on the Persian Alexander (Iskander) and, in particular, on the *Iskandarnameh* (*Eskandar-nāma*) and Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh* (*Šāh-nāma*). According to B., there is no more confused account of Alexander than the Persian, as the *Shahnameh* is only slightly more coherent. It should be noted that both accounts present Alexander as of part-Persian royal descent.

Chapter 6 (pp. 98–103) addresses the Indian Alexander. B. presents scattered pieces of information from antiquity almost to the present day – Philostratus' reference (*VA* 2. 20) to the travels of Apollonius of Tyana who saw in a temple at Taxila pictures of Alexander's exploits, the presence of Greek-inscribed coins in Barygaza according to *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (47), the story of the Indian 'Skanda', the Indian War in Nonnus' *Dionysiaka*, etc.

Chapter 7 (pp. 104–37) covers Alexander story in Europe in the Renaissance and down to the present day. B. enumerates a number of artists, writers, poets, sculptors, composers (among them Dante, Boccaccio, Shakespeare, Vivaldi and Mozart), etc., whose work at least partly concerns Alexander, or personages closely related to him.

Chapter 8 (pp. 138–46) traces the appearance of Alexander as a star of film, stage and novel, whereas Chapter 9 (pp. 147–53) dwells on fellow travellers from Marco Polo to television. An index rounds off the volume. There is no full bibliography, but Abbreviations (pp. ix–x) in which the most frequently cited modern works are listed. The rest are given in the footnotes.

The volume is richly illustrated (36 figures and 16 colour plates on only 160 pages), and well edited. It is useful not only to the general reader but also to scholars unfamiliar with the topic.

Troyan, Bulgaria

Miroslav Ivanov Vasilev

D. Bondoc, *The Roman Bridge between Dolni Vadin (Bulgaria) and Grojdibodu (Romania)*, Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 38, Archaeopress, Oxford 2018, vi+108 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-807-1

This is the least known of the Roman bridges over the Danube. Unlike the bridge built by Trajan during the course of the Dacian wars the Dolni Vadin–Grojdibodu bridge gets no mention in the ancient literature. Its remains were first observed by Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli during a diplomatic mission in 1691 and published by him in his six-volume work *Danubius Pannonicus Mysicus*, with a text in Latin and, fortunately, a sketch drawing of the visible remains. It consisted of the remains of masonry piers by the southern bank of the river (Bulgaria), together with, in the river itself, four pairs of piers, plus three single surviving piers, which would have supported the carriageway. In the sketch the piers in the river appear also to be of masonry, but the written description makes clear that they were wooden – *ingentes pilas ligneas in eius alveo fixas*. Since then the piers in the river have completely disappeared, the result of dredging and improvement works on the river to facilitate the passage of the large ships that now use this vital waterway (one of them can be seen in fig. 43.1 of the present study).

More recently an account of the bridge was included in Prof. D. Tudor's book *Les ponts romains du bas Danube* (Bucharest 1974), and on the basis of this its position is marked on Map 22 (Moesia Inferior) of the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, close to the site of Valeriana, which is the (late) Roman fortification at Dolni Vadin (the accompanying text to Map 22, by Andrew Poulter gives the reference to Tudor's publication).

With the disappearance of the remains in the waterway, it is fair to say that the former existence of the bridge would not be recognisable. The later accounts of it are totally dependent on the description in Count Marsigli's monumental study. It follows that there is very little additional actual information that can be provided by Dorel Bondoc's present study. He gives a good description of the scanty surviving remains, the remnants of the three masonry piers at the bridge's southern end. There are abundant and good illustrations, many of them in colour. The illustrations of the fragments of the southern piers show how badly eroded they are, and that they have suffered further degradation since they were photographed for Tudor's study. They show, mostly, the mortared inner elements and give no indication of the masonry work of their faces. B.'s most important new contribution to the understanding of the bridge is the identification of the area of the northern (Romanian)

river bank to which the bridge was directed, with an aerial photograph of its vicinity where a square enclosure is clearly visible.

As to the method of construction, B. makes a plausible suggestion that, as with the construction of the bridge further upstream at Drobeta and Pontes, the existence of an island midstream enabled half of the width of the river to be dammed off while the piers were put in place. B. also gives numerous reconstruction drawings of the resulting bridge, beginning with the cover illustration which shows the most substantial, and outermost, masonry pier on the south side supporting a built arch spanning the roadway. There are also numerous illustrations showing the woodwork which supported the actual roadway. All these are plausible but of course there is no direct evidence at all for them.

B. also assesses the chronology. The masonry of the piers appears to differ from that of the adjacent Late Roman fort of Valeriana, suggesting the bridge is earlier. A sherd, probably from the neck of a transport amphora, possibly Chiot, found embedded in the masonry of the southern portal/pier appears to date to the second half/third quarter of the 2nd century AD, giving a *terminus post quem*. The date of destruction or abandonment is uncertain, but B. suggests the bridge did not have very long life. Perhaps the Constantinian bridge at Sucidove–Oescus, no great distance downstream, replaced it.

In addition to the account of the bridge there are appendices on archaeological material of the Roman period found at Dolni Vadin and Grojdibodu and another on ancient and Byzantine coins from Grojdibodu, and finally on the military diploma from Grojdibodu now in the Musée d'Archéologie at Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

This is a lively and interesting account. The English text is fluent and idiomatic with only the occasional inclusion of the wrong word, the most amusing being the assertion on p. 59, and repeated on the following page that the bridge was destroyed by the effect of the waters of the Danube (currents, hymns and elevated flows, ice floes during winter).

Birmingham, UK

Richard Tomlinson

H. Börm and N. Luraghi (eds.), *The Polis in the Hellenistic World*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2018, 264 pp., illustrations. Cased ISBN 978-3-515-12020-3

This collection of ten essays comes as the result of two conferences held at Konstanz and Princeton. The all too brief foreword by the editors (pp. 7–8) frames the collective approach taken by the authors in this volume. At a time of methodological and theoretical plurality, new lines of inquiry and new patterns of research are being developed to address the complex historical issues posed by the linguistically, socially and culturally diverse approaches to construct a viable poliadic discourse for the Hellenistic period. The question posed at the end of one of the conferences by Paul Kosmin gave rise to this book: how might the conferences and indeed the book itself been different had the topic concentrated on the Hellenistic *city* and not the Hellenistic *polis* (p. 11). The irony is that Kosmin does not have a contribution.

Two contributions focus on political history. Clifford Ando's takes a comparative and theoretical perspective that reflects the democratic ideologies of the Hellenistic world. His approach is four-fold: democracies comprehended as oligarchies; the phenomenon of plutocratic elites; democratic politics as a means that enabled elite rule while also acting to

constrain intra-elite competition; and the degree to which democracies were in fact democratic. The result is a proposal on how to shape inquiry regarding democratic principles in the *poleis* of the Hellenistic period. Christel Müller argues that oligarchy needs to be redefined and considered separately from democracy. His examination offers two proposals: oligarchy needs to be understood in terms of wealth and defended as such by its owners, and oligarchy is interconnected with different kinds of governments, especially democracy. It is based on an analysis of Aristotle and Polybius, and inscriptions from the 4th to 1st centuries BC. He concludes that oligarchy can flourish within a democracy, because both are perfectly compatible institutions and not as has been largely argued incompatible regimes.

Two contributions concentrate on conflict resolution. Henning Börm takes up the issue of *stasis* in the Hellenistic world and how ancient contemporaries understood it as a means of comprehending the *polis*. That this phenomenon occurred in so many cities over a prolonged period is an indication of the health of the *polis*, since the underlying purpose of *stasis* was for the citizens involved to take control of the city. It, therefore, stands to reason that an understanding of the occurrence of Hellenistic *stasis* provides insight into the Hellenistic *polis*. The method that Börm employs is to take examples of how Greeks in the Hellenistic and Early Imperial period explained *stasis* and its causes. In Anna Magnetto's contribution the issue of interstate arbitration as an aspect of the Hellenistic *polis* is examined in terms of three points of view: the underlying ideological principles and values that allowed the practice of arbitration to exist; the practical aspects of arbitration in diplomacy and international law, especially in the case of federal states; and the civic aspect of documents that reference it as a visible form of historical memory. The study demonstrates that Hellenistic *poleis* adapted arbitration to meet the needs of an increasingly complex world.

Two papers challenge the traditional views of the Hellenistic *polis* by considering outside factors. Peter Funke considers the role of federal states as feasible replacements, or alternatives, to individual *poleis* which should they join such a league were compelled to relinquish some degree of autonomy in order to operate in an institutionally cohesive system, while the league itself provided the flexibility to incorporate the specific interests of its individual member states. One result of this system was the recession of tribal elements in favour of the federal state as the chief political and legal constitutional structure. Funke sees the growth of federations as having contributed to the renewal, and not to the decline of the *poleis* in the Hellenistic period. Frank Daubner extends the spatial analysis of the Hellenistic *poleis* by examining the *theorodokoi*, or local hosts of sacred envoys, in northern Greece. The purpose is to investigate the north as a source of Hellenism in order to determine how the *poleis* fit into the Hellenistic world proper. These *poleis* of northern Greece were in the forefront of the Hellenistic world because they derived from larger states and were able to create and maintain an interaction of peer polity in which they co-operated within a network of equals that were able to offset and supplement the power of the big states.

Graham Oliver examines how *polis* economies reacted and adapted to an ever-shifting set of circumstances: degrees of continuity and change in terms of commerce and coinage; economic nodes; and people and economic networks. The former reveals that *poleis* developed a variety of complex strategies to adjust to the changing Hellenistic world. The idea of *poleis* as economic nodes is viewed from the perspective of the *polis* as an agent responding to changing circumstances seen from its interactions with *poleis*, Hellenistic kings and



Rome to advance its own economic well-being. The last section concerns the people who were responsible for conducting the operations of *polis* economies. On the other hand, Nino Luraghi's contribution centres on particular problems of historical interpretation of Athenian decrees that result from a literal reading of texts inscribed from 323 to the mid-3rd century BC. The purpose is to compare these texts with 'recurrent narrative configurations ... to identify (some of) the ideological constraints that presided over the formulation of the decrees themselves' (p. 210). Although the sources contain distortions of the events that they 'pretend' to reference, he sees in them the political ideology that operated as part of Athenian democracy (p. 224).

One problem with this collection is that the editors omitted any discussion in their Foreword of the individual articles that constitute it. Consequently, it is difficult to understand how Angelos Chaniotis's study on interactions that took place at night in the *polis* fits into the character of the book, except that much of the evidence about night-time activities – inscriptions, papyri, dramatic narratives – derive from the Hellenistic period. This contribution offers a fascinating study of a wide range of activities: social gatherings, religious festivals and acts of worship, private celebrations, and acts of violence. A similar situation holds true for Hans-Ulrich Wiemer's penetrating analysis of the 2nd-century BC Stoic philosopher Panaitos of Rhodes and his work, *On that which is appropriate*, usually translated as *On duty*. The investigation centres on the context of the doctrine as well as Panaitos' interaction with the Scipionic circle with special emphasis given over to Cicero and his work, *De officiis*. His ethic was understood in Rome as a variant of *mos maiorum*, a version of the traditional aristocratic ethic, but it was Cicero who reshaped the doctrine as a practical source of how Roman senators should lead their lives.

Wake Forest University, NC

Jeffrey D. Lerner

D. Bosnakis and K. Hallof (eds.), *Inscriptiones Graecae XII: Inscriptiones Graecae insularum maris Aegaei praeter Delum. Fasciculus IV. Inscriptiones Coi, Calymnae, Insularum Milesiarum. Pars IV. Inscriptiones Coi insulae: tituli sepulcrales demorum, tituli varii incerti alieni; Inscriptiones Insularum Milesiarum*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2018, vi+256 pp., 10 pp. of plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-060168-8

Grâce surtout à l'énergie de Klaus Hallof, les *Inscriptiones Graecae* progressent dans un rythme fulminant. Cette fois, l'île de Cos, qui avait représenté pendant beaucoup de décennies une lacune assez gênante parmi les *inscriptiones maris Aegaei*, se voit entièrement parcourue, après que les trois fascicules antérieurs avaient été publiés par les mêmes éditeurs, Dimitris Bosnakis et Klaus Hallof, en 2010 (1 et 2, dont le premier en collaboration avec Kent Rigsby) et 2015 (3). C'est ainsi que la moisson épigraphique de Cos compte maintenant, *frusta* et *tituli alieni* inclus, 3867 numéros. Ce dernier fascicule contient les numéros 3054–3329 (dernière partie des inscriptions funéraires, réservée aux inscriptions trouvées dans la *chôra*, testaments, monuments funéraires des Coens attestés à l'étranger, ces derniers brièvement répertoriés, avec des renvois aux éditions de base), 3330–3447 (monuments ayant trait aux constructions publiques et privées, à la *iugatio-capitatio*, aux gladiateurs, inscriptions sur des mosaïques, une inscription oraculaire révélant une réponse venue de Delphes, une tablette de malédiction déjà recensée par

D.R. Jordan, *GRBS* 41 [2000], n° 51, quelques inscriptions diverses, inscriptions chrétiennes, une inscription judaïque, de même qu'un *appendix* recensant les inscriptions byzantines plus tardives déjà publiées), 3448–3519 (graffites, ceux-ci largement inédits), 3520–3614 (inscriptions de caractère incertain), 3615–3839 (débris desquels il n'y a presque rien à tirer) et 3840–3867 (inscriptions trouvées à Cos mais provenant, à en juger d'après plusieurs éléments, d'autres cités). Quelques inscriptions sont en latin (n°s 3300 et 3330–3333). S'ajoutent les numéros 3868–3932 réservés aux inscriptions trouvées sur les îles dites 'milésiennes': Léros, Lepsia et Patmos. Cette dernière section comporte aussi un index, alors que le grand index consacré aux inscriptions de Cos est encore en attente.

Les éditions sont irréprochables et comportent des descriptions détaillées des pierres et des données complètes sur les circonstances des découvertes. Comme d'habitude, les éditeurs s'en tiennent aux restitutions qu'ils estiment assurées, se réservant parfois le droit d'ajouter dans l'apparat critique des solutions par exemple. Le corpus comprend un nombre assez important d'inédites, mais dans la plupart des cas, à une valeur historique bien limitée: il n'y a pas, à vrai dire, des nouveautés que l'on pourrait tenir pour spectaculaires. Notons quand même les testaments n°s 3300 (en latin) et 3302, sur lesquels nous sommes informés qu'il existe une dissertation inédite (Berlin 2013) de K. Kickbusch, et les trois nouveaux fragments à ajouter au dossier de la *iugatio-capitatio* (n°s 3361–3363).

Une seule remarque concerne l'inscription funéraire déjà connue n° 3153 (Paton et Hicks 364): Ἀφροδισία | Ἰστριανή. Plutôt que de renvoyer à Stéphane de Byzance pour la petite île d'Istros, située près de Cnide, il vaut mieux à mon avis envisager la cité d'Istros du Pont-Euxin comme lieu d'origine de la défunte (peut-être une esclave ou une affranchie). C'est d'ailleurs ce que j'avais supposé dans ma *Prosopographia Ponti Euxini externa* (Leuven 2013), sous le n° 2146. Le *LGPN* IV enregistre, lui aussi, cette femme parmi les ressortissantes d'Istros de Scythie Mineure.

Le Mans Université

Alexandru Avram

J. Bouzek, *Studies of Homeric Greece*, Karolinum Press, Prague 2018, 296 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-80-246-3561-3

In this book Jan Bouzek points out how, according to his view, Greek history developed from the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces to the 7th century BC. The picture he draws relies upon his various studies on the matter, reaching back into the 1960s: four books (*Homerisches Griechenland* [Prague 1969]; *Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes* [Prague 1974]; *The Aegean, Anatolia and Europe in the Second Millennium* [Göteborg/Prague 1985]; and *Greece, Anatolia and Europe: Cultural Interactions in the Early Iron Age* [Jönköping 1997]), a range of articles listed in the bibliography over almost three pages, but also non-published lectures and some of his reviews. He calls this procedure 'to edit dispersed notes while completing the main line of narrative', accompanied by new insights, additions and corrections. This makes five parts reaching from 'Bronze Age' to 'Late Helladic III C', 'Submycenaean to Middle Geometric', 'Late Geometric' and 'Homer and Archaeology', and four further more systematic structured parts, 'Phoenicians', 'Macedonian Bronzes', 'Geometric Koine' and 'Religions'. A brief summary rounds the book out.

The headings reveal the archaeologist's point of view. In every chapter the archaeological record is at the centre, commented in detail and made easily to understand by many tables, figures and maps. How it is dealt with shows the comprehensive knowledge of the author, and B. underlines that the understanding of the archaeological record must be the starting point for any consideration of this part of Greek history.

On the other hand B. is well aware that historical situations and processes cannot sufficiently be investigated only by relying upon archaeology. The analysis of historical complexity requires various and parallel approaches, not least the comparison with other ancient and modern societies and both the concepts of diffusion and autonomy, in order to reach from inductive generalisation to 'general laws based on a reasonable degree of probability (not absolute necessity)' (p. 15) and thus to deductive conclusions. Conversely, he knows of the difficulty of offering just 'telephone catalogues of objects or phenomena' (p. 16) or, on the other end of the scale, freely playing with hypotheses, and warns of 'one-sided observations' (p. 17).

He himself does not shy away from drawing the requested big historical picture and thus gives insights in his basic thoughts about the course of history. In his view, the historical development in Greece led to a '*koine* of similar technologies and artistic styles, which show us also the old European continent of that time as a certain cultural entity and identity' (p. 14). To describe the various stages of this development, he draws upon some patterns which were often used to explain Greek history. The main change was a 'transition from pre-philosophical to philosophical mind' (p. 9) made possible by using the script. This also meant the development from 'the more primitive or less developed areas to higher culture'. This took place after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces: 'the late second millennium BC escape from the collapse was found in the modesty of small self-sustaining communities and individuals based on locally available sources, in courage and in the clearance of mind, of substantial progress of human mental capacity' (p. 257).

However, B. argues against monocausal explanations and to describe the big picture he refers to not just a few insights which can be called socio-psychological. Those overlap with terms he uses to characterise the societal circumstances, as tribes, elites, warrior groups, *nouveaux riches* and also barbarians or 'Gefolgschaft'. And he compares people's behaviour during the assumed migrations at the end of LH III C with what the Byzantines did 'in the time of the Arab raids' (p. 45), or he simply states that the invading barbarians do not like 'to do more work by themselves than what is necessary' and therefore 'make use of the more skilled natives' (p. 25).

Not accidentally, the small chapter about Homer is in the middle of the book, since the Homeric epics are at the centre to which all chapters refer. This results from some basic assessments. Though the Trojan War is thought to be myth, according to B., it would be 'strange if it had had no background' (p. 166). He assumes that 'the original heroes had still something to do with the final stage of the Mycenaean period'. And as it is so often presupposed, oral tradition is thought to be the tool for handing down information over many more than only three generations. For this assumption he refers to the *Chanson de Roland* or the *Nibelungenlied* which were transmitted in this way, as was argued by historians until recently. To build such a chronological bridge is necessary since the 'Homeric poems obviously were compiled later' than the posited Trojan War. B. connects the point

when they were created with the 'Hero of Lefkandi' and therefore are to be dated in the 10th or the 9th century at the latest.

He shows similar trust in the existence of an (oral) tradition over centuries underlying the stories which tell us the written sources: he assumes historical processes behind the so-called Ionian and Dorian migrations; the Greek stories about the Cimmerians rely upon old traditions and memories; the information about a 'Thracian thalassocracy fits well into the period preceding the Greek colonisation of the Black Sea' (p. 133).

But all this counts much less than the main concern B. wants to bring forward with his book, namely *historia as magistra vitae*: 'The past experience may offer hints to us: how to develop the means and capacity to find the way out from the menacing collapse nowadays: by rising the mental capacity of thinking, finely educated area of feelings, to be able to overcome the fear, despair and hate, and to develop strong will to accomplish what has to be done' (p. 11). It makes good sense to follow B. on this path and read his book from this point of view, even though the ways to highlight the past might not always be the same.

University of Innsbruck

Christoph Ulf

J. Bouzek, J. Militký, V. Taneva and E. Domaradzka (eds.), *Pistiros VI: The Pistiros Hoard*, Charles University in Prague, Karolinum Press, Prague 2016, 186 pp., illustrations, 57 colour plates. Paperback. ISBN 978-80-246-3301-5

This represents the long-expected publication of the impressive numismatic find made in the course of that regular archaeological excavations conducted for many years by the international team at Pistiros in inland Thrace (modern Bulgaria). As stated in the Preface (p. 6), this volume closes a long fruitful period of joint Bulgarian, Czech and British collaboration lasting 27 years. It is also the last in the well-established *Pistiros* series, in which the various materials obtained during the archaeological investigation of this Greek *emporion* have been published.

The book consists of four main parts. Part I, 'The Context' (pp. 9–64), is devoted to the detailed characteristics of the archaeological situation and the context of the coin hoard's discovery. This is divided into ten chapters, six of which were written by Jan Bouzek alone, the others in co-authorship with L. Domaradzka and J. Musil. The description starts with an outline history of Pistiros, an abbreviated version of the contribution prepared by the authors for *Studia Hercynia* (p. 11, n. 1). The chronology of the site and the main phases of its existence are considered. Special attention is paid to an analysis of the urban planning of Pistiros, especially that of the area where the hoard was found, called the Southern House, under the floor of whose easternmost room the treasure was hidden in a clay oinochoe. The Southern House and the opposite House no. 1 are interpreted as official buildings destined for controlling, measuring and weighing goods, supervising trade and extracting taxes. The archaeological material accompanying the hoard (pottery and other domestic implements as well as weaponry) is analysed as well.

Part II, 'The Hoard' (pp. 65–152), is the core of the book and comprises a coin catalogue proper as well as additional chapters dealing with various aspects of the nature of the hoard, the identity of its owner, its place among contemporaneous coin hoards originating from inland Thrace and adjacent areas, etc. The catalogue was prepared by B. Russeva in

collaboration with V. Taneva and Y. Youroukova. The hoard consisted of 552 coins, mainly silver drachms, a tetrobol, 113 tetradrachms and three gold staters; 485 coins were struck in the name of Alexander the Great and represent both lifetime and posthumous issues. Apart from the Alexanders, the hoard comprised five tetradrachms of Demetrius Poliorcetes, 60 coins of Lysimachus and two tetradrachms of Seleucus I. The catalogue groups the coins by mint and within these chronologically. Catalogue entries are often accompanied by useful comments regarding chronology and attribution. Its authors demonstrate a profound knowledge of the relevant literature and are up-to-speed professionally on stylistic affinities and die-links between coin-issues. Each coin is illustrated by a life-size colour photograph in the plates at the end of the book. Three chapters follow the catalogue. Russeva, in 'The journey of the coins from the "Pistiros" hoard' (pp. 130–37) considers two hypotheses on the time of possible concealment of the hoard: either immediately before the death of Lysimachus in the Battle of Corupedium in 281 BC, or during the unstable period of the 270s BC after the *diadochus*' death, when Celtic invasion of Thrace, Macedonia and western Asia Minor took place. The content of the hoard, in particular the presence in it of Lysimachus posthumous tetradrachms as well as drachms struck in the capital of Macedonia in 281/0–276/5 BC, makes the second hypothesis the more probable. J. Militký, in 'The Pistiros hoard – its general evaluation and comments on its position in the context of other comparable finds in the region of Thrace' (pp. 138–50), discusses the special place of it among simultaneous hoards from Thrace and remarks that only a couple of such finds can be compared by their content and overall value with the Pistiros treasure. He considers the latter as a hoard of long-term accumulation, whose owner, it seems, did not enjoy high social status. In the note 'Numismatics and archaeology' (pp. 151–52), which concludes Part II, Bouzek also ponders the question of the hoard's owner: in his view, a mercenary who served in the army of Lysimachus and who was killed or imprisoned when Pistiros was attacked and destroyed by the Celts at the beginning of the 270s BC.

Part III, 'The Celtic Conquest and Aftermath' (pp. 153–10) comprises four essays by Bouzek dealing with more general problems regarding Celtic campaigns in Thrace and elsewhere, and the distribution of archaeological materials reflecting Celtic presence over the regions in questions. He quite convincingly argues that the Pistiros hoard could have been the savings of a soldier after 10–15 years of military service. If one take into account that the daily payment of the Hellenistic mercenary was indeed one drachm, and drachms are heavily preponderant in the hoard, this suggestion seems to be especially attractive and plausible.

Part IV is 'Abbreviations, bibliography and addendum' (pp. 171–86). The addendum is 'Preliminary reports of the Czech mission' for 1998–2004.

All in all, the authors have fulfilled their main task of introducing an important numismatic discovery, supplying scholars with new information and adding some important brush-strokes to the picture of coin history and monetary circulation in Hellenistic Thrace. For this they should be congratulated. Regrettably, 'too many cooks spoiled the broth'. The book obviously lacks a general editor (instead of four on the title page), who would have been able to standardise the text and correct the numerous misprints, inconsistencies and mistakes which are present. The most grievous of these is the very date of the hoard's discovery. In the Preface (p. 6) and Introduction (p. 7) we have 1998; in

Chapter 4 of Part I (p. 28) the event is marked under 1999; on p. 41 (Chapter 7 of Part I) it 'was found on 2nd of September 1998'; in the essay by Russeva (pp. 135–36) 1999 is again given, as it is in the addendum of Part IV (p. 179). As a result, the reader is left in total confusion.

Wrong references to plates and figures are rife: for example, a description of fibulae on p. 15 is accompanied by a reference to plates 25–26, where the coins are depicted; for the coins mentioned on p. 134 the correct plate is 55.3ab, not 55.2ab. There are evidential mistakes too: statements that Demetrius and Audoleon were sons of Cassander (p. 131); that a tetrobol was one fifth of a tetradrachm (p. 141), actually one sixth; the founder of the Seleucid dynasty is variously referred to as Seleucus or Seleukus. And this is to say nothing about numerous misprints which could easily have been corrected by thorough and accurate editing. These annoyances mar the impression given by an otherwise useful and informative book.

The Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow

Sergei A. Kovalenko

K. Brodersen (ed. and transl.), *Plinius' Kleine Reiseapotheke (Medicina Plinii)*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2015, 203 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-11026-6

This book contains the first ever translation of *Plinii Secundi Iunioris de medicina libri tres* into German, made by Kai Brodersen, a scholar known for his research on different aspects of antiquity, such as geography, historiography, science, magic, etc. The translation is printed along with the original Latin text in the edition by A. Önnersfors, published in 1964. In the elegantly written introduction, B. describes the translated text as following the tradition of *euporista*, that is to say, collection of remedies available to a traveller if he befell some injury on his way. The three books on medicine by an unknown author calling himself Pliny the Younger are generally excerpts from *Naturalis historia* written about 200 years previously by Pliny the Elder, which places *Medicina Plinii* in the popular tradition of compiling various parts of his vast and all-embracing text, each compilation concentrated on one particular topic. The excerptor chose the parts concerning medicine and remedies (Books 20–32 of *NH*), significantly cutting off long sentences. Unlike Pliny the Elder, who classifies various remedies by their source, first describing the ones that are made from plants, then from animals, etc., the author of *Medicina Plinii* sorts the remedies by the parts of the body that they are supposed to cure, from head to foot in Books I and II, and then in the third book listing remedies for general diseases such as fever, skin problems and those arising from poisons and bites. This structure makes this work a practical reference book where a traveller can easily find the needed remedy rather than vast encyclopaedically composed volumes of Pliny the Elder. Overall, *Medicina Plinii* contains more than 1150 instructions and guidelines to deal with a lot of diseases. They vary from actual medicine to what we can call folk medicine and even to magic. Apart from Pliny the Elder's *NH*, some other sources have been used to compile the *Medicina Plinii*, although they are few and all of them unidentified.

As B. states in the introduction, *Medicina Plinii* is an important source of information about travelling in antiquity. The text may offer suggestions on who the traveller in antiquity could actually be: for instance, there are no remedies for any specific women's diseases



mentioned in these books whatsoever, but, strangely enough, ways to cure sick or teething children are present. The books show us what health issues a traveller of that time was likely to encounter – blisters on the feet, sunburn, animal bites, etc. – as well as the enormous amount of healing substances found in all parts of the then known world. The remedies had to be found right away and made from whatever was on hand, including foam from a horse's mouth if you were travelling mounted, or salt water if you are travelling by the sea. Some things usually considered as food could also be used for medicinal purposes: wine, *garum* (fermented fish sauce), vinegar, *moretum* (cheese with garlic and honey).

Although copying some parts of *NH*, *Medicina Plinii* is an important source of information on various aspects of life in late antiquity. Its translation is a great contribution to academic research, providing plenty of opportunities for further studies of antiquity, the history of medicine, botanics and many other fields of research. The concordance to Pliny the Elder's *NH* provided at the end is of course of great help to any reader of the book.

St Tikhon's Orthodox University, Moscow/  
Yuriy Shichalin's Museum Graeco-Latinum

Natalia S. Sorokina

V. Chankowski, X. Lafon and C. Virlouvet (eds.), *Entrepôts et circuits de distribution en Méditerranée antique*, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Suppl. 58, École française d'Athènes, Athens 2018, 312 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-2-86958-295-8/ISSN 0304-2456

At the centre of this volume is the documentation of excavated buildings which clearly served as places of storage for goods being shipped and retailed around the Mediterranean and beyond in Classical Antiquity. In a major collaborative French research project 2009–2012 (<http://www.entrepots-anr.efea.gr/>), the editors aimed at relating this archaeological material to philological sources – and evidently also the currently evolving approach to understanding ancient trade.

Introducing the Hellenistic system, Véronique Chankowski (pp. 15–42) points out that the transport and storage of grain in the ancient Mediterranean was guided by the need to keep the grain safe and accessible when required while taking account of the predictably unreliable seasonal weather and the financial investments dictated by storage. The financial activity of temples and deities seems to have been significant, along with traders and marketplaces. She not only draws attention to the variety of terms used for storage buildings in Hellenistic Greek, but also to ἐγδοχεῖον and ἐγδοχεῖς revealing a seeming fusion of the idea of finance, transport and storage, linking Egypt and Delos. It is hardly surprising that Rhodes can likewise be linked to Egypt and trade in grain. The quick turn-around times of the grain stored at Delos (every couple of months or so) might actually have attracted the interest of the Romans – but certainly assured that Delos played a central role in this business where the activities of the Greek states were far less intrusive, with supervision playing a central role.

Catherine Virlouvet (pp. 43–59) takes us into a Roman world where storing grain was partly in the hands of the state in an economy where the line dividing public and private was either blurred or absent. In contrast to the Hellenistic world, granaries are actually

preserved and recognised; however, the ownership is not clear as the historical sources show that private granaries eventually ended up in the hands of the state – but also that the space was used for both public and private purposes.

Nicolas Tran (pp. 123–36) stresses that in the Roman world the granaries were effectively marketplaces where merchants and market supervisors gathered; the associations may have reduced transaction costs and the individuals participating may have had incompatible interests, but the co-operation of public and private commerce probably served private interests collectively quite well. Jean Andraeu (pp. 137–55) seems to suggest that we should more readily associate the *negotiator* (than the *mercator*) with prestige and granaries as marketplaces in the sense of important elements in the *emporion*.

Domenico Vera (pp. 61–74) takes us into the Byzantine world, basing the contribution on a point that should be fundamental to us: for the administrators, (1) the commercial world was fully interconnected with market-coordinated deliveries of wine, meat, olive oil and grain from different parts of the empire all part of an integrated market, but (2) the administrative work demanded reconciling three different calendars (agricultural, fiscal and logistical) whereby the dates for the grain harvest were spread over several months in the second half of the year – and the concern of the administrators was primarily the grain (although oil will also have been important). Beyond that, there was, of course, a massive increase in the dimensions of the *annona* between Augustus and Justinian, and this was further complicated by the nature and interests of the *naviculari*. All of these factors come into consideration when Constantine shifted the centre from Rome to Constantinople – and the administrative task was then complicated as the invasions had an impact on logistics.

A great part of this volume is dedicated to the presentation of archaeologically excavated buildings, which are on occasion related to inscriptions likewise found in excavations. Such inscriptions provide details about the precious materials which differ from the general concerns expressed in the literature. One happy example of such is the Lycian port of Andriakè (Laurence Cavalier, pp. 109–22) where texts referring to the trade in purple dyes and saffron draw our attention among the more common discussions about grain and oil.

An important contribution by Bukowiecki *et al.* (pp. 231–67) demonstrates that the raised floors of the granaries (presumably to keep the grain dry) did exist and can be documented across the Roman empire. Although the phenomenon may not have been that common, the techniques may over time have been constantly updated, albeit not consistently, and in various different buildings.

Taking a couple of examples from buildings situated near the shore at Delos, and others further removed, Karvonis and Malmay (pp. 169–94) reveal that one can confirm that buildings at the shore front will have been used for storage while storage areas in the houses in the residential area will have had a maximum of a 12m<sup>3</sup> of storage space, primarily adequate for the ordinary purposes of a shop.

Expanding on work by Trümper and Nevett, Mantha Zarmakoupi (pp. 195–207) presents data on changes made in houses on Delos, demonstrating that what might have been representative residences were transformed into more commercial establishments. On the one hand, this is highly instructive – but on the other it throws up real questions about social change: were there fundamental changes in ownership or did existing owners simply adjust to a new commercial environment?

The volume offers a number of other (likewise well-illustrated) contributions offering precious details about structures relating to storage and trade in public and private contexts around the Mediterranean (and even one far from the shores of the Black Sea). These archaeological contributions must in future be expanded and integrated into the synthetic work of the historians, philologists and epigraphers to develop the comprehensive history that the editors of these volume have demonstrated to be possible.

This volume as well as the project, spirit and people behind it are but one more testimony to the fact that French scholarship was decades ahead of the English-speaking academic world in understanding the importance of 'the ordinary functioning of the market' (p. 15, n) in the Classical Mediterranean. The excavations seem to confirm that the sea was indeed the most important element in Mediterranean trade, suggesting that our understanding of the 'economy' should shift, allowing the Mediterranean agricultural triad (grain, oil, wine) to be complemented by a Mediterranean financial dyad of shipping and coinage.

Northeast Normal University, Changchun

David A. Warburton

M.A. Cobb, *Rome and the Indian Ocean Trade from Augustus to the Early Third Century CE*, Mnemosyne Suppl. 418, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2018, x+335 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-37309-9/ISSN 2352-8656

The book consists of ten chapters with the first serving as its Introduction, in which Matthew Cobb presents an overview of the study. The chronological parameters extend from 30 BC, with Augustus' annexation of Egypt, to the Principate of the early 3rd century AD, marking the unification of the Mediterranean world. Geographically, the focus is the western Indian Ocean, principally the Red Sea, Gulf of Aden and Arabian Sea, and embraces generally the Mediterranean, East Africa, the southern Arabian Peninsula and South Asia. Of particular importance is the term 'Roman merchant' used to denote citizens and subjects of the empire, and Mediterranean merchant for individuals who had commercial interest in the Indian Ocean outside the Roman epoch. Five themes underscore a range of ideas: development of trade; barter and bullion; the climax of Roman trade; schedules, practicalities and Roman diasporas; and Indian Ocean goods and Roman society. C.'s use of primary sources derives principally from archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic, papyrological and literary evidence. The value of the work lies in his ability to integrate recent evidence and to challenge long-standing theories that have outlived their usefulness to illuminate Roman trade in the Indian Ocean.

The Roman integration of the Mediterranean world with the trading networks of the western Indian Ocean has as its immediate antecedent 'The Ptolemies and the Erythra Thalassa'. The Mediterranean and Indian Ocean sphere of interaction was a process long in the making, while the Roman period built on the infrastructure of ports, routes and waystations established by the Ptolemies to create a period of unprecedented growth in trade and commerce. In this regard, the only significant difference between the Ptolemaic and Roman period is a political demarcation, since trade had already developed and evolved independent of any governmental intervention (as seen in ports like Arikamedu in south-eastern India in which the Roman period appears merely as a continuation of the Ptolemaic era, and not an abrupt economic phenomenon).

The central question that occupies 'Organisation and Finance' is whether the Roman annexation of Egypt led to a greater influx of new sources of finance and participation from individuals outside of Egypt, notably Italians, or did the Alexandrian elite still predominate? The answer is surprising: the social and political Graeco-Egyptian elite, although there may well have been co-operation between them and Italian mercantile families (p. 61) as well as others, like Jewish Egyptians. This leads to the discussion of the amount and scale of resources necessary to take part in this trade, and the kind of organisational structures required to carry it out. The chapter concludes with an examination of the types of ships used by Mediterranean merchants in the Indian Ocean, the materials used to construct them, and the problems encountered when building and repairing them.

In 'The Roman State and the Indian Ocean Trade' emphasis is placed on the infrastructure that the Ptolemaic and Roman governments constructed in the Eastern Desert and the Red Sea districts, especially the development by the Roman state of constructing a land network of *praesidia* (small forts), *hyderumata* (wells) and *lakkoi* (cisterns). Evidence from ostraca found in the *praesidia* indicates that by the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century AD security had become a major preoccupation of the Roman state and serves as a starting point for a broader analysis of the high point of Roman involvement in the Indian Ocean trade. The idea is to define a clearer notion of Rome's military and diplomatic policy as it pertained to the Red Sea and beyond. The chapter ends with an attempt to answer 'the question of whether the Imperial family or the Roman state had direct commercial interests in the Indian Ocean trade, beyond merely deriving tax revenue' (p. 93).

Chapter 5, 'Trade Routes and Merchant Diasporas', returns to a discussion presented in the second chapter concerning Mediterranean merchants using the monsoon winds in the Ptolemaic period. Here emphasis is on how these winds were exploited in the Roman epoch in order to glean an understanding of the routes that were travelled and the extent to which weather and the seasons affected such travel. Since a round trip sailing venture from the Mediterranean to India lasted between 13 and 20 months, this leads C. to explore how some Italian merchants practised vertical integration, and to what extent Mediterranean goods were exported. A second consideration deals with merchant 'diasporas' – both temporary and permanent, which are examined in multifaceted ways as a bridge for understanding the cultural and commercial centres of the Indian Ocean trade. He argues that in addition to facilitating the movement of objects and materials between locales, diasporas were also vectors of physical, cultural and economic transformation. The final section of this chapter attempts to ascertain the extent to which Roman merchants were involved in trade in the Bay of Bengal and South East Asia.

The next two chapters are methodologically linked: a lack of statistical data and the necessity of relying on biased literature. Chapter 6, 'Imports', considers commodities, both animate and inanimate, derived from the Indian Ocean, their quantity, and how their popularity affected economically the elite in Roman society with some attention paid to those of moderate wealth as perceived in the *Edict of Maximum Prices* among other sources. The discussion entails such ideas as where and when certain goods were popular, and which should be classed as luxury or necessary. In the following chapter, 'Exports' are discussed but are perforce limited. Outside Greek and Latin sources, there are just too few literary sources. Compounding the problem of what was exported and how these items

were received is the fact that archaeological excavations over this vast expanse in many cases are painfully few and usually limited in scope. In far too many cases, political strife has prevented any scholarly work from taking place. Still C. is able to glean enough information to propose that there was a significant demand from India for a wide range of goods produced in the West. Gold and silver coins, for example, were not the only form of exchange that was accepted; rather these coins formed part of the repertoire of trade goods that made their way into India, with the mid- to late 1st century marking the height of their export.

The following two chapters, 'Rome's Trade Balance with India' and 'The Peak of Roman Trade in the Indian Ocean', focus on the popularity of this international exchange network from the Mediterranean side. It is shown in the former that there is no evidence to support Pliny's claim that an imbalance existed in which there was a significant outflow of Roman gold and silver as payment for imported goods. Even if the Mediterranean world was haemorrhaging its precious metals, there would have been ample space available in the cargo holds of Roman ships to export additional goods; common sense dictates that that merchants would not have left them empty. Certainly, C. throws sufficient doubt for further discussions on the notion of a deficit of Roman trade. The latter emphasises that trade between both spheres fluctuated, such as the Antonine Plague (*ca.* AD 165–190) which caused a downturn. He reaches a similar conclusion as others that the 1st century AD marks the peak of Roman involvement in Indian Ocean trade, while the early 2nd century marks the beginning of the decline.

The last chapter reinforces the conclusions reached throughout the work. C. succeeds in bringing to the fore a number of new ideas and approaches to understanding the development of Roman trade in the Indian Ocean, particularly with the Indian subcontinent. His historiographical analysis is one of the best to appear in print. There is little doubt that this work will serve as among the outstanding references on the subject.

Wake Forest University, NC

Jeffrey D. Lerner

E. Daniels-Qasim, *Atlantis im Großen Fünfstromland: Platons Timaios und Kritias führen über Saïs zur Induskultur*, Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2017, 408 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-7749-4116-8

I first became aware of Erika Daniels-Qasim from the sober review published by Plato scholar Heinz-Günther Nesselrath in *BMCR* 2018.08.23, focusing on matters of philology and supplementing gaps in the archaeological bibliography. My interest here is to place her study into the context of Atlantis investigations, demonstrating the continuities between her methodology and her predecessors', who like astronomers of old superimposed epicycles to save the phenomenon of a geocentric universe.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Atlantis everywhere: J. Godwin, *Atlantis. Der Ursprung der Zivilisation* (Grafing 2014). Teutonic Atlantis: A. Behrend, *Nordsee-Atlantis* (Tübingen 2012); F. Wegener, *Das atlantische Weltbild und die integrale Tradition* (Gladbeck 2014). Representative of studies thinly based on reality (one *per* hemisphere): M. Freksa, *Das verlorene Atlantis* (Frankfurt 1999); R. Videla Eissmann, *Los Dioses Extraterrestres y el Regreso de B'olon Yokte' Kuh* (Malaga 2013) (modern defence of *Welteislehre* and the Atlantis of Edmund Kiss).

D.-Q. operates in the belief that Plato's accounts, first heard by Solon in the Egyptian Saite period, are at the core accurate, in spite of Hellenic deformations plus Vedic (pp. 312–14) and equine (p. 313) intrusions (pp. 65–95). The Egyptians were quite competent in gathering and preserving data concerning foreign lands (pp. 52, 61). Their own travels (pp. 134–54, 360–61) and knowledge collected from other cultures enabled them to place an important civilisation in the Indus Basin. The Sumerian 'Melucha' (deformed to 'Eumelos') and 'Tukrish' (to 'Gedrosia', cf. table p. 93) are among items cited by D.-Q. as evidence. She is not the first to use linguistic gymnastics as an explanation for cultural contacts. These were tools enough for Pococke (1852), who ties the subcontinent to the Mediterranean world and then to the Americas.<sup>2</sup> He had no need to mention Atlantis. The next century saw an explosion, under the aura of an Atlantean sun, in the tool's use for geography and names, particularly by Herman Wirth (1928) and Rudolf John Gorsleben (1930), relying on objects with rune-like inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> They eschewed investigation into the relatively unknown Indus Valley signs. The Greeks, however, were hardly competent in understanding Egyptian concepts of geography and space (pp. 33–47). D.-Q. rescues them, as Nesselrath demonstrates, by her knowledge of Egyptian. The East, i.e. Indus Valley, is open to Atlantis. I rather prefer the solution provided for the *Kritias* passages by the geologist Edmund Kiss on the map prepared for his 1933 *Frühling in Atlantis* (p. 379 in the reprint): a series of adjacent islands filling the Atlantic Basin, each with a suitable Teutonic name. D.-Q. does accept that her Atlantis fell from natural causes (pp. 69, 296–311): Himalayan tectonics.

How to save the phenomenon? While she is aware that the Indus Valley signs and sealings remain undeciphered (pp. 220–32), she does make favourable mention (pp. 228–30) of the suggestion that some of the signs are reminiscent of constellations. But this is a long way from Edmund Kiss's study of the putatively Atlantean glyphs at Tiahuanaku in South America. D.-Q. maps her interpretation of Plato (principally the *Kritias*) with her interpretation of the archaeological data from the Indus Valley (for example p. 287). Hence, at Mohenjo-Daro we can find what appears in Plato as 'Poseidon's Meadow' (p. 132), while the appearance of the site as a whole was deformed by the Greek inability to understand the Egyptian interpretation of data (pp. 166–69). She attempts to complement Plato and the Mohenjo-Daro remains in order to assign different strata of the population to different site sectors (pp. 189–202). The Indus Valley was important, but this is not the way to examine it. Nor was she the first – pace Nesselrath – to tie Atlantis to India (cf. works cited in n. 1), but only the first to do so with at least some basis in reality. From the middle of the 20th century arose the belief that the Indus Valley was home to a highly technologically advanced society which met its end from forces terrestrial, extra-terrestrial and atomic, all this based on the lazy interpretation of epics and a fabricated 'ancient' Sanskrit aeronautics manual. Thus the subcontinent became the *Tummelplatz* of Indian (*vimanas*) and Atlantean (*vailixi*) 'space fleets'.<sup>4</sup> But the ancient texts always invited disbelief, even among a survivor

<sup>2</sup> E. Pococke, *India in Greece* (London 1852).

<sup>3</sup> R.J. Gorsleben, *Hoch-Zeit der Menschheit* (Leipzig 1933); H. Wirth, *Der Aufgang der Menschheit 1: Die Grundzüge* (Jena 1928).

<sup>4</sup> Most recently, E. Baccarini, K. Vaddali, et al., *Reverse Engineering Vedic Vimanas* (Florence 2017). Also note these two reports from the BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-46778879> from 2019 and the earlier <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-41344136>. A pantomime *Ahnen-erbe* ready to take the stage?



of Atlantis, the one-time royal astronomer at Tiahuanaku, Godda Apacheta, who, upon reading the Egyptian account of the disaster, is left wondering: 'Was dann später durch wiederholtes Abschreiben noch verfälscht werden würde, liess sich denken.'<sup>5</sup>

Berkeley, CA

Michael Weiskopf

F. Daubner, *Makedonien nach den Königen (168 v. Chr.–14 n. Chr.)*, Historia Einzelschriften 251, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2018, 357 pp., 1 map. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-12038-8

Ancient Macedonia has been the subject of many studies in recent years. Most, however, focus on the Argead and Antigonid dynasties – and especially, of course, on Alexander the Great. In his habilitation treatise, submitted to the University of Stuttgart in 2015, Frank Daubner deals with the two centuries directly following the end of the monarchy, when Macedonia had become part of the Roman empire.<sup>1</sup>

D. first considers the establishment of Roman rule in Macedonia in the 2nd century BC. He analyses thoroughly the division of Macedonia into four separate political entities. Like Hatzopoulos, D. emphasises the fact that the separation of Macedonia into *merides* was not new, but founded on older, monarchic administrative structures. The Roman government merely adopted this practice, the *merides* not being autonomous 'republics' (a term not found in contemporary sources), but rather administrative units. In this sense, Roman policy towards Macedonia did not differ from that in other subjugated territories: local forms of administration were neither abolished nor were their boundaries changed. D. calls this form of dependency 'protectorate'. The prohibition of intermarriage between the four parts, sometimes viewed by scholars as peculiar, was in line with Greek practices, where marriages between *poleis* could also be forbidden.

On the other hand, Macedonian society obviously underwent radical changes after the Roman conquest. Two-thirds of its elites were either deported or fled their home country.<sup>2</sup> Some of them may have settled in the Pergamene empire, as D. tries to deduce from

<sup>5</sup> E. Kiss, *Die Singschwäne aus Thule* (Leipzig 1939), 315. Now see: S. Baumann (ed.), *Fakten und Fiktionen. Archäologie vs. Pseudowissenschaft* (Darmstadt 2018); G. Ducœur, *Les mythes de deluge de l'Inde ancienne: Histoire d'un comparatisme sémitico-indien* (Leuven 2019); B.B. Olshin, *Lost Knowledge: The Concept of Vanished Technologies and Other Human Histories* (Leiden 2019).

<sup>1</sup> Historical overviews also tend to focus on the times of the Macedonian kingdom: the third volume of N.G.L. Hammond's *A History of Macedonia* (Oxford 1988) ends in 167 BC; M. Errington's *Geschichte Makedoniens* (Munich 1986) leaves only two pages (pp. 194–95) to the aftermath of the Battle at Pydna. A survey of the Roman provinces of Macedonia and Epirus (aimed at a broader public) was published by Michael Zahrnt: *Die Römer im Lande Alexanders des Großen. Geschichte der Provinzen Macedonia und Epirus* (Mainz 2010).

<sup>2</sup> Daubner emphasises the brutality of the Roman course of action in Macedonia and Epirus, distancing himself from the 'realpolitische Schule', as he calls it (p. 12), of Gruen and others, who argue that Rome's conquests resulted from a defensive imperialism and that the senate's decisions were dictated by the inability of the Greeks and Macedonians to come to terms with their problems themselves.

inscriptions in Asia Minor. He attempts to find further traces of exiled Macedonians in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid empires as well as in southern Italy.

The demographic shock left its traces in the epigraphic evidence in Macedonia itself; inscriptions remain very scarce between the end of the kingdom in 168 BC and Augustan times. Archaeological records support the perception of the decades after the defeat at Pydna as a 'Dark Age', as D. calls it (p. 276). With prosopographical studies, he attempts to trace the process of the establishment of a new elite in the years between the end of the monarchy and the Battle of Actium, filling the gap left behind by emigrants and those who had been deported. This new elite, settling in the ancient *poleis* or newly founded colonies, consisted of Italic colonists, immigrants from other regions and the indigenous population that had stayed in the country. Until this time, soldiers and veterans are absent from epigraphic records in Macedonia. Roman merchants, however, are more common. Some of them added a Greek surname to their Latin names (marked with ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος), thereby adapting to their new environment. Of course, indigenous people were also still living in Macedonia: D. suggests that the *παροικοῦντες*, mentioned in inscriptions from Acanthus and other places, might be the descendants of the old kingdom's inhabitants (who had fewer rights in the old cities), or perhaps the autochthonous population, or people who had been resettled by the Macedonian kings. What emerges from the scarce evidence therefore is the establishment of a new elite distinctly different from that of the earlier, monarchic era. Only in the areas of Upper Macedonia which did not form part of the province – certainly in the Orestis – does it seem that a more traditional 'Macedonian' identity survived.

As a result of depopulation after Perseus' defeat, Roman colonies in Macedonia (for example Pella, Dium) were founded at a rather early stage when compared with other regions in the eastern Mediterranean. It is likely that the purpose of such colonies was to safeguard the main transport routes. One of the apparent aims of the newly founded province was control of the important *Via Egnatia*. The governors of the province also intervened in Achaia, since the Romans had no permanent administrative body in mainland Greece before 27 BC. Another task of Macedonia's governors was the protection of the province – and southern Greece – against invaders staging raids from the North. D. thoroughly examines these invasions and the Roman reactions to them, as well as the consequences for Macedonia of the Roman civil wars of the second half of the 1st century BC.

Finally, D. turns to Augustan times. The politics of Octavian-Augustus were of major importance for Macedonia: his rule ended the civil wars which had devastated the region along with the northern parts of Greece. D. examines all inscriptions either honouring Augustus or undertaken on his initiative. This impressive survey of the evidence suggests that the image of the new *princeps* was very present in many Macedonian cities.

The end of the study could have benefited from a chapter drawing conclusions and summing up the salient results of these complex topics. Instead, D. concludes with an epilogue on a rather singular subject, the famous inscription from Kalindoia.

A further weakness of the study is the lack of clear definitions for constitutional terms. For example, D. uses the term 'protectorate' for the status of Macedonia after the defeat at Pydna, but never defines it. D. himself admits that its 'Wesen [ist] schwer in Begriffe zu fassen', which raises the question: what knowledge do we then gain from using terms that cannot be defined?

Nevertheless, D.'s study delivers a profound analysis of a period in Macedonian history that has not been the focus of most modern research. His meticulous collection and interpretation – in particular of the scarce epigraphic evidence – makes this work a valuable starting point for further studies on Roman Macedonia.

University of Berne

Christian Körner

E.C. De Sena and C. Timoc (eds.), *Romans in the Middle and Lower Danube Valley, 1st Century BC–5th Century AD: Case Studies in Archaeology, Epigraphy and History*, BAR International Series 2882, BAR Publishing, Oxford 2017, iii+120 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1611-6

This book presents the proceedings of the international conference 'Bridging the Danube: and Roman Occupation and Interaction in the Middle and Lower Danube Valley, First–Fifth Centuries AD', held in Timișoara in April 2014. The aim of the conference was to discuss and compare the research methods and results of scholars from several countries in studying the role of the Danube as a vector of cultural interaction during the Early and Late Roman period. While not all the papers answer this question, their geographical scope is the Middle and Lower Danube. The volume includes eleven studies, treating the Roman provinces of Dacia and Upper and Lower Moesia.

Alexandru Berzovan and Cătălin Borangic (pp. 3–12) discuss the Dacian fortification system in the Danube Valley before the Roman conquest, pointing out that the Dacians built a solid fortification system on the Danube Gorge as a preventive reaction in order to respond to the coming of Rome to the region. Their final observation, that the professional warriors who lived in these fortifications slowed the Roman advance in the region, is partially true: at the beginning and in the first half of the 1st century AD, the Romans had less interest in the area of the Dacian kingdom (the Banat and Transylvania).

Agnieszka Tomas (pp. 13–22) presents the pre-Roman settlements in the hinterland of Novae. Late Iron Age finds in the Roman military camp of Novae prompted the question of who manufactured them. The hypothesis is that these people initially lived in small settlements on both sides of the Danube and were displaced after the Roman conquest and merged with the inhabitants of the *canabae* and *vici*.

Tomasz Dziurdzik (pp. 23–32) analyses the functions and the transformations of the *equites Dalmatae* in defending the Danubian border in Late Roman times. He notices that changes of weaponry and the deployment of the troops were adopted to respond to new types of attack at the frontier. The study of Olivera Ilić (pp. 33–43) concerning food storage centres for the Roman army in Moesia Superior is based mostly on archaeological information: in his opinion, judging by the size of the storage buildings, much grain had to be imported. Snežana Golubović (pp. 45–51) discusses the use of amphorae in burials at Viminacium: she concludes that such graves indicate wealthy persons, but their ethnicity still remains under question.

Two studies are dedicated to social analysis of funerary monuments in Dacia and the Moesiae. Ioana and Lucian-Mircea Mureșan (pp. 53–60) consider the practical aspects of Roman funerary law in Upper and Lower Moesia. Such formulas (like the surface of the sepulchral place) appeared only in the 1st century AD, and for Latin inscriptions the

funerary formulas were the same as those in other Latin-speaking provinces (Dalmatia and Pannoniae, for example). Mariana Balaci Crînguș and Cătălin Balaci (pp. 91–95) deal with demographic interpretations of the funerary monuments at Drobeta. It should be mentioned that M. Minicius Symphorus is not an *August(?)* (p. 92), but an *augustalis* of Drobeta: his status is that of a freedman, like other *augustales*. The authors seem unaware that the population of Greek origin may have come from Lower Moesia, a province strongly connected with Drobeta and with southern and south-western Dacia in the 2nd century AD.

Oleg Alexandrov (pp. 83–90) proposes a survey of the ethnic origins of Roman soldiers in Lower Moesia. In my opinion, the problem is too complex to be treated in only a few pages, even if the author focuses his analysis just on funerary monuments. Moreover, a lot of important texts attesting soldiers or veterans from Ancyra or other Eastern provinces (especially from Troesmis, the camp of the *legio V Macedonica*) have been ignored. The origin of soldiers and the recruitment periods are correctly interpreted, but they are not explained (for example, the massive enlistments from the Eastern provinces during Trajan's Parthian wars or Hadrian's war in Judaea).

Other papers are devoted to the Roman fortification system on the Danube. Bogdan Condurățeanu's study (pp. 61–82) on modern cartography, interpreting Pamfil Polonic's manuscripts on the Roman sites along the Lower Danube, proves that this 19th-century topographer had correctly identified these settlements and forts. Emil Jęczmienowski's survey of Roman fortifications in the Middle Danube in the first period of late antiquity (pp. 97–106) shows that the new defensive tactics deployed on the border determined a change in fortress construction (smaller, but better fortified). In the same time, the old fortifications continued to be used, but adjusted to the new situation.

The last study, by Kamen Dimitrov (pp. 107–20), initially proposes a comparative discussion of imperial and official portraiture in Novae. However, even we could assume that the depiction of official persons in Novae follows the same standards used in the rest of the province, the historical conclusions are missing.

Briefly, the present volume is useful in the respect of the interculturalisation arising from the coming of Rome to the Middle and Lower Danube. However, as I have shown above, some issues are insufficiently or superficially treated.

'Alexandru Ioan Cuza' University of Iași

Lucrețiu Mihailescu-Bîrliba

N. Dietrich, *Das Attribut als Problem: Eine bildwissenschaftliche Untersuchung zur griechischen Kunst*, Image and Context 17, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Munich/Boston 2018, xiii+384 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-049100-5/ISSN 1868-4777

The 'attribute' is a neglected detail of art history, but the author, Nikolaus Dietrich, creates mystery by finding the multitude of varieties of attribute confusing, rather than understanding that the unifying virtue of 'attributes' is simply the function of 'identifying' certain unique categories of being. Instead, he stresses the lack of clarity about its 'intention' and 'extension'; the real declaration of intellectual bankruptcy comes in the middle (pp. 188–89) when D. announces that the role of attributes (or their lack) is to turn interpretation over to the 'observer' – as if this had not been appreciated by both the artists and the art historians whose work was based on this very premise.

Unconscious of what has been done – as revealed in *Teil II* – D. begins by skipping a step: rather than setting the scene, he explains in advance, in each case, that we have Heracles, Athena, Zeus, Aphrodite, Ares, etc., and that the relevant attribute is lying either in the hands of the actor or in the general surroundings, somehow making an issue of the relationship and use of the attribute. Rather than observing and exploring what attributes are and how they work, he claims in one case that the artist has omitted the sword of Heracles (p. 74) – but the hilt is clearly visible (p. 75)! In a celebrated example, the identity of Zeus (pp. 79–81) is assumed because D. presumes a lightning bolt which is not preserved and cannot be observed – and indeed a trident could be argued, shifting us to Poseidon. Elsewhere, what is obviously a dove is interpreted as an eagle (pp. 86–87) – because D. has already taken the lightning-bolt as identifying Zeus. And this makes the centrality of the identifying role of the attribute evident – yet it is hardly discerning scholarship.

Only later (*Teil III*), is the question about how attributes identify posed – but D. strangely jumps to scenes reflecting what he absurdly describes as an early phase characterised by the ‘renunciation’ of attributes, rather than accepting that attributes were gradually integrated into Greek Art. Thus, in the Judgment of Paris (pp. 173–77), his position on the renunciation of an attribute in one early work is absolutely certain, and evidently central to his argument: p. 173: ‘iconographically not distinguished at all’; p. 174: ‘no distinctive attribute’; p. 188: ‘iconographically completely undistinguishable goddesses’; p. 192: ‘iconographically undifferentiated goddesses’; p. 197: ‘without any iconographic distinctions at all between the various goddesses’; p. 203: ‘an iconographic differentiation of the goddesses is still completely avoided’. Yet in precisely this scene, there is a clearly visible attribute: he disregards Athena characterised with the victor’s wreath (hinting at the bribe proffered to Paris also visible on a contemporary Etruscan parallel from Cerveteri in the British Museum). In art history, this reveals a stage where the context allows an attribute to distinguish the scene and the goddess. Significantly, it is not Athena’s weapons as later, yet it characterises the scene and identifies Athena. However, since it is not what he sought, D. cannot see it, and conveniently it is only later that he dismisses this conceptual approach (pp. 234–37).

Incredibly, he is nevertheless justly disturbed that only Athena (*sic*) is marked in the later, but still early scenes of the Judgment of Paris, without realising that this development itself showcases the context and the development. Just how wrong his thinking is only becomes clear when he identifies Aphrodite as ‘the heroine of the story’ (p. 180) – whereas for the Attic painters, it was Athena who oversaw the defeat of Troy, bringing Helen and Odysseus home. D. almost realises this when noting that Athena usually takes the position in the middle, but then confirms that his object is to demonstrate the ‘problem’ of attributes as, in his opinion, this central position ‘cannot be explained in view of the narrative context’ (p. 186).

From there, D. goes on to treat a number of Archaic statues (pp. 204–10) where the attributes cannot be missed – but are all vaguely unsatisfying and bear no resemblance to the other recognised attributes. Then, for some reason, he erroneously takes the calf offering as an attribute of some person (pp. 211–16). Attributes – names, helmets, sceptres, etc. – are familiar objects associated with the divine (for the proof, cf. pp. 242–47, where the goddess is paramount, and the human incidental), enabling us to recognise ‘unusual

figures with special qualities' (p. 236). Thus the idea of vague 'attributes' distinguishing the ordinary is aberrant: although stressing the observer, he himself cannot see or think systematically

The author's logic – twisted, circular, unfounded and myopic – is of no help in recognising the real problems; instead, he creates problems, pretending they are real. In this case, one error is generally treating Greek (and mostly just Attic) material, but then including Roman material almost indiscriminately (pp. 28–32, 165–69, 243–45), while neglecting Egyptian, Levantine, Mesopotamian, Etruscan, Christian and Buddhist material entirely: including Rome alone only confuses. Restricting himself to Greek Art (pp. XI–XII), was unhappy as the phenomenon was part of a cognitive evolutionary process which began in the Palaeolithic and lives on in comics and Marcel Duchamp.

In this sense, the development of the attribute of the Greek world – which D. fails to grasp – was merely a kind of turning point. In Egypt, 'symbols' such as the horns-with-solar-disk usually associated with Hathor could be found with other deities – and were thus not identifying, but merely markers of divinity. Like the Greeks, the Babylonians were more intent on specifying, and the Romans followed. In Buddhist and Christian art, fixed attributes render identification easy, at least for the initiated.

By taking and misrepresenting only part of the story, D. has actually not only made numerous errors, but also avoided relevant questions. Like Paris, D. refuses the victory through wisdom promised by Athena, and chooses instead ephemeral conceit. However, the book is not a misguided tragedy so much as a highly successful satire of narrow-minded narcissistic modern scholarship.

Northeast Normal University, Changchun

David A. Warburton

M.P. Donato and V. Jolivet (eds.), *Eredità Etrusca: Intorno al singolare caso della tomba monumentale di Grotta Scalina (Viterbo)*, Archeologia Città e Territorio 5, Davide Ghaleb Editore, Rome 2018, 161 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-88-85261-22-8

The geology of the Tuscan landscape lends itself to rock-cutting. As an architectural technique, rock-cutting is a fundamental part of Etruscan tomb construction but the same technique has been used for other purposes in later periods of Tuscan history. In the case of Grotta Scalina in the Viterbese, both Etruscan and later episodes of rock-cutting occurred at the same site and give rise to the theme of this book, which examines the encounter between the Etruscan heritage and the later use of the Tuscan countryside.

The book was inspired by the official rediscovery of the Grotta Scalina in 1998 and the subsequent exploration and excavation of the site by joint French and Italian teams between 2010 and 2017. The Grotta Scalina is one of the largest rock-cut Etruscan tombs of the Hellenistic period. Its monumentality and scale can be compared with the better-known example of the Tomba Lattanzi at Norchia, which offers the only local architectural parallel for the Grotta Scalina tomb. The monumental features of both tombs date to the last quarter of the 4th century BC. The site at Grotta Scalina had an earlier phase of use in the Archaic period, a couple of centuries of interments and frequentation in Hellenistic times, and long afterlife of reuse in the Mediaeval to Early Modern periods. The present volume



documents each of these phases in turn with a particular emphasis on the architectural parallels for the monumental tomb and its reuse in later periods.

The Archaic period is represented by two burials, which may be dated to the last quarter of the 6th century BC. Although heavily disturbed, it seems likely that one belonged to an adult male and the other to an adult female. One of the tombs contained a flint blade of probable Neolithic date, suggesting the ancient curation of a found artefact.

The monumental phase of the tomb may be associated perhaps with the reuse of the tomb by the same Etruscan family or at least the heritage of previous burials was part of the attraction of this particular site in the Hellenistic period. The remains of three skeletons date to this period. In total, seven individuals were buried in the chamber of the Archaic tomb, two of which were of Mediaeval date. A child burial of Roman Imperial date was found in the *dromos* of Tomba 2. There were more interments that have left no skeletal remains as a total of eight sarcophagi and an urn were found in Tomba 1 and there was space for four more. Like so many sites in Etruria, and in Italy more generally, Grotta Scalina has been subject to the depredations of clandestine excavators. Tomba 2 contained a further four sarcophagi. The burials and sarcophagi are well documented in Jolivet and Lovergne's contribution to the volume while the osteological remains are examined in the chapter by Amicucci, Catalano and Jolivet.

Due to the long subsequent history of the site, its architecture has been radically altered and remodelled through the ages. This makes the preliminary reconstruction of the complex presented in Fig. 40 particularly valuable. The chapter of the book by Ambrosini deals with the architectural prototypes and parallels for the monumental façade and structure of the Hellenistic tomb. It seems that the architects of the tomb, or perhaps their patrons, were looking eastwards for inspiration, mediating the rock-cut tombs of Caria and Lycia through the palace architecture of the Macedonian kingdom.

Briquel's chapter is more speculative in nature and links the old idea that the origins of Roman historiography lie in the *carmina convivalia*, mentioned by Cato in the *Origines* (*ap. Cic. Tusc.* 1. 2), with the depiction of a *liber linteus* at the Tomb of the Reliefs at Cerveteri to argue that the Etruscans shared this custom and sang tales of their heroic ancestors at funerary banquets.

What elevates this book from being a well-handled report on a site with a long afterlife is the seriousness of the treatment given to the use and frequentation of the site in the Mediaeval to Early Modern periods. As Pesante explores, the site was home to a small community of religious hermits in the 8th–13th centuries. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the site attracted pilgrims who associated features of the Etruscan architecture of the monumental tomb with the Porta Sancta and the Scala Sancta that featured prominently in Jubilee celebrations and religious devotions at Rome.

The second half of the book puts the evidence of later reuse of Grotta Scalina in the wider context of the encounter with the Etruscan past by Mediaeval, Renaissance and Early Modern residents and travellers in Tuscany. In this section, there are papers that examine Templar graffiti in the Bartoccini Tomb at Tarquinia; the rediscovery of the Etruscan world in the Mediaeval and Renaissance periods and the emergence of serious scholarship on Etruscan culture; the terracotta medals left by the mystic and polymath Giovanni Francesco Tinti at various sites in Tuscany; the local tradition of rock-cut architecture from antiquity to the pre-modern era; and the contrasting stories of 16th–18th-century pilgrimage provided

by written accounts and the material remains left behind by the Faithful. Together these contributions provide a variegated picture of the later engagement with and appropriation of the Etruscan landscape. The responses to the past were varied. Some were simply a matter of practical reuse of existing sites but some suggest reverence for the ancient dead. Others yet smack of superstition and fear of a pagan past, which eventually gave way to a desire for knowledge and the beginning of understanding.

As with most collections, not all of the papers are of equal importance but all are worthy of inclusion. The book does have some minor infelicities. For example, there are English summaries provided for each chapter but it would have been wise to have had a native speaker check them prior to publication. Nonetheless, it would be unfair to focus on such minor shortcomings. This commendable collection gives a rich sense of later responses to the monumental tomb at Grotta Scalina and the Etruscan past in general; the publisher also deserves credit for producing an attractive and well-illustrated volume that retails for just 25 euros. The combination of a thorough site report and the contextualised exploration of its later usage makes this an important read for anyone interested in Etruscan culture and its reception.

National University of Ireland, Galway

Edward Herring

W. Ebel-Zepezauer, J. Pape and B. Sicherl (eds.), *Paderborn „Saatalental“ Besiedlung der Eisenzeit und römischen Kaiserzeit*, Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 281, Institut für Archäologische Wissenschaften der Universität Bochum, Fach Ur- und Frühgeschichte, Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2016, 291 pp., illustrations, 160 plates, 3 loose plans. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-7749-4010-9

East Westphalia is perhaps best known among archaeologists as the area where many attempt(ed) to locate the so-called Battle of Teutoburg Forest in AD 9. However, the region has more to tell, and the collected papers resulting from an excavation of an area with more than 76,000 m<sup>2</sup> in the 'Saatalental', located to the west of Paderborn, from 1998 to 2003 reflect the ongoing discussions about continuities/discontinuities and local, regional and global interaction from the Late Iron Age to the Roman period. It was conducted by LWL-Archaeology for Westphalia, Bielefeld branch, and the city of Paderborn which both organised professional and non-professional staff (the latter under a 'job creation' programme). The excavators recorded many different traces of rural forms of settlement; and the articles, in fact short forms of MA theses submitted at the University of Bochum, deal with different categories of finds, i.e. ceramics, building structures, coins, imported wares and archaeobotanical evidence. The metallurgical analysis is excluded.

In every detail, Katharina Malek and Kerstin Winterscheid discuss the ceramics of the Early and Middle Iron Age (pp. 33–95) and of the transitional period to early Roman Imperial times (pp. 97–184), respectively. In both cases, the small impact of supra-regional forms stands out, which is particularly interesting with regard to the obvious slight influence of Roman presence on this settlement. Christian Horn focuses on the building structures (pp. 185–224). He shows that the settlement in the 'Saatalental' was never organised into a village-like structure but rather consisted of individual subsistence farmsteads which produced little surplus for a cross-regional market

Bernhard Sicherl comments on the coin finds, especially the 'barbaric' imitations of the wide-spread Augustan Gaius-Lucius-types (pp. 225–36). He explains their distribution and the missing larger diffusion of 'real' Roman denarii to the East, and the similar function of both issues, i.e. not in terms of trade but as honour-gifts within an army context: west of the Rhine within the imperial army, east of the Rhine within troops led by local leaders, who could strengthen their authority through these donations. Primary and secondary use of coins (and other forms of 'money') as well as the possible melting down of coins due to their precious metal should be considered as further factors, among others, before concluding too quickly that it was solely a gift-giving practice. Particularly useful is Sicherl's list of 'barbaric' imitations of Augustan denarii in north-western Germany, east of the Rhine (pp. 234–35). Jürgen Pape briefly reviews two bronze bells of the Roman Imperial period (pp. 237–41). Their use in a non-Roman context remains unclear, although he prefers an apotropaic function similar to attested Roman custom. Finally, Ralf Urz provides his results of an archaeobotanical analysis of the excavated area (pp. 243–87). The diversity of fruits and the continuity of cultivated plants reflect once again the subsistence economy and the small influence of the Roman presence which, on the other hand, could also draw scant supplies from these local farm settlements.

In sum, the Paderborn 'Saatal' site appears to have been only little integrated into the 'globalised' world of antiquity that is nowadays promoted by many scholars, and thus the results provide a necessary counter-balance to often too-enthusiastic calls and claims. However, as comparable excavations and analyses are rare so far, one still cannot draw a complete picture of the impact of Germanic tribal movement and Roman presence from these results. As one author rightly puts it, '... die Archäologie [verrät] nichts über die Gedanken und Gefühle der Menschen' (p. 224).

Northeast Normal University, Changchun

Sven Günther

C.A. Faraone, *The Transformation of Greek Amulets in Roman Imperial Times*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2018, xv+486 pp., illustrations, 8 pp. of colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-0-8122-4935-4

Scholars of ancient Graeco-Roman magic and religion are well familiar with the name of Christopher Faraone and his extensive, often ground-breaking, research. The present volume may be regarded as a summary of his many years of work on amulets. As such, it is broad as well as profound, reflecting the scholarship of the person who produced it. The 262 pages of text are followed by 116 pages of notes containing a wealth of information. F.'s clear and accessible prose provides pleasant reading for both experts and students, while the copious endnotes allow the former to expand on issues that the latter may find superfluous. In fact, specialists may like to read this volume twice: first as an agreeable general study, and once again in order to retrieve specific information. The volume also contains several appendices summarising recipes for amulet production found in magic manuals, for example the *PGM* and the *Testament of Solomon*, or in medical writings such as those of Marcellus of Bordeaux. Furthermore, it includes a glossary of authors and one of foreign terms, both of which will be particularly useful to a student audience.

The 'amulets' in focus are defined as objects carried on the bodies of humans or animals, or hung upon locations they were meant to protect (p. 5). The term 'Greek' found in the title is more challenging to define, as it does not refer to a geographical location but rather to a combination of geography, culture and language; in F.'s words: 'a useful heuristic ... category for discussing most of the amulets used in the eastern Mediterranean from at least the Hellenistic period down to the end of late antiquity' (p. 10). Consequently, the subject matter covers an immense quantity of objects (such as gems, metal lamellae, jewellery) and texts (lapidaries, magical treatises, anecdotes by ancient authors), etc., stemming from a vast chronological and geographical background.

The volume is divided into three parts, 'Archaeology', 'Images' and 'Text', each of three chapters. Their subsequent internal division, however, is less self-evident, although it does follow a predetermined design. It might have been easier for the readers if the logic underlying this design had been clarified better. As it stands, some decisions may appear confusing. For example, Section 2.1 discusses 'Amulets Found in Graves', while the next section moves on to amulets in the form of 'Weapons, Seashells, and Animals'. Some of these, of course, have been found in graves, so it is unclear what generated this division. Nevertheless, F. attempts to place some order in the sea of sub-themes that his topic entails. Thus, Part I purports to look at the distribution, shape and media of Greek amulets, although the chapters frequently intersect with one another, and while some sections in the chapter titled 'Distribution' deal with the wearers of the amulets, others discuss their form. Similarly, the chapter labelled 'Media' inevitably touches upon the shape of amulets, not just the materials they were made of. In fact, F. employs Part I to lay a broad foundation concerning amulet forms and use, including interesting gender-related aspects. As such, it could be used beautifully as an introduction to the topic of ancient Greek amulets, even independently from the rest of the book.

In Part II, 'Images', the focus is on figures believed to be powerful, with or without the addition of text. Here, the chapters look at 'Action figures', such as the 'all suffering eye' being attacked from all directions or Heracles performing various acts, 'Domestic guardians', like the Triple Hecate and Mercury (the latter being more of a wealth-purveyor), and last of all, 'Pharaonic and Ptolemaic Gods'. The latter chapter is of particular interest when dealing with the topic of amulet transformation, demonstrating the shift in ancient Pharaonic imagery during the later Hellenistic period and its further reflection in Imperial times.

The last part of the volume, 'Texts', dives into the most important (and fascinating) aspect of the transformation of Greek amulets in Roman Imperial times: the addition of written words to a previously silent medium. F. convincingly suggests that many of the surveyed objects were initially activated by oral utterances (intelligible or not), and only in later periods did these sounds begin to be inscribed on their surface. This part begins with a chapter on 'Prayers', which contains an excellent classification of such cases, followed by a chapter on 'Incantations', a term often covering similar fields (the author places biblical Psalms under incantations). While the distinction is not always clear-cut, this chapter nicely complements the preceding one. The last chapter in this part, 'Framing Speech Acts', focuses on two supporting devices of the previously discussed practices: exorcisms and *historiolae*.

The volume closes with a section titled 'Conclusions and Further Trajectories', which skilfully summarises the main notions and arguments put forward earlier. It is here that the

author looks methodically at the spatial location of amulets, their placement on human bodies, their aims, producers and users.

As mentioned earlier, there is often an overlap in the subjects covered by the three parts. Thus, someone interested in the iconography and shape of Greek amulets cannot limit themselves to Part II, but ought to look at the entire volume (for instance, in order to describe how amulets may have looked like when they did not survive in the archaeological record, F. makes recourse to vase-painting or sculpture: pp. 28–40). The same holds for textually inscribed amulets that are profusely discussed in all three parts, not merely under ‘Texts’. This brings me to one of my few criticisms. Given the volume’s broad scope, and the necessary interplay between its various parts, a good subject index would have been extremely useful. However, the index leaves a lot to be desired. I could not understand the logic behind having an entry for ‘Budapest’ or ‘Spain’ (each mentioned once in the book) but no entries for gold, silver and other metals, plants such as laurel, or other *materia magica* mentioned in numerous instances. Similarly, the wide array of aims and ailments for which the amulets were meant, such as migraine or epilepsy, are missing from the index.

This is a book about processes of change, but also about stability. While its self-confessed aim is to look at the transformation of Greek amulets in a particular period, mainly the first three centuries AD (p. 11), the volume demonstrates the continuity – and, to a certain extent, universality – of concepts concerning disease, fertility, sexuality or envy. In fact, F. stresses that the transformation is often one of form and not content, as when orally performed prayers and incantations begin to be inscribed on the surface of amulets. Furthermore, when acclamations regarding the power of a divine entity (‘Hecate subdues!’) appear together with an image of that divinity, the ‘combination of image and text seems to be a miniature version of an oral performance that could have easily taken place in a sanctuary before the cult image of the god’ (p. 184). This continuity relates to more than a chronological timeline. It is also a continuity in essence, between religion, ancient medicine/science and magic, all of which are beautifully represented in the amulets. As such, F.’s new book is bound to be of interest to scholars and students from all of these fields.

Utrecht University

Ortal-Paz Saar

B. Forschner and C. Willems (eds.), *Acta Diurna: Beiträge des IX. Jahrestreffens Junger Romanistinnen und Romanisten*, Philippika 105, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017, vii+192 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-10737-2/ISSN 1613-5628

In the last decade, the field of legal history has gained new momentum and self-confidence through finding its own path besides the traditional systematic legal way of understanding and interpreting historical material. Hence, Romanists have opened the Pandectistic closed legal system and integrated the various ‘turns’ in (ancient) history into their methodology, thus are ready to communicate with historians on new ground.<sup>1</sup> The ten collected German papers mirror a variety of approaches to legal topics.

<sup>1</sup> See the overview of Roman Law Studies within the survey of ancient law: S. Günther, ‘Roman Law: Opening the System’. *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 33.2 (2018), 267–82.

Two papers address the growing interest in the history of the subject. Hans-Dieter Spengler reconstructs the life and work of the jurist Christian Friedrich von Glück at Erlangen University in the 18th/19th century (pp. 1–30). He became particularly known for his (too) extensive ‘concise’ commentary on the *Digests*, and exemplarily lived, and spread, the spirit of a politically engaged citizen with profound (legal) knowledge. Pierangelo Buongiorno describes Eduardo Volterra’s research on imperial constitutions, and interest in collecting the extant *senatus consulta*, during Fascism (pp. 43–56). He continued his work, having been formally expelled from university, with the help of friends and even of those who complied with the regime. Buongiorno is able to show that a circle of researchers still communicated and worked on their projects in the background, based on scientific ethics and morality – which provided a healthy basis for a new beginning after the Second World War.

Particularly interesting for socio-economic history are the three contributions by Gergely Deli, Aleksander Grebieniow and Constantin Willems. Deli convincingly reinterprets the complicated case of Saufeius (*Dig.* 19. 2. 3) against the possible historical background (pp. 57–70). Saufeius’ delivery of joint goods to one of the participating merchants before ship-wreck in the harbour of departure, and the following but failed accusation by the pretermitted merchants is explained within economic frames; for sailors could make huge profit by violating such service contracts and deceitfully selling the goods with a high margin. This was prevented by the *actio oneris aversei* which laid fines on such deceitful behaviour. However, it did not apply to the case of Saufeius who acted according to rules. Grebieniow deals with the *peculium duplicis iuris*, i.e. the financial assets of a slave who was under the power of two masters with different rights in him (pp. 119–37). Since such a complicated financial situation, with different sources of a slave’s *peculium*, often remained unclear to business partners, jurists intensively discussed and regulated the balancing of financial obligations between the masters, and emphasised the necessity of trust (*fides*) towards the external commercial counterparts, thus protecting this important economic base. Regarding testamentary law, Willems analyses a passage of Pliny’s *Letters* (4. 10) where Pliny advises an *amicus* about a testament of Sabina, in which a slave was not formally manumitted but received a *legatum* (pp. 175–89). Even though they both could have benefited as heirs from insisting on the invalidity of manumission and legacy, Pliny suggested that his coheir agree to keeping to the intention of the testator. Willems rightly points out the social frameworks that ‘forced’ Pliny to act in this way, and to present himself as a morally reliable member of the elite. One might add that he thereby resembles the emperor as keeper of the balance between law, justice and morality, of course at a lower level but clearly in the form of *imitatio principis*.<sup>2</sup>

Social practice and expectations also form the underlying theme of three other papers. Women and their exemplary behaviour are in the focus of Nunzia Donadio (pp. 71–98). Her study of chances and limits of women’s actions and moral behaviour in times of war is not primarily an analysis of legal sources – she has but a few words on the generally

<sup>2</sup> On the possibilities of senatorial action and their social profile in Imperial Rome, where the political sphere was partly centralised on the emperor, see S. Page, *Der ideale Aristokrat. Plinius der Jüngere und das Sozialprofil der Senatoren in der Kaiserzeit* (Heidelberg 2015).



restricted status of women, and does not comprehensively describe the situation of women in Roman law (p. 71) – but touches on the moral frames in which women were judged in antiquity.<sup>3</sup> Benedikt Forschner rebuts the idea of a legal obligation of the bride's father to provide a dowry (*dos*) (pp. 99–118). While hypotheses of legal enforcement of *dotes* in Severan or even already in Augustan times are based on conjectures, he explains, with solid arguments, the most important and widely discussed passage (*Dig.* 23. 2. 19) as a specific regulation for provinces where different legal spheres collided. Thus even in Justinian times, he argues, the provision of a *dos* remained a social but not a legal obligation. Christine Lehne-Gstreinthaler tackles the question of how insanity was regulated in Roman law (pp. 139–58). Though, for instance, *furiosi* often appear in legal sources, she rightly emphasises that such cases formed merely a constructed pattern for jurists to discuss their decisions and do not necessarily reflect the frequent handling of such matters in court, as incapacity was mainly not an issue of law but of social and moral behaviour in a society based on close social bonds within group networks.

The remaining two articles are concerned with topics from a merely legal perspective. On the one hand, Stefano Barbati presents an overview of regulations concerning alluvium (*adluvium*) (pp. 31–42): it is not surprising that the different status of possession and land-use also affected whether such new land came under the ownership, possession or usufruct of the farmer. On the other hand, Andreas Schilling traces the historical development of the (presumed) testamentary will of a deceased person, from the famous *causa Curiana* to so-called post-Classical law, and the change from a formal to a material perspective on that issue (pp. 159–73).

All in all, it is a typical edited volume, but one that warmly invites ancient historians to cross the border into legal territory, which should not be new land in the 21st century.

Northeast Normal University, Changchun

Sven Günther

S. Gimatzidis, M. Pieniążek and S. Mangaloğlu-Votruba (eds.), *Archaeology Across Frontiers and Borderlands: Fragmentation and Connectivity in the North Aegean and Central Balkans from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age*, *Oriental and European Archaeology [OREA] 9*, Austrian Academy of Sciences Press/Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2018, 455 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-7001-8029-6

Der nördliche Ägäis- inkl. (Nordwest-/West-)Kleinasien und der zentrale Balkanraum vom Schwarzen Meer bis an die Adria – im Wesentlichen das metallreiche Thrakien/Gebiet der thrakischen und sonstigen altbalkanischen Stämme aus antiker griechischer Sicht, heute das Staatsgebiet der (NW-)Türkei, Griechenlands, Bulgariens, Nordmakedoniens, Albaniens, Bosniens, etc. – stellen in mehrerer Hinsicht eine bisher vernachlässigte Kontaktzone

<sup>3</sup> On the interesting question of how a jurist dealt with the exemplary story of Verginia by totally focusing on legal procedures and therefore omitting the woman's fate, see S. Günther, 'Disappeared Females? Pomponius and His Narrative of the Legal History of Rome', *Sa-ch'ong (Historical Journal of Korea University)* 91.5 (2017), 269–98.

besonders in Bezug auf die Spätbronze-, die Übergangs- und die Früheisenzeit dar.<sup>1</sup> In Fachkreisen bekannt dürften zumindest die Kastanas-Grabungen und die sensationellen Befunde vom Bergwerk Ada Tepe (s.u.) sein. Hier treffen sich Asien und Europa, hier überlappen sich ‚Hochkulturen‘ mit sog. prähistorischen Gebieten, hier treffen unterschiedliche Fachdisziplinen (sofern sie überhaupt unterschieden werden), namentlich die Klassische Archäologie, die Ur- und Frühgeschichte sowie die Alte Geschichte, aufeinander, die erst nach und nach die Trennung durch die politische Blockbildung und den Kalten Krieg sowie seine Nachwehen einerseits und die unterschiedliche Methodik andererseits überwunden haben. Umso hervorhebenswerter ist der hier vorgelegte Tagungsband, der 20 Beiträge internationaler, inter- und transdisziplinär arbeitender Fachwissenschaftler/innen vereinigt (inkl. Index). Die meisten waren Teilnehmer der 20. Konferenz der European Association of Archaeologists in Istanbul 2014. Von der häufigen Vereinnahmung, wenn nicht gar Manipulierung der Archäologie durch die einzelnen Nationen zu nationalistischen Identitätszwecken, ein Aspekt, der in einem Großteil der Beiträge kritisch thematisiert wird, distanzieren sich bereits im umfangreichen und exzellenten Vorwort die Herausgeber (S. 9–16, vgl. auch Anm. 8). Vielmehr war es ihr Anliegen, eine Brücke zu schlagen und Archäologen/innen, die in den angesprochenen Ländern tätig sind, zusammenzubringen, um sich übergreifend auszutauschen: transregionale Interaktion in der Gegenwart! Als übergreifende Fragestellungen und Leitlinien wurden formuliert: „How far artefacts or single archaeological phenomena (e.g. mortuary practice, domestic or public architecture) can contribute to the definition of past identities“; ferner: „a new discussion about the materiality of things and the dialectic with people that can potentially transform their function and symbolism in dynamic historical and cultural contexts“ (S. 11) sowie „our intention is to follow the postcolonial agenda on studies of material culture as well as beyond the colonial context of centre and periphery that has traditionally treated foreign artefacts – the ‘imports’ – as context-less items attesting to an abstract form of exchange usually called ‘trade’“ (S. 16). Diesen Ansprüchen wurde in vielerlei Hinsicht Genüge geleistet.

Thematisch befassen sich die Artikel außer mit der Wissenschaftsgeschichte zu Nordgriechenland und dem Zentralbalkanraum (S. Gimatzidis, S. 27–54) und Westkleinasien (S. Mangaloğlu-Votruba, S. 55–69; R. Vaessen, S. 71–92) sowie dem Abprüfen eingeführter theoretischer Ansätze in Bezug auf Austauschsituationen, hier gelabelt als ‚contact space‘ (Ph. Stockhammer, B. Athanassov, S. 93–112), mit verschiedenen Gesellschaftsformen und Kulturen, Austauschnetzwerken in Bezug auf Güter und Ideen, externen Einflüssen auf die Subsistenzwirtschaft, Siedlungsmustern, Wanderungsbewegungen, etc. (eine Kurzfassung der Beiträge: S. 17–21; zusätzlich wird jeder Aufsatz mit einem *abstract* eingeleitet und einer *conclusion* abgeschlossen). Regional bearbeiten die Kontribute ungefähr die a) nordöstliche und b) nordwestliche Ägäis sowie den c) östlichen, zentralen und d) westlichen Balkanraum, mit geographischen Überlappungen.

a) Um zumeist spätbronzezeitliche Siegel und Schmuckstücke (Karneol, Steatit, Knochen) aus dem Süden sowie lokale Nachahmungen, die Interaktionen anzeigen, z.T. in „cultural translation“, und die in Troia, Beşiktepe und Agios Dimitrios im griechischen Makedonien gefunden wurden, geht es bei M. Pieniążek (S. 113–37). – Besondere Beachtung verdient

<sup>1</sup> Überblick: B. Teržan, B. Hänsel und S. Gimatzidis, ‚Kontinentales Südosteuropa‘. In A.-M. Wittke (Hrsg.), *Frühgeschichte der Mittelmeerkulturen* (Stuttgart/Weimar 2015), 409–40.

die Grabung im bronzezeitlichen Residenz- (?) und Hafenort (?) Maydos-Kilisetepe an der Dardanellenküste der Gallipoli-Halbinsel, der sog. thrakische Chersonnesos – also an der Route zum Schwarzen Meer, mit einer mit Troia vergleichbaren kulturellen Sequenz, aber auch Neufunden (G. Sazcı, M. Başaran Mutlu, S. 139–57). – Die signifikanten Veränderungen in Südost-Thrakien (vgl. Karte S. 293) am Ende des 2. Jt., moderne Staaten übergreifend, nimmt D. Nenova in den Blick (S. 291–306). Vergleichbare Aspekte, anschaulich kartiert (vgl. z.B. S. 295: Verbreitung von Tell-Siedlungen und ‚Heiligtümern‘, S. 297, 299) führen zu „proposed cultural zones“ (S. 299) spätbronzezeitlicher (eher isolierter, aufgrund fehlender Südimporte bzw. eher mit dem westlich liegenden antiken Makedonien interagierender) thrakischer Gesellschaften. – Eine diachrone Übersicht der Interaktionen zwischen (Süd-)Thrakern und Griechen mit Hochzeiten in der Spätbronze- sowie vor allem ab der Eisenzeit – hier im Fokus (inkl. Kolonisation), basiert auf archäologischen und antiken Schriftquellen, auch zur Mythologie, bietet D. Tsiafaki (S. 219–41). Untersucht wurde die Präsenz von Griechen in Thrakien und von Thrakern in griechischen Gebieten. – Dagegen legt M. Damyanov ihr Augenmerk auf das (häufig ungesicherte) Aufeinandertreffen (Kohabitation, Kooperation bei Handel) von Thrakern und Griechen im Rahmen der ‚Griechischen Kolonisation‘ des 7./6. Jh. in der Thracia Pontica (S. 243–68).

b) Der nordwestliche Ägäisraum wird repräsentiert durch Überlegungen zu Transformationen und Formationen bei spätbronze-/früheisenzeitlichen (11.–Anfang 7. Jh.) Siedlungsmustern und Bestattungspraktiken im Gebiet des Thermäischen Golfs, Referenzort: Siedlung und Nekropole Toumba Thessaloniki/Therme, vgl. auch Karte S. 170 (K. Chavela, S. 159–86). – In achaimenidische Zeit des 6./5. Jh. datieren zwei unpublizierte Terrakottafragmente aus dem antiken Therme mit eingeritzten figürlichen Graffiti und kuriosen Schriftzeichen unterschiedlichster Herkunft (E. Kefalidou, I. Xydopoulos, S. 203–18). – Das archaische Austausch- bzw. Handelsverhältnis von griechisch geprägten Orten und dem makedonischen ‚Hinterland‘ wird aufgezeigt mittels Untersuchung der Verbreitung vor allem protokorinthischer und korinthischer Keramik und die Erkenntnis ihrer unterschiedlichen Funktionen in unterschiedlichen Umgebungen (E. Manakidou, S. 187–202).

c) Eine kritische Zusammenstellung der in der Fachliteratur definierten spätbronzezeitlichen archäologischen Kulturen (vgl. S. 322) und ihre (ungesicherte[n]) Chronologie(n) (S. 311) in Bulgarien verdankt sich T. Dzhanfezova (S. 307–32). Fazit: man baut auf neuere und interdisziplinär angelegte Feldarbeit als Ausgangspunkt für neue Diskussionen (S. 327), wie der Beitrag von E. Bozhinova (S. 333–57) zu unterschiedlichen Siedlungssystemen (Ebene oder Höhen) des 2.–1. Jt. in Bulgarien: „Settlements or Sanctuaries?“ mit den Schlüsselorten Philippopolis, Seuthopolis, etc. bzw. Ada tepe, Dragoyna, Kuşkaya, Gluhite kamani, Nebet tepe, Perperek u.a. – Dazurechnen kann man ebenfalls das interdisziplinäre Ada Tepe-Projekt (vgl. Karten S. 367, 377), das sich mit dem spätbronzezeitlichen Goldabbau in allen Facetten in den östlichen Rhodopen befasst (H. Popov, K. Nikov, S. 359–89). – Einen archäobotanisch basierten Ansatz bietet der Aufsatz von S.M. Valamoti, E. Gkatzogia, I. Hristova, E. Marinova-Wolff (S. 269–90), die Pflanzenreste von 20 archäologischen Fundplätzen (Ende 2. Jt.–Ende 4. Jh. v. Chr.; Karte: S. 270) Nordgriechenlands und des südlichen Bulgariens auswerteten, um regionale Gemeinsamkeiten, Unterschiede, Änderungen in Vegetation, Ernährung, Landwirtschaft und Import festzustellen.

d) Die letzten Abschnitte behandeln den Westbalkanraum. Die in der Einleitung ausgiebig diskutierte Frage nach dem Einsatz der Archäologie für politische Zwecke wird für die

‚Makedonische Frage‘ mittels zweier makedonischer frühbronzezeitlicher ‚archäologischer Kulturen‘ (Maliq; Armenochori = südwestlicher Balkanraum mit Albanien: Sovjan; vgl. Chronologietabelle S. 395; Karte S. 398) aufgegriffen (M. Gori, S. 391–410). – Ferner geht es zum einen um den Übergang von der Spätbronze- zur Früheisenzeit im Korçë Basin (französisch-albanischer Grabungsort: Sovjan mit neuen Resultaten) in Südostalbanien und dem modernen, politisch beeinflussten Konzept einer Illyrischen Kultur (T. Krapf, S. 411–25; Karte: S. 413; vgl. auch M. Gori), zum anderen verfolgt M. Gavranovic (S. 427–45) mit der Frage „No Group, no People?“ ebenfalls das Verhältnis von archäologischen Befunden zur ‚Schaffung‘ von (Kultur-)Gruppen (vgl. auch Karten S. 430, 436). Was, wenn sich wie hier im nördlichen Bosnien für die Spätbronze- und Früheisenzeit keine ausmachen lassen, weil z.B. schon innerhalb einer Gemeinschaft eine große Variationsbreite an Grabsitten zu beobachten ist? So möchte der Autor ‚Identität‘ eher als „overlapping, multi-layered and dynamic construct“ (S. 440 mit Anm. 100) verstehen, was nur bedingt im archäologischen Befund zu verfolgen ist.

*Across Frontiers and Borderlands*: mögen diesem ambitionierten, informativen Band, der beiträgt, eine eher unbekannte antike Region einem breiteren Nutzerkreis nahezubringen, weitere folgen.

Universität Tübingen

Anne-Maria Wittke

S. Günther, T. Mattern, R. Rollinger, K. Ruffing and C. Schäfer (eds.), *Marburger Beiträge zur Antiken Handels-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* 35, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2018, vi+265 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-86757-229-3/ISSN 1864-1415

This book, volume 35 in the *Marburger Beiträge* series, begins with a substantial paper by Louisa Thomas on the assassination of kings and successors in the Achaemenid empire. After a brief introduction she looks carefully into the succession of Darius I, calling it usurpation as the beginning of a dynasty. She considers the (obviously biased) account Darius himself gave on the monument at Behistun and the initial conflict with Bardiya as a ‘false’ monarch. Her next section (III) builds on this, the legitimisation of power and succession in the light of Achaemenid royal inscriptions. Section IV looks at accounts of royal assassinations in the sources for the Achaemenid empire after Darius I, the murder of Xerxes in 465 BC, including a cuneiform text from Babylon, giving the date and the bald statement ‘Xerxes – his son killed him’. Section V looks at the motivation of accounts of assassination of kings and successors in Greek and Roman literature. After this come the disputed successions and murders of successors, then investigation of intrigues and punishment of the perpetrators, followed by a final analysis.

This is a very full account, given that the available information is limited to the official royal pronouncements – which are obviously biased and partial – and the accounts in the classical literature where access to the actual facts is limited and reliance on rumour, gossip and popular hearsay inevitable.

In the next article Peter Kritzingers publishes a two-sided lead seal of unknown provenance and context put up for sale in an auction in January 2015. On one side is a male head, on the other side a monogram of the letters VE and RUC. Kritzingers convincingly

identifies this as the signature of Lucius Flavius Verucla, known from 100 lead ingots found in the cargo of a shipwreck discovered in 1989 in the Mediterranean off Saintes Maries de la Mer at the mouth of the Rhône and with the inscription L(uci) Flavi Veruclae plumb(um) Germ(anicum). Trace elements in the lead of these ingots showed that they did not come from Spain (as did amphoras also found in the wreck) but from mines east of the Rhine boundary of the Roman empire. Interestingly, the fourth article in this volume of the Marburger Beiträge, Phillip Altmeppen on early Roman enclosures in Germany concerning settlement locations and roads of different categories includes a map showing the find-spots of similar lead ingots discovered in the north Sauerland, that is the area of the river valleys of the Lippe and Ruhr east of the Rhine. Kritzinger looks carefully at the evidence for mines in Germany east of the Rhine and the ownership of the mines themselves, the involvement of Augustus in this trade, and the links between trader and producer. The evidence this provides for Roman economic involvement in the area across the Rhine in 'free' Germany outside the Roman provinces shows that the frontier was not simply a hard impenetrable boundary.

Between these two papers Kerstin Dross-Krüpe discusses the renting of industrial or economic space in buildings in Roman Egypt, how it was organised by the landlords and their representatives, looking at the subject from the point of view of New Institutional Economics. She looks at the evidence in papyri for hire/renting agreements and the rent charged, with examples of different categories of structure and function. Rent of a bath building at Theognis in the Arsinoite Nome, for example, includes the provision of chaff as fuel, given the rarity of timber and so firewood in Egypt.

Pascal Warnking with a paper that announces itself 'Lakritos? Schuldig!' (Lakritos? Guilty!) looks at Demosthenes' speech Against Lakritos (speech 35). This was a complex case involving a loan to finance a trading voyage to the Black Sea, where specific requirements had been laid down concerning what the trading involved, and where on the return of the merchant ship it was discovered that these terms had not been observed. He looks at the provision in Athens of a dedicated system of specialised trading courts, and the economics of the trade implied in the original contract. He calculates what the different costs might have been and the amount of profit which would have been realised. This particular case was complicated by the fact that one of the original lenders had died. The argument is that Lakritos, his brother, had inherited his estate and therefore his financial responsibilities. 'Guilty' is perhaps a misleading term to apply to Lakritos here since (in English law at least) this would have been a civil case of financial responsibility rather than a criminal trial of innocence or guilt. This is a useful paper, especially for the wider financial possibilities the case raises.

Finally, Patrick Reinard continues his investigation into the use and significance of terms defining value in Greek papyri from Egypt, his third paper on his series "on the value of things". The terms he discusses are δευτέριος, πρωτεῖος, καλός, ἄξιος, ἀρχαῖος and ψιλός. The implication of these terms is generally straightforward but can have a particular emphasis – δευτέριος implies not merely second rate but also worthless. Ψιλός is used in, for example, contracts for the hire of property to define undeveloped areas as distinct from buildings. He looks at other examples of undeveloped or abandoned land.

E.M. Harris, D.M. Lewis and M. Woolmer (eds.), *The Ancient Greek Economy: Markets, Households and City-States*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2016, xiii+474 pp., illustrations. Cased: ISBN 978-1-107-03588-1. Paperback (2018): ISBN 978-1-108-45617-3

This volume of conference essays confronting the economies of ancient Greece offers coherent but varying approaches to grasping what markets did and how they were understood, and how we can understand them: Neo-Institutional Economics and Polanyi all appear.

In her interpretation of 'agricultural production ... in Hellenistic Greece' (pp. 187–203) Evi Margaritis adopts Halstead's proposals about pulses and fallowing. Apparently, the increasing pressure of policy-induced market forces pushing commerce in the Hellenistic era had knock-on effects on the efficiency of small-scale farming – but only late in Greek history.

In the opposite sense, in discussing Thasian amphorae, Chavdar Tzochet (pp. 230–53) correctly views the evidence as confirming the existence of an export-oriented economy in a market system. He concludes that the decline of the industry's market in the Black Sea may have been linked to political developments there and the 'decline of Athens as a commercial hub and provider of credit' in the late 3rd century BC (p. 250). More relevant are the increasing exports of grain from Egypt, destabilising export-oriented Black Sea grain production. Athenian commercial policy and Ptolemaic fiscal policy had a direct impact on the market-directed rise and decline of Thasian wine exports – and thus can be related to wine from Rhodes and Chios as well (Tania Panagou, pp. 207–29).

The policy of subsidising grain imports also meant that ship-owners and merchants needed something for the return voyage, and increased demand for Attic pottery in Italy as well as Thasian wine flowing into the Black Sea. In these economies, policies which can arguably be related to reducing transaction costs injured producers and consumers by offering market leverage to ship-owners and financiers, but also created market opportunities.

The importance of trade, markets and commodities is stressed (a) by Geoffrey Kron (pp. 356–80), who points out that in terms of per capita participation, markets were probably economically more important in some ancient Greek city-states than in Industrial Revolution England, (b) by David Lewis (pp. 381–98), who provides a concordance of commodities mentioned in 'Old Comedy', and (c) by Peter van Alfen (pp. 277–98), who demonstrates that the breadth of the spectrum of commodities on offer and purchased by individual clients on the Classical Aegean markets probably represents a level unparalleled until after the end of the Middle Ages in Europe.

In 'Industry Structure and income' in Athens (pp. 149–65) Peter Acton makes two important points about production when recognising that Classical Greece was a market economy. The first is that certain 'barriers to entry' – in this case mostly wealth/liquidity, law, geography and preferences – will have assured that those involved in certain types of production (whether shields, tanning, or mining-related activities) had an advantage as recognised producers, which assured that competition would face great difficulties if anyone aimed at entering their domain and overtaking them.

The second is that small workshops engaged in small-scale activities (such as pottery, textiles, commercial farming) were thinking at the margin, and obliged to seek minuscule economies of scale through specialisation based on products retailed at low prices – and any



and all competition will have had the same advantages and disadvantages. Wages and employment would be driven down (partly because of the employment of slaves, and partly through market pressure) – pushing those involved into a precarious existence on the edge of ruin. The result was familiar to Xenophon (*Vect.* 4. 6; here pp. 158–59): those competition drove out of business would be obliged ‘to become traders or retailers or money-lenders instead’.

On the scale of Classical Greece, it was possible to establish successful competition in different places (in pottery, for example, Rhodes, Corinth, Athens, Sicily) but within any given market, competition could hardly lead to market dominance; this was only achieved by those controlling industries protected by high barriers to entry. Here the market economy did serve clients and customers, but hardly the producers. The tendency for both entrepreneurs and wealthy land-owners to turn to trade and finance rather than industry was effectively inevitable.

It is striking that a great deal of the evidence (presented in this book) of efforts being made to encourage traders and merchants to aim at Athens seems to be interpreted in terms of deliberately aiming at ‘reducing transaction costs’ – and a lot of it seems to date to the 4th century (my interpretation of Mark Woolmer, pp. 66–89 – who also specifies and confirms that ‘Athens first honoured merchants’ in an era he identifies as ‘414–360 BCE’, p. 78). In this sense, Athens was not only a late-comer (in its own history) to ‘reducing transaction costs’ – but this occurred at a time when both land and workshop owners will have probably sought to remedy their own economic difficulties by turning increasingly to ‘trade and finance’. That the state obliged at this point suggests that market forces combined with the loss of empire to consolidate support for ‘trade and finance’ as the city declined. In this sense, the greatness of Athens should not be sought in commerce and support for trade so much as financial measures which determined activity in the market, leading to the results seen by Xenophon.

The competition between states in establishing and enforcing metric systems through coins should be more readily recognised as reflecting the tendency of ‘the Archaic and the Classical periods’, as Selene Psoma (pp. 90–115) specifies in the title of her contribution. This competition clearly increased transaction costs by creating far greater obstacles than the Near Eastern system where the metals were simply weighed.

In Athens, the rules of the market kept the wealthy in place and the small workshops poor: the registration of property stressed by Edward Harris (pp. 116–46) as part of the Neo-Institutional market re-enforcing mechanisms does not represent the ‘foundations of growth’ (part of the title of his contribution) so much as the entrenchment of that wealth which would be transformed into financial power in the fourth century.

Dealing with the market in the Classical and Hellenistic Aegean, van Alfen (pp. 277–98) convincingly suggests that there was a lot to purchase on the market in Athens – but allows that this might have been true of Carthage *et al.* as well. Although his detailed list includes a number of luxury products available already in the Bronze Age – where John Davies (pp. 299–315) stresses the nuance that incense could also serve people as well as gods in the Greek world – I think most of us would probably concur that the quantities and choice available on the market and the number of potential consumers will have been far greater in the monetised Aegean than earlier. Rather than presenting a range of commodities.

Cristina Carusi (pp. 337–55) delves into the issue of salt in the Classical Aegean, and observes that it seems to have been readily available in large quantities at low prices, due to the fact that it was easily harvested from the sea along the coasts. Carusi also suggests that anecdotal sources could support the argument that slaves purchased with salt were relatively cheap. By contrast, Lewis (pp. 316–36) suggests that slaves in Greece in general were quite cheap and thereby reveals that they implicitly had a strong impact on the production of commodities for sale. Their attractiveness only grew as free labour became more expensive. With the Athenian state guaranteeing citizens opportunities for public work denied slaves, the economy will have been skewed: aside from the production of silver, slavery is revealed to be a foundation of the Athenian labour market economy as well.

This comprehensive presentation offers food for thought as it will take a while for economists and scholars alike to understand that Athenian policies aimed at providing grain for the urban population of Athens had multi-fold ramifications. Prices for the grain of the Attic peasants were pressed down: autarky did not result from underlying tendencies, and subsidies made jury duty funded by Laurion more attractive than tending grain between the rocks of Attica.

The recognition of the nature of the markets in the ancient world must allow us to re-direct comparisons about contrasts by centring on the real differences between the Aegean and the Near Eastern market economies. Only presenting the ancient Near Eastern documentation in a coherent fashion could confirm the image this book conveys, that coinage and slavery were fundamental to the ancient Mediterranean market economies.

Northeast Normal University, Changchun

David A. Warburton

M.B. Hatzopoulos, *La mort de Philippe II: Une étude des sources*, MEAETHMATA 76, Fondation Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, Institut de Recherches Historiques, Athens 2018, 180 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-960-9538-66-4

This monograph represents a logical ending to Miltiades Hatzopoulos's long-standing researches into the assassination of Philip II. The Preface clarifies the aims of the study – to identify the different ancient historiographical traditions regarding the assassination of the Macedonian king, to find their primary sources, and to determine their genealogical structure, aims which, I believe, have been successfully achieved.

The book is divided into two parts. Part 1 analyses the written sources of Philip's assassination and the events before that (Chapter 1) and of Alexander's accession to the throne (Chapter 2). The beginning of Chapter 1 presents and comments in brief on the opinions expressed by a number of scholars on Diodorus' sources for Philip's assassination. Next H. deals with Diodorus' text (16. 91–94) chapter by chapter. He puts into doubt most of Diodorus' account: he defines the motives of the physical assassin Pausanias as unreliable and an early type of Hellenistic fiction, and questions the veracity of the statement about the relationship (student–teacher) and the conversation between Pausanias and the sophist Hermocrates. He concludes that Diodorus' source was Dyillus of Athens, or a later author (Durus of Samos?) who used him. And since, in his view, the account of the very assassination of Philip was embellished by Diodorus' source with stories about oracles, omens and

sacrileges, H. holds the opinion that the information it contains can be sustained only if it is supported by another, independent source.

After that he discusses the accounts of Justin, Plutarch, Satyrus and Ps.-Callisthenes of Philip's assassination. He deduces that Plutarch and the historical source of Ps.-Callisthenes directly and independently of one another used Satyrus. According to him, the same was the source of the *Suda's* entry Κάρανος, with the stipulation that it is not clear whether the author of the *lema* used Satyrus directly or through an intermediate source. H. concludes that the source of Satyrus is Duris of Samos, since in the fragments of his *Life of Philip* one can find traces of Duris' work. As for Justin, H., emphasising some major differences between his account and Satyrus', and recognising some common features with the information available in Theopompus' fragments,<sup>1</sup> assumes that he followed the latter historian.

Summarising the results of his analysis, H. points out that two historiographical traditions existed regarding Philip's assassination. The first was Athenocentric, romanticised and unreliable. Its probable primary source was Dyillus of Athens. This tradition was presented in Book 16 of Diodorus and in the works of some authors flourishing during the Imperial age, namely Flavius Josephus, Pausanias and Stobei. The second came from the pen of an author familiar with the situation in the Macedonian court – Theopompus of Chios. His information of Philip's assassination was embellished and enriched by Duris of Samos, who was used by Satyrus, and Satyrus was the source of Plutarch, of the historical source of Ps.-Callisthenes, and of the *Suda's* entry Κάρανος. The same historiographical tradition was also presented by Pompeius Trogus who obtained it directly from Theopompus, and whose account stayed closest to Theopompus' original. Next, H. notes that these two historiographical traditions differ fundamentally and they should not be combined with the idea of creating an account of the events acceptable to scholars.

Chapter 2 analyses the evidence of the authors narrating the events happening immediately after the assassination of the king. In Part I H. compares Diodorus' and Justin's accounts with Ps.-Callisthenes' and concludes that they contain some elements which can be explained with the use of a common primary source – Cleitarchus son of Dinon.

Part 2 is devoted to the archaeological finds from Vergina. H. presents in brief the opinions published since 2007 concerning the identification of the human remains from Tomb II, and confirms his old view that they belonged to Philip II. This identification allows him to compare these finds with the historiographical tradition which, in his view, leads to Cleitarchus. Four possible coincidences permit him to conclude that Cleitarchus' account described real events: a) Ps.-Callisthenes' evidence (1. 24 recension β) of Philip's royal funeral and the sumptuousness of the construction, decoration and the furniture of Tomb II; b) the statement in the Armenian version of Ps.-Callisthenes (1. 69) that Philip was buried with a crown and the existence of a crown in Tomb II; c) the funeral pile of Philip noted by Justin (11. 1. 4) and the human remains from Tomb II cremated in a monumental construction of bricks and wood; d) Ps.-Callisthenes' evidence (1. 24 recension α) of a shrine over Philip's grave and the foundations of a building discovered by Andronikos on the surface, and defined by him as *heroon*. He adds to these coincidences one more: the possibility that the two skeletons found a few metres from the royal tombs

<sup>1</sup> FGH 115 F 38–39 and Trogus *Prologue* 7; F 52 and Just. 7. 6. 14; F 103, 217 and *Prologue* 9; F 224 and 9. 8. 6–7; F 282 and 9. 8. 15; F 292 and 9. 1. 2–5.

and the two deformed swords found on the vaulted top of Tomb II belonged to Arrhabaeus and Heromenes of Lyncestis, who were executed in regard to Philip's assassination (Arrian *Anabasis* 1.25. 1).<sup>2</sup> Having reached the conclusion that the evidence leading to Cleitarchus might have contained historical elements, H. assumes the same for Justin's account of Olympia's unusual actions immediately after Philip's death, provided that the facts are separated from the interpretations of his source, namely Theopompus, who was always on the lookout for scandals.

In the end H. deduces that immediately after Philip's death, his son Alexander did not act as a person who headed the plot but was surprised and scared which, however, does not mean that he did not plot against his father. As for the three brothers of Lyncestis, he believes their motive was the power which one of them would gain if they eliminated Philip, Alexander and Amyntas son of Perdiccas. It remains unclear for Hatzopoulos when Alexander of Lyncestis established a contact with Persia (during Philip's reign or in 335 BC) and why he changed sides immediately after the assassination of the king.

The Appendix deals with the plot of Amyntas son of Perdiccas. H. shares Ellis's view<sup>3</sup> that Amyntas sought the support of the Boeotians against Alexander in the period 336–334 BC, most probably in the summer or autumn of 335 BC, when the Macedonian king was in Thrace.

There are some mistakes in the text, footnotes and bibliography: 'annnées' (p. 13); 'Perikkas' (p. 56); '44 ans auparavant' (p. 131) instead of 24; mistakes concerning the year of publication and the title of some works – How, Müller and Stoneman 1915 (n. 1), Heckel 1916 (n. 168), Hammond 1979 *GRBS* (p. 166); a wrong quotation of the Latin of Justin 11. 2. 1 (n. 480).

To sum up, H. has done an excellent job in presenting and analysing the ancient sources. The book is a serious contribution to the study of the ancient evidence of the assassination of Philip II.

Troyan, Bulgaria

Miroslav Ivanov Vasilev

L.I. Hau, A. Meeus and B. Sheridan (eds.), *Diodoros of Sicily: Historiographical Theory and Practice in the Bibliotheke*, *Studia Hellenistica* 58, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2018, x+612 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-90-429-3498-6

Few ancient authors' reputations have changed as dramatically as that of Diodorus. From the Renaissance to the end of the 18th century he was considered one of the major Greek historians. A century later his reputation had collapsed so completely that he was dismissed as an incompetent compiler without significant ideas, who was important only because he had epitomised and, therefore, preserved, important historical works that are no longer extant, a view that changed only at the end of the 20th century. Beginning with the publication of K. Sacks's seminal *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century* (Princeton 1990), scholars have increasingly come to see Diodorus as a significant historian in his own right and

<sup>2</sup> Yet, it must be noted that Diodorus (17. 2. 1) and Justin (11. 2. 1) who, according to Hatzopoulos used Cleitarchus, do not quote the names of the plotters.

<sup>3</sup> *JHS* 91 (1971), 15–24.

an important witness to the reaction of Greek intellectuals to the crises of the mid-1st-century BC Roman Republic.

Diodorus' *Bibliothēke* is the largest extant Greek history both in size and scope, so it requires a volume as big as *Diodoros of Sicily* to provide an overview of the current state of scholarship on it. The 25 papers contained in it were delivered at a conference entitled 'Diodorus Siculus: shared myths, world community and universal history' that was held at the University of Glasgow in August 2011. The volume opens with a section entitled 'Setting the Scene' containing two papers. In the first, the editors survey the history of Diodoran scholarship and the contribution of the volume to that scholarship, while in the second paper C. Rubincam compares old and new attitudes to Diodorus' historical practice, arguing that his claim to have spent thirty years in composing his history with preparation beginning *ca.* 60/59 BC and writing *ca.* 45 BC should be taken seriously. The remaining papers are divided into eight groups, one on the 1st-century BC context of the *Bibliothēke*, three on historical methodology and four on major themes in the work.

K. Sacks opens the section on Diodorus and the 1st century with a lucid paper highlighting Diodorus' claim that universal history better encourages good behaviour and discourages bad than contemporary philosophy. A. Cohen-Skalli argues that the fragments of book seven indicate that the foundation of Rome and, by implication, Rome did not occupy a central place in the economy of Diodorus' work. Finally, R. Westall interestingly suggests that Diodorus' final books focused on praise of Pompey, not Julius Caesar, reflecting the origin of the work in the 50s BC.

The three papers in the section on 'Genre and Purpose' analyse Diodorus' conception of his work. J. Engels argues that the unusual title of his history, *Bibliothēke* ('Library'), reflects the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Imperial trend toward the composition of encyclopaedic works such as Strabo's *Geography* and Pliny's *Natural History*. A. Meeus analyses Diodorus' proem, maintaining that, while it is certainly his work, its emphasis on the moral dimension of history is consonant with contemporary Greek and Roman views of the purposes of historiography. L. Prandi closes the section with a perceptive analysis of Diodorus' Alexander book, arguing that, while he fulfils his promise to provide a full account of the Macedonian king's reign in one book, his treatment is unique in focusing on the moral instead of the military aspects of Alexander's conquests.

The four papers grouped together under the title 'New *Quellenforschung*' illustrate the benefits of recognising that Diodorus did not simply mechanically copy his sources. V. Parker convincingly argues that many of the so-called doublets in Diodorus' account of the 5th and 4th centuries BC were already in his source, Ephorus. J. Priestly plausibly suggests that the misrepresentation of Herodotus' views about the source of the Nile in Diodorus 1. 37. 11 results from Diodorus adapting the account he found in his intermediate source, probably Agatharchides or Artemidorus of Ephesus, to highlight his literary persona as a cautious investigator. P. Wozniczka demonstrates that the fragments of Books 34 and 35 concerning the first Sicilian slave revolt should not be assumed to faithfully represent Posidonius' lost account, specifically that the emphasis on divine punishment of evil in these passages is due to Diodorus and not Posidonius. The group concludes with L.M. Yarrow's cautionary tale of the dangers inherent in reading fragments, convincingly demonstrating that John Tzetzes' account of the bull of Phalaris in *Khiliades* 1, ll. 649–668 should not be considered a fragment of Diodorus' ninth book.

After three excellent papers dealing with technical literary questions – narrative persona, ring composition and political terminology – by L.I. Hau, J. Walsh and C. Bearzot, the focus of the volume shifts to consideration of themes that characterise the *Bibliothèque* as a whole.

As Diodorus claims that the full treatment of mythology is one of the unique features of his work, the first three papers in this section appropriately deal with the place of gods and myths in the *Bibliothèque*. C. Durvy illustrates how Diodorus' euhemerism allows him to integrate mythology into human history by transforming the gods into deified benefactors whose memory is preserved by history. In the next paper C. Muntz shows how Diodorus solved the problem of demarcating mythical from historical time by using the presence of written records as the criterion for marking the beginning of history. In the final paper of this section A. Ring argues that Diodorus' interest in the historical significance of mythology was shared by other contemporary historians and followed precedents set by his predecessors including Herodotus and Thucydides.

Three papers on 'Ethnography, Languages, and Literacy' follow. S. Bianchetti illuminatingly argues that Diodorus used the extensive geographical and ethnographic material in the first six books of the *Bibliothèque* to set the stage for universal history by prefiguring the range of the conquests of Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar. D. James analyses Diodorus' treatment of linguistic diversity in Book 17, highlighting his view of the importance of Greek as a common language, while recognising the problems the multilingual character of their empires caused the Romans and their predecessors. In the last paper of this group, P. Liddel discusses the numerous references to inscriptions in the *Bibliothèque*, concluding that Diodorus probably found them in his sources and kept them because of their value for promoting moral edification as, for example, in the case of Euhemerus' alleged record of the benefactions of Zeus and the other gods in the great inscription on the island of Panchaia.

The two papers in the section on 'Rhetoric and Speeches' examine the reasons for the limited place allotted to speeches in Diodorus' work in contrast to the practice of other Greek historians such as his contemporary Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Through an analysis of Diodorus' explicit statements concerning the proper use of speeches in historical works, D. Pausch shows that his preference for short dialogues over extended speeches allowed him to illustrate the character and values of the major figures of his history without sacrificing the readability of his work. C. Baron provides a careful reading of one of the few extended speeches in the *Bibliothèque*, that of the Syracusan politician Theodorus advocating the overthrow of the tyrant Dionysius I, in which he shows that Diodorus made an exception in this instance in order to highlight the missed opportunity to liberate Syracuse from Dionysius' tyranny and to comment on one of the main themes of Sicilian history, the centrality of tyranny.

The final two papers in the volume consider Diodorus' unique approach to military history. J. Roisman shows through an analysis of Diodorus' accounts of the Battles of Issos, Paraitakene and Gabiene that he privileged emphasis on reversal of fortune and the valour of leaders over military tactics in his descriptions of battles. In the final paper of the collection N. Williams considers the place of military history in Diodorus' view of history, showing that, although war plays a large part in his work, he consistently emphasises its destructive character and its attendant atrocities, particularly as they affected civilians.



*Diodoros of Sicily* proves that a big book is not necessarily a big evil. For scholars interested in the *Bibliothèque* and its place in ancient historiography, it will be an essential resource. At the same time, new directions in scholarship never represent as clean a break with the past as is often claimed. Although the view of Diodorus as an incompetent compiler that undergirded the *Quellenforschung* studies of the 19th and 20th centuries is gone forever, these excellent papers leave no doubt that much of the positive results of that scholarship, particularly the identification of Diodorus' sources, survives and provides the foundation on which the new Diodoran scholarship is built. As a result, while the hope of recovering Diodorus' lost sources without taking account of Diodorus' contribution to the creation of his work has to be abandoned, much interesting work still remains to be done, particularly in determining how his own views influenced the way in which he reshaped the sources he used to create the *Bibliothèque*.

California State University, Los Angeles

Stanley M. Burstein

S. Heidemann and K. Butcher, *Regional History and the Coin Finds from Assur: From the Achaemenids to the Nineteenth Century / Regionale Geschichte und Münzfunde aus Assur: Von der Zeit der Achämeniden bis zum neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 148, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Assur F: Fundgruppen 8, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017, xiv+128 pp., 31 plates (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10761-7/ISSN 0342-4464

This bilingual book, the result of fruitful co-operation between German and English numismatists, belongs to that type of scholarly work which clearly demonstrates the potential of the archaeological coin finds for reconstructing various facets of local ancient history, economy and politics. Stefan Heidemann and Kevin Butcher have done painstaking job thoroughly collecting, checking and studying coin finds made in 1903–14 during excavations of the German Oriental Society in Assur (northern Iraq). The complicated fate of these finds, which turned out to have been scattered in Berlin, London and Istanbul, and having partly lost their initial excavation numbers, necessitated considerable preliminary work on identifying and registering the preserved specimens. Details of this archival work are narrated by H. in Chapter 1, called 'Überblick' (pp. 1–5). Overall some 700 coins and 11 hoards were studied and catalogued in the book.

Chapter 2, 'From the Achaemenids to the Arsacids' (pp. 7–48), prepared by B., explores coin finds dating from the 4th century BC to the 3rd century AD. The coins in question belong to the four major groups: 1) Hellenistic, 2) Roman provincial, 3) imitative SC coins from Mesopotamia, and 4) Roman Imperial coins. Detailed description of each group follows accompanied by comparative analysis of the Assur finds with those from other ancient centres in order to make known differences in the patterns of circulation. Noteworthy is B.'s observation on the predominance among the finds of Roman provincial issues of those of Antioch from the 1st century AD bearing Imperial portraits on the obverse and the letters SC in a wreath on the reverse. This fact finds parallels in other North Mesopotamian centres and poses a question: 'was it a case of coins continually

moving from Syria through trade, or were they imported on one or two occasions only?' There is no obvious answer now, though one cannot exclude the possibility of associating these coins with the Parthian campaigns of Trajan and Lucius Verus.

Finds of coins with the letters SC imitating the above-mentioned Antiochene issues are especially numerous in Assur. The neighbouring city of Hatra was considered to have been one of the principal mints striking them. The finds from Assur have expanded their corpus massively and allowed B. to put forward a more advanced and detailed classification. Moreover, almost all known specimens of the imitative SC coins with a crescent on the reverse (so-called Type B of the Hatran coinage) were found in Assur. As B. fairly deduces: 'This fact seems to be adequate reason to propose that the Type B coins could have been produced at Assur itself' (p. 19). B. distinguishes three classes of these coins and dates them from the middle of the 2nd to the first half of the 3rd century AD. The existence of its own coinage in Assur implies not only that it was a place of some significance at that time, but it could have enjoyed some degree of independence under Arsacid rule, in the same way as neighbouring Hatra (p. 19).

B. considers as well so-called 'coin modifications', which in the case of the Assur finds meant countermarking and halving the coins. It is noteworthy that the process of halving was obviously being conducted by the local authorities and concerned exclusively imitative coinage. The Sasanian conquest of Mesopotamia put an end to the use of Roman provincial coins in the region and the production of local imitative coinage. After the Sasanian destruction of Assur in AD 240–241 there was long break in local monetary history and the site itself was abandoned. The chapter terminates with the catalogue of single coin finds (pp. 25–44) and a catalogue of hoards and groups of coins among which the hoard of 15 Roman aurei of the 2nd–3rd centuries is the most remarkable (pp. 44–48).

Chapter 3 by H., 'Von der sasanidischen Eroberung bis zum 19. Jahrhundert' (pp. 49–69), covers coin finds of the period indicated. This time-span embraces three historic periods: 1) Early Islamic, 2) Middle Islamic and 3) Ottoman. City life in Assur revived in the 7th–8th centuries, when the Arabs conquered the region. It is the easternmost place where bronze Byzantine coins were found. As H. states, they circulated in northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia until the turn of the 12th/13th centuries because bronze coinage was not being struck in these or in other parts of the Caliphate from the middle of the 9th until the end of the 11th century. H. minutely analyses Arabic narratives regarding Assur, which at that time bore the name Al'Aqr and passed through many hands. In about the middle–second half of the 14th century bronze coinage with mint-name Al'Aqr started to be issued. The existence of several settlements with this name, plus the absence of relevant coin finds of this time at the site of Assur, do not allow the definite identification of the Al'Aqr mint with Assur. H. considers Aqr al-Humaidiya site as the most probable localisation. The first coin finds of the Ottoman era date from the end of the 17th–18th century. Written sources indicate that that the settlement had changed its name again and was called Toprak Kale in Turkish or Qal'at Širqat in Arabic. A catalogue of single coins and hoards is put at the end of Chapter 3 (pp. 60–69).

The book is supplied with the lists of abbreviations and research literature as well as with spacious Concordance in tabular form (pp. 83–128), where one can find information on the finds' location, excavation and museum numbers of the coins correlated with catalogue numbering in the book. The book ends with 31 black-and-white and colour plates

prepared by M. Naue. It is noteworthy that this part begins with old excavation photographs of the coins, often in uncleaned condition and grouped together, thus providing a clear impression of the huge amount of work the authors had to undertake in order to identify these coins and to correlate them with specimens kept today in museums.

The book represents an example of scrupulous scholarly work and will be of great interest for all numismatists and archaeologists doing research in corresponding fields.

The Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow

Sergei A. Kovalenko

T. Hodos with A. Geurds *et al.* (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, Routledge, London/New York 2017, xxiv+970 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-415-84130-6

The term 'globalisation' emerged in the 1980s to describe economic connectivity in the contemporary business realm. It had been used sporadically prior to the 1980s, but at that time a range of social theorists, mostly in sociology, also picked up the term and redefined it to suit their own disciplines. Roland Robertson, a sociologist, has been one of the most prominent of these early theorists. He succinctly defined globalisation as 'the compression of the world and the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole'.<sup>1</sup>

Due to the popularisation of the term in modern business, and the emphasis upon recent global compression by most social theorists, it has typically been grounded in the modern world. Since the 1990s, some scholars have applied globalisation theory to the ancient world and especially to the Roman world. These applications have not always met with the approval of social theorists in other disciplines who consider globalisation to be a hallmark of modernity. The rift between the study of the ancient and modern world is not unique to globalisation studies. It can be found across innumerable theoretical perspectives and disciplines.

Alongside the application of globalisation theory, other scholars have expressed the linkages they detect in the ancient world through terms such as 'networks' and 'connectivity'. While network analysis derives from a branch of mathematics called graph theory, many archaeologists and ancient historians have used the term more loosely to identify and visualise patterns of relationships between peoples and places. The term 'connectivity' simply describes the connections between peoples, places, or things and therefore carries the least conceptual baggage of these three terms.

Tamar Hodos, Reader in Mediterranean Archaeology at the University of Bristol, has produced an impressive corpus of research over the course of her career. Most of these publications have focused upon material culture and its relationships to identity, connectivity, colonisation and globalisation. She has proved to be a worthy editor of this handbook of globalisation with her selection of authors and organisation of the unwieldy amount of included material.

This 'handbook' is not only lengthy but covers great geographical breadth, as one might expect from a book on globalisation. It is broken down into ten parts: Introduction, Africa, Americas, Australasia and Oceania, East Asia, Europe, Mediterranean, Southeast Asia, West

<sup>1</sup> R. Robertson, *Globalization. Social Theory and Global Culture* (London 1992), 8.

Asia and Conclusion. This geographical organisation is sensible and reflects the decision to showcase a wide range of regional approaches to globalisation studies rather than synthesising past scholarship or generating a timeline of globalisation. Each regional part begins with a brief introduction to the application of globalisation theory to the region. The Introduction and Conclusion, with five and one chapters respectively, introduce globalisation scholarship to the unfamiliar reader in a clear and comprehensive manner. The authors of these theoretical and overarching chapters do not share similar views of globalisation, nor did H. require them to; each author redefines globalisation to suit their own purposes and endorses the application of globalisation theory to past forms of connectivity to varying degrees.

While these disparate views of globalisation reflect a quandary that plagues many bodies of theory, they may make it especially vulnerable to critique. This vulnerability is particularly acute for globalisation theory because it can be deconstructed from both theoretical and temporal standpoints. First, it is common to deconstruct theoretical terms over their history of usage. For example, 'Romanisation' has been heavily deconstructed in recent decades. Most critiques of this term have attempted to dismantle the top-down approach characteristic of early Romanisation scholarship. Although these deconstructions were necessary, they have also made it impossible to compare studies of Romanisation to one another because each scholar seems to find their own meaning in the term. Globalisation theory has suffered from similar idiosyncratic redefinitions since its earliest days and the present work builds yet more particularity upon these shaky foundations.

Second, the chasm in scholarship between the ancient world and the modern one is quite common. Typically, scholars of the modern world consider the ancient world to be irrelevant to their own case studies. For example, while many scholars of modern empires have considered the differences between ancient and modern imperial formations to be too great to compare, scholars of ancient imperialisms view the differences to be grounded in scale and intensity, not of kind. Equally, scholars who apply globalisation theory to the pre-modern world often observe that Robertson's definition of globalisation (among others) fits their particular case studies, albeit on a smaller, less-intense scale.

While it is not possible to review all of the 62 chapters included in this volume, there are a few that clearly illustrate how these two dilemmas manifest themselves in current applications of globalisation theory to archaeology. In particular, some of these chapters, although excellent in content, also demonstrate the problems that arise when a theoretical term is stretched too far beyond its original usage: the term becomes flimsy and meaningless.

Some of the authors acknowledge issues with the application of globalisation theory to their case studies. Scott MacEachern, in a remarkable chapter entitled 'Globalization: contact between West Africa, North Africa and Europe during the European medieval period', discusses connectivity and networks with great facility, clarity and insight. His theoretical frameworks and evidence are closely intertwined – a strength that is all too rare in theoretically informed archaeology. MacEachern himself appears uncomfortable placing most of his evidence under the umbrella of 'globalisation'. Rather, he draws from theories of 'small world' networks and connectivity<sup>2</sup> to argue that these non-global networks can

<sup>2</sup> S.M. Sindbaek, 'The small world of the Vikings: networks in early medieval communication and exchange'. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 40 (2007), 59–74.

transform social systems. His caution, based upon the evidence he outlines so succinctly, appears to be warranted.

Bill Sillar's chapter, 'Globalization without markets? Population movements and other integrative mechanisms in the Ancient Andes', acknowledges the limit of material goods travelling long distances within this region. Despite the absence of such exchanges, Sillar explains that immaterial exchanges, such as the transfer of technical skills, styles, ideologies and languages across the Andean region, signify important networks of structured social relations. This exploration of connectivity is both fascinating and cross-culturally useful, yet it does not appear to fall readily under the rubric of 'globalisation'. Sillar himself acknowledges this misfit as he states that his chief aim for the chapter is to explore interregional contacts.

While the previous highlighted chapters illustrate the shapelessness that comes from stretching and pulling at globalisation theory too much and too far to encompass their case studies, other chapters demonstrate the utility of applying the theory to underexplored case studies. For example, 'The Tongan maritime state: Oceanic globalization, polity collapse and chaotic interaction', by Geoffrey Clark, explores the impact of Euro-American globalisation on the Tongan maritime state. Clark is particularly interested in testing a pattern often found globalisation; the surge of centralised interaction followed by a phase of chaotic interaction that becomes untethered from the global power that initiated the interaction.<sup>3</sup> The prehistoric Tongan chiefdom has been variously described as a state, an empire and a polity. Some scholars, such as myself in the case of 'empire', may quibble with the usage of these terms to describe the Tongan state. Whatever term is used, Tonga's ability to control and influence other island groups was remarkable. Clark clearly demonstrates that globalisation generated a surge of interaction between Tonga and Euro-American powers followed by a chaotic aftermath that reshaped Tonga's lengthy dominance.

It is remarkable that innumerable studies of empire, globalisation and connectivity have managed steadfastly to ignore the Achaemenid empire. Henry Colburn has put great effort and creativity towards remedying this enormous lacuna through his scholarship. Colburn's article in this volume, 'Globalization and the study of the Achaemenid Persian Empire', does much to fill this gap. He also manages nimbly to step over debates about the applicability of globalisation theory to the ancient world by stating that his aim is 'less to determine whether or not the Achaemenid Empire was an instance of ancient globalization than it is to use modern globalization to understand the past' (p. 873). This perspective is fortunate since Colburn ultimately decides that the Achaemenid empire was not an example of globalisation in itself, but rather an example of complex connectivity exemplified by space-time compression, standardisation and deterritorialisation. His argument, grounded in both theory and data, provides a valuable blueprint for how scholars of antiquity can gain insights from globalisation theory even if their evidence derives from a non-globalised context.

As H. observes in her chapter, 'Some Basics', this volume is the first collection of wide-ranging archaeological case studies that draw from globalisation theory. While many of the contributions provide intriguing examples of globalisation in antiquity, a larger

<sup>3</sup> D.T. Hall, D. Thomas and C. Chase-Dunn, 'Global social change in the long run'. In C. Chase-Dunn and S.J. Babones (eds.), *Global Social Change: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Baltimore 2006), 33–58.

proportion of the case studies ultimately appear to fit more comfortably under the rubric of 'connectivity' or 'networks'. In other words, the authors describe varying degrees and types of exchanges between peoples within and across regions, but these connections may not be sufficiently extensive or intensive to qualify as examples of globalisation. This issue is not necessarily a problem if the reader, like Colburn, uses globalisation theory merely to gain insights into past connectivities. Readers intent upon exploring explicit case studies of globalisation *per se* may find themselves disappointed in many of the included chapters since the case studies are highly contestable. Even these more pernickety readers, however, would benefit from the exemplary introductory chapters and concluding chapter. In sum, H. has produced a remarkable volume that exemplifies all of the strengths and weaknesses inherent in globalisation theory writ large. In this sense, her volume itself illustrates what happens when a local area is incorporated into global networks.

Baruch College and The Graduate Center  
City University of New York

Anna Lucille Boozer

P. Högemann and N. Oettinger (eds.), *Lydien: Ein altanatolischer Staat zwischen Griechenland und dem Vorderen Orient*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2018, x+511 pp., 2 maps. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-043966-3

Das Buch, das aus der langjährigen Zusammenarbeit eines Althistorikers und eines Sprachwissenschaftlers resultiert, umfasst sechs Kapitel neben Einleitung (Grundvorstellungen, Hauptprobleme, Lösungsansätze, S. 1–27) und dem „Versuch, eine Epoche darzustellen“ (S. 430–60) als Abschluss. Die Kapitel sind der Thronaufstiegsgeschichte des Gyges (S. 28–64), der Frage nach den Lydern (S. 65–119), dem Lydischen Reich in Statik und Funktion (S. 120–216), dem König, dem Heerwesen und der Verfassung (S. 217–75), dem Schatzhaus und der Eudaimonie der Könige (S. 276–384) sowie den lydischen Kriegen im Osten bzw. dem Untergang des Reiches (S. 385–429) gewidmet, die jeweils durch eine Zusammenfassung (z.T. auch Unterkapitel wie 3.1) abgeschlossen werden. Ein umfangreiches Literaturverzeichnis (S. 461–97), ein analytisches Glossar mit Stichworten wie „Charismatische Herrschaft“, „Ergänzungslandschaft“, „Städtelandschaft“, „Weisheit“, und ein Register (Eigennamen, Geographische und Völkernamen, Sachbegriffe) vervollständigen den Band.

Die beiden Autoren haben sich mit bemerkenswerter Akribie an ein Thema gewagt, das mit zu den umstrittensten der kleinasiatischen Geschichte zählt, zumindest, was die Frühzeit betrifft. Mit Lydien verbinden sich nicht nur der Beginn der Münzprägung,<sup>1</sup> gewaltige Tumuli usw., sondern vor allem viele Fragezeichen. Die wichtigste Quelle ist Herodot und so wird als Hauptziel der Arbeit formuliert, „Herodots tatsächlichen Wissensstand zu ermitteln, seine historische Zuverlässigkeit zu überprüfen und die Verbindlichkeit der Zielrichtung seines Lyder-Logos zu eruieren“ (S. 434), was in vieler Hinsicht großartig gelungen ist. Den Bearbeitungshorizont dieser letzten von „drei Epochen des Alten Orients“ betten die Verfasser in die der „Epoche der Spätbronzezeit“ sich anschließende Epoche vom

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. dazu auch C. Spohn-Drosihn, *Untersuchungen zur frühen Elektronprägung* (Dissertation Tübingen 2014).



„Wiedererwachen oder die Neuentstehung von Staaten nach den Dunklen Jahrhunderten“ (E. 10. Jh. = Auftauchen der nomadischen Aramäer, stellvertretend für alle [Wander-]Gruppen) bis zum „Untergang dieser ganzen Staatenwelt“ (Eroberung von Sardeis und Babylon) durch das Aufgehen im stammesstaatlich organisierten Persischen Reich (S. 430–31).

Aber nicht nur das Wagnis der Epochisierung ist hervorzuheben, auch der Ansatz, mittels der Formel „gleiche Epoche, gleicher Kulturraum mit gleichen Erfahrungen, gleiche Probleme, gleiche Lösungen“ (S. 433) und intelligenter Quellenauswertung – nicht nur Herodots Historien –, Analogien (mit Hethitern des 2. Jt., Levantinern wie Phöniziern, Aramäern, AT des 1. Jt.), z.T. weit gefassten Verbindungslinien, die von der enormen Wissensbreite der Autoren zeugen, Lydien als eigene Größe im Kreis der altorientalischen Reiche bzw. der ‚Fürstentümer‘ der Levante und des südöstlichen Kleinasien des (3.,) 2. und 1. Jt. zu verorten (in Abgrenzung zu Griechen, aber auch Phrygern einerseits und Persern andererseits) und darauf basierend, Schlüsse u.a. für die Reichsbildung, das Heerwesen, eine Verfassung, die Königsideologie, die Funktion des Schatzhauses bzw. der Schatzhausführungen (vgl. z.B. S. 383) und der geprägten, d.h. durch staatliches Siegel (wert-)garantierte, handliche und gleichförmige Münzen ab *ca.* 630 v. Chr., um staatlichen Reichtum vornehmlich im Handel (Stichwort: mobile Kleinhändler) einsetzbar zu machen und vor allem „der Ökonomie der Ägäis und ihrer Ausdehnung ins Schwarzmeergebiet neue Impulse“ zu geben (vgl. S. 382; Stichwort: Kolonisierung mittels lydisch-milesischem Bündnis: vgl. Kapitel 3.2.). Hier grenzen sich die Autoren erkennbar von der zumeist angenommenen Verbindung der Münzentstehung mit Söldneranwerbung (vgl. Kapitel 5) ab.

Die Herkunft der Lyder sehen sie in Nordwestkleinasien, namentlich der Troas, dem späteren hellespontischen Phrygien bis inkl. Bithynien, eine Region, die im 7./6. Jh. dann von Kimmeriern/Treren durch Alyattes befreit und mithilfe u.a. von Aiolern und vor allem von Milet ‚kolonisiert‘ wurde. Sie hießen damals noch Maionier (homerisch: Meiones), in Verbindung mit dem in hethitischen Quellen bezeugten Land Masa (S. 107–08). Auf Druck der aus dem Balkanraum nachrückenden Phryger seien sie im frühen 1. Jt. zusammen mit den Mysern verdrängt worden, wobei erstere in den später Lydien genannten (zur Namensentstehung: S. 69), von Luwiern bewohnten Landstrich des ehemaligen Arzawa (u.a. S. 114) wanderten, wo Sardeis als Hauptort gegenüber Apasa/Ephesos, das Kultort blieb, favorisiert wurde.

Als Beispiel für die sorgfältige Beobachtung und den ergänzenden Quellenvergleich mögen die lydischen ‚Kriege‘, regelmäßige Kampagnen gegen griechische Städte der westkleinasiatischen Küste, in Sonderheit Milet, dienen, bei denen es sich nicht um missglückte Eroberungsversuche handelte, wie immer wieder behauptet, sondern um ‚Raubkriege‘, also Beutemachen bzw. Tribut eintreiben (u.a. S. 179). Mit Milet wurde später ein Vertrag nach altanatolischem Vorbild geschlossen und wohl schon (fast) im Auftrag der lydischen Könige die Propontis und der Schwarzmeerraum umfänglich kolonisiert, während die Lyder sich um den kleinasiatischen Raum nördlich von Kernlydien bis an die Propontis- und südliche Schwarzmeerküste kümmerten.

Die Kapitel 1 bis 5 mit all den häufig verifizierten (Arbeits-)Hypothesen, den angewendeten Methoden wie z.B. typologischen Vergleichen sowie Modellen, den scharfsinnigen sprachwissenschaftlichen Analysen und historischen Folgerungen beeindrucken und überzeugen in vielerlei Hinsicht und stellen das Reich „Lydien“ in neuem Licht dar. Beiträge der Archäologie bzw. korrespondierender naturwissenschaftlicher Fächer, die in diesem

Buch verständlicherweise nicht im Fokus standen, wären auf der hier gelegten Basis wünschenswert und nützlich, da sie z.B. die Einwanderung der Lyder an der Schwelle von 2./1. Jt. stützen (tiefgreifende Veränderungen in der Siedlungsstruktur) und die Ausdehnung der lydischen Kultur skizzieren können.<sup>2</sup>

Etwas problematisch, vor allem in Bezug auf die historische Geographie und Routenverläufe, nicht zuletzt wegen der mageren Quellenlage, und mit vielen ‚Überlegungen‘ gespickt erscheint Kapitel 6 soweit es Lydiens Kriege im Osten betrifft (S. 385–88; vgl. auch die Kartierung, S. 400). Es geht um die Ausdehnung Lydiens, seine ‚Grenzen‘, um die Verortungen von Kappadokien, Syrien, Kilikien, alles neu auftretende Landschaftsbezeichnungen, aber auch um Skythen, Meder, Babylonier, Perser. Hier überzeugt die These von Kilikiens Verbindung mit Syennesis (luwischer Herrschertitel), allerdings weniger eine Wanderung der Kilikier: die Lage von Hilakku wird (bisher m.E. zu Recht) nirgends so weit nördlich im Tauros angenommen.<sup>3</sup> Dass Syrien als „Ergänzungslandschaft“ (S. 413; Stichwort: Regenfeldaufbau) bzw. der ‚Anschluss‘ an den östlichen Mittelmeerraum das eigentliche Ziel des Kappadokien-Feldzuges war, muss spekulativ bleiben, erklärt sich aber aus den herangezogenen Quellen. Dagegen fehlt m.E. die Auswertung einiger Monographien und Sammelwerke u.a. zum sog. späthethitisch-aramäischen Raum, zu Medien, zu Phrygien. Unklar bleibt das Verhältnis zwischen Phrygien und Lydien, für das, zumeist in griechischer Überlieferung, zahlreiche Parallelisierungen bekannt sind: z.B. Midas und Gyges stiften nach Delphi, (gold-)reicher Midas – Kroisos. Bisher fehlen m.E. überzeugende Nachweise, dass Phryger im 1. Jt. aus dem Balkanraum einwanderten (und nicht schon früher) und damit eine Wanderbewegung auslösten: die früheisenzeitliche ‚balkanische‘ Keramik aus Troia dürfte als Beleg nicht ausreichen, phrygische Funde und Befunde z.B. aus Daskyleion sind (bisher) später datiert. Woher weiß man z.B., dass Phrygien (in welcher Ausdehnung?) von Alyattes erobert wurde (S. 318), dass der Innere Halysbogen politisch zu Phrygien gehörte, dass Midas in Eroberungsabsicht nach Südosten strebte, etc.?

Diese ‚befangene‘ Anmerkung (Phrygien ist schließlich nicht das Thema) kann aber keinesfalls das große Verdienst der Autoren schmälern. Sie haben unter Beweis gestellt, dass mit einem unglaublich guten, vielschichtigen Überblick über die Gegebenheiten (West-) Kleinasiens sowie des gesamten östlichen Mittelmeerraumes von Griechenland bis Assyrien vom 3./2. Jt. bis letztlich in die römische Zeit, mit der fast kriminalistisch zu bezeichnenden Anwendung sprachwissenschaftlicher Ergebnisse sowie mit der Einbringung der hier nur angedeuteten vielfältigen Arbeitsinstrumente hervorragende Ergebnisse zu erzielen sind, vor allem was den Kernbereich des Buches, nämlich Lydien und Herodots Überlieferung dazu, anbelangt.

Universität Tübingen

Anne-Maria Wittke

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. H. Klinkott, ‚Lydien‘. In A.-M. Wittke (Hrsg.), *Frühgeschichte der Mittelmeerkulturen* (Stuttgart/Weimar 2015), 573–79.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. z.B. die Karten von A. Fuchs in A.-M. Wittke *et al.*, *Historischer Atlas der antiken Welt* (Stuttgart/Weimar 2012).

J. Hruby and D. Trusty (eds.), *From Cooking Vessels to Cultural Practices in the Late Bronze Age Aegean*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2017, vii+173 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78570-632-5

‘Primitive cooking over an open fire does not tend to produce great variety and specialization in forms.’<sup>1</sup>

This quote by C.W. Blegen reflects accepted concepts of cooking pots in Aegean archaeology before the late 1970s, and it took scholars a long time to discover the ‘sleeping beauties’ as sources of information for different aspects of material culture. In this respect, the publication of the current volume is most welcome, since it focuses on Late Bronze Age cooking vessels and related equipment. Despite the relatively limited number of 12 papers, the volume offers a broad chronological and geographical range from the Greek mainland to the Aegean islands, Crete, Cyprus, and Italy, and covers the period from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. Aegean cooking pots are still an understudied category and, in their introductory piece, Julie Hruby and Debra Trusty address three central issues deserving further study in the future.

1. ‘Understanding the relationship between form and function’. The authors rightly stress that analysis of form and fabric, supplemented by residue analysis, documentation of use alterations and experimental archaeology are appropriate instruments to determine the functionality of a vessel. In this context, the paper of Hruby deserves special attention for including archaeological experiments that shed light on the disputed handling of LH III ‘griddles’ and ‘souvlaki trays’. Other papers discuss alterations through use, especially burnt areas on the surface to identify vessels as cooking pots (Aegina: Gauss *et al.*; Aghia Irini: Gorogianni *et al.*; Kos: S. Vitale and J.E. Morrison) or explore cooking techniques that suit a certain vessel type (Iklaina: J. Gulizio and C. Shelmerdine; Mochlos: Morrison; Phaistos and Pozzuolo del Friuli: E. Borgna and S. Levi; Cyprus: R. Jung).

The contributors are to be commended for incorporating fabric descriptions and analysis. They focus less on vessel functionality than on cultural phenomena implied by fabric chronology, distribution and related technological choices.

According to the study of Vitale and Morrison, Koan potters adopted Minoan forms and decoration as well as Mycenaean manufacturing techniques, although both external traditions did not affect local fabric recipes.

Gauss *et al.* focus on the relatively unknown production of Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age cooking pots on Aegina, characterised by an increase in the variety of fabrics compared with previous phases. This pattern indicates a less centralised production.

2. ‘Building typologies’. The editors criticise the lack of established cooking pot typologies and call for generally applicable standards in description. A variety of terms circulates for the ‘griddle’, a vessel characterised by small circular depressions on the upper surface. The results of Hruby and the consistency of the other contributing authors (Gulizio and Shelmerdine, B. Lis, Borgna and Levi) offer reasonable arguments for adopting the term ‘griddle’. However, things become more complicated when English terms are translated: for instance, there is no proper German word for ‘griddle’. Concerning less specialised shapes, the ambiguous and nonetheless widespread term ‘cooking jar’

<sup>1</sup> C.W. Blegen, *Korakou. A Prehistoric Settlement near Corinth* (Boston 1921), 31.

exemplifies the set of terminological problems. Lis mentions 'flat based cooking jars' from the mainland while counterparts on Kea occasionally display a pedestalled foot (Gorogianni *et al.*) and a ring base on Kos (Vitale and Morrison). It is apparent that the use of the term 'cooking jar' requires a detailed description. Due to the attested lack of typologies, proper alternatives are hard to find. However, the volume raises the awareness of these terminological issues.

3. 'Filling the void'. In their final remarks, Hruby and Trusty address the need for more publications with the accurate documentation of cooking pots. This volume sets a good example by integrating many photographs, drawings of pottery and site plans to complete the information given by the authors. The analysis of the 'raw data' builds a base for studies with a socio-cultural approach. Preparing and consuming food tends to be sensitive to social, economic and political changes and therefore the Late Bronze Age offers a broad scope of opportunities to study such phenomena.

In this respect, many of the papers have yielded important results. Some authors focus on the changes in cooking practices that are related to the rise, rule and ruin of the Mycenaean palaces. Hruby interprets LH III 'griddles' and souvlaki trays that occur mainly in palatial sites or settlements close by as part of an elite cuisine and as an instrument to express social standing. The material from Iklaina in Messenia, presented by Gulizio and Shelmerdine seems to confirm Hruby's observations. The authors relate the decreasing variety of cooking vessels in LH IIIA to the influence of the palace of Pylos, which took control of the Messenian settlement in LH IIIA2. Lis illustrates that the cooking pots produced in the post-palatial period are still not well understood. Unlike the painted fine pottery, which developed into many regional styles, LH IIIC cooking pots tend to be uniform in this phase.

Other papers focus on different levels of Minoan and Mycenaean influence on local pottery production and cooking traditions outside the mainland. The large variety of Minoan shapes in Aghia Irini on Kea leads to the impression that Cretan influence was utterly dominant on the island, but Gorogianni *et al.* create a more multicultural picture by emphasising the continuous use of non-Cretan forms. In LM IB Mochlos (Crete), cooking and eating took place in multifunctional spaces in the inside as well as outside of building complexes. However, hand-in-hand with the increasing Mycenaean presence LM II–III food-related activities moved into rooms mainly used for cooking (Morrison). In the advanced phase of the palatial period, Mycenaean wheel-made cooking pots and built hearths replace indigenous traditions on Cyprus, especially in coastal sites. Jung suggests that the establishment of immigrating groups led to the changes in material culture. For Borgna and Levi, mobility is also a relevant parameter. On LM IIIC Crete, cooking practices gradually changed: Besides mainland inspired forms and hearth constructions, people used specific cooking devices of unknown origin. Due to the mobility at the level of households, those features were common all over Crete, the mainland and Italy.

The paper by M. Galaty constitutes the stimulating epilogue of the book. By comparing the methods of Aegean archaeologists and scholars studying North American pottery, he compiles a catalogue of requirements that should facilitate the analysis of cooking pots in the Aegean in the future. The list of demands is quite reasonable, but some criteria will always remain a question of funding and infrastructure (for example, the extent of scientific analysis).

Altogether, this is an informative book that fulfils its own set of standards and builds a base for further studies.

Institute of Oriental and European Archaeology (OREA)  
Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

Jasmin Huber

T. Ivleva, J. de Bruin and M. Driessen (eds.), *Embracing the Provinces: Society and Material Culture of the Roman Frontier Regions. Essays in Honour of Dr Carol van Driel-Murray*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2018, xii+202 pp., illustrations, 12 pp. of colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78925-015-2

Carol van Driel-Murray is a scholar who combines meticulous research on a previously often neglected artefact category (leather) with theoretically informed work on gender and the body, often within the context of comparative military studies. This *Festschrift* celebrates her outstanding achievements with 20 papers arranged in five parts.

The first two parts focus on gender archaeology. 'It's a Man's World' includes two papers on cavalry equipment, namely a spectacular face mask (A. Koster) and an unusual piece now identified as a bridle fitting or *psalion* (C. Bridger). I. Haynes challenges assumptions about the 'national *numeri*', exploring their forts, equipment and religious practices while D. Breeze considers how and why individual soldier may have transferred between units and the role of letters of personal recommendation in that process. 'Gender matters' focuses on women in the military milieu, a subject on which van Driel-Murray's work remains fundamental. Dura-Europos in Syria provides a fascinating case study for S. James to explore how extended military communities (soldiers, military servants and the soldiers' dependants or *familiae* comprising slaves, wives, children and dependent kin) may have interacted with urban communities. A possible military outpost in the rural Rhine delta provides another opportunity to document military-civilian interactions (E. Graafstal). F. Kemmers suggests gendered approaches to coin finds in hoards, sanctuaries and settlements by considering associated finds. The size of glass bangles on military and civilian sites has sometimes been used to suggest male or female use; however, very few such bangles come from inhumation burials, leading T. Ivleva to experiment with modern replicas. This suggests that bangles could have been worn on the wrist or higher up on the arm, but not as anklets; use as a purse stiffener seems unlikely while bangles may have been used as hair ornaments for women and horses. Hair is also the topic of the last two contributions in this section. M. Erdrich discusses a Germanic hairpin from the Roman naval base at Velsen while U. Rothe explores the female headdress in Pannonia. She argues that the veil is an optional element achieved by pulling the cloak over the head and that veiling may have signalled respectability rather than age, married status or motherhood; regional or ethnic identity was signalled by the hat shape.

The third section, 'What's cooking', contains papers on military and civilian foodstuffs. This concerns both what was consumed and how and where such consumption took place. Correspondence Analysis of pottery tableware assemblages by form/function indicates differences between types of sites (legionary *vs* auxiliary, with the latter showing less differentiation) and potentially between barracks, officers' accommodation and administrative buildings (P. Allison). A detailed survey by L. Kooistra summarises research on how the

troops stationed at the Rhine frontier were supplied and identifies regional differences within Germania Inferior in terms of the animals and cereals produced as surplus for the army. What meat supply may have looked like in terms of physical structures is considered by M. Driessen, who argues that the large public building in the *canabae legionis* at Nijmegen, which is unusual in having thousands of posts in the central courtyard area, served as a livestock market. An alternative interpretation sees the posts used for military training exercises. The destruction of the *Oppidum Batavorum* during the Batavian revolt preserved copper-alloy cauldrons, both with black residues from being heated over a fire in two cellars, providing an insight into communal feasting (H. van Enckevort).

Section 4 ('A long walk from Rome: the leatherwork at the Empire's edges') fittingly begins with a paper on leather and shoes from Vindolanda by E. Greene, reporting on stamps and decoration on leather (i.e. tannery designations) and shoes. The adoption of Roman-style shoes is argued to mark a major transformation in lifeways in rural communities in the *civitas* of the Cananefates in the second half of the 2nd century (J. de Bruin). Excavation of a well at the roadside settlement of Tollgate Farm (Staffordshire, UK) revealed multiple leather shoes as well as an almost complete cow hide. Q. Mould's report teases out the date differences between the nailed and one-piece construction shoes, highlights the evidence for rural shoe production and explores the difficult question of whether the well deposit represents rubbish or ritual.

The final section ('Filling the gaps') brings together papers about under-explored aspects of provincial studies. This includes a consideration by J. Hall of how Roman archaeology can best be conveyed to the public, reflecting on her experience of reconstructions in displays at the Museum of London. Soft furnishings such as mattresses, cushions and curtains are reconstructed from the iconographic evidence (L. Allason-Jones) and B. Birley reports on the large collection of wooden combs from Vindolanda.

The volume begins with an appreciation of van Driel-Murray by D. Breeze and ends with her full bibliography. This is a well-produced volume (although it is a shame that the colour images are at the end rather than with the relevant chapters). The papers cover a wide range of themes, but are held together by an overarching interest in the material culture and lived experience of the military and civilian populations of the north-western Roman provinces.

University of Reading

Hella Eckardt

M.A. Janković and V.D. Mihajlović (eds.), *Reflections of Roman Imperialisms*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle-upon-Tyne 2018, x+387 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-5275-0625-1

This volume is the result of the second Imperialism and Identities at the Edges of the Roman World (IIERW) conference held at the Petnica Science Centre in Serbia in 2014. The organisers of this conference series, Marko Janković of Belgrade University and Vladimir Mihajlović of the University of Novi Sad, were motivated to begin the series by dissatisfaction with the lack of theoretical engagement in Serbian and former Yugoslavian archaeology. IIERW has been compared with the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference (TRAC) series, but its purview is broader, embracing both non-archaeological and less



explicitly theoretical perspectives. As a result, the contributions to this volume vary significantly in their engagement with current theoretical debates and in the material they investigate. The geographical focus is also diverse, ranging from Ireland (Bevivino) to China (Li), but the Balkans and Eastern Europe are especially well represented. Out of 17 contributions, three focus on Moesia Superior alone (Mihajlović, Cvjetičanin and Janković), with four more on Dalmatia (Lulić), southern Pannonia (Županek), Dacia (Gui) and Thrace (Janouchová). This is a welcome shift in emphasis.

The most explicitly theoretical chapters are the editors' introduction, the conclusion (Džino), and a chapter describing how the concept of Romanisation has been used in Slovenian archaeology (Lulić). I will concentrate here on the introduction, entitled 'Reflecting Roman Imperialisms', because the authors make an interesting intervention in the Romanisation debate, but it should be noted that only Džino's conclusion explicitly subscribes to their approach. Mihajlović and Janković are reacting to recent debates about Romanisation that employ a globalisation framework and downplay the role of imperialism. The work of Miguel Versluys is particularly prominent.<sup>1</sup> They object to what they see as a tendency for the globalisation framework to depersonalise socio-economic and cultural processes, strip away the role of power structures, and make cultural change a teleological process with no visible causes. They also worry that modernist assumptions about economic and power dynamics could be unintentionally applied to the past. Problematically, they assert that the globalisation perspective 'resembles western-capitalism common logic according to which economic flows are unstoppable, not decisively dependent on other social, cultural and economic factors, and people always behave in the manner "business/consumption as usual" regardless of specific contexts' (p. 8). In fact, contextualised responses to global phenomena and the diversity that ensues are major themes within globalisation discourse, as evidenced by the neologism 'glocalisation'.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, they are right to insist upon the centrality of Roman imperialism, both as an object of inquiry whose investigation obviates the danger of importing assumptions based on modern power structures and as a phenomenon that profoundly shaped all other processes in the Roman world. They see Roman imperialism as a multiplicity of phenomena varying across space and time but with a common thread: a constantly renegotiated system of power-sharing supported by the assumption of inherent inequality between people. This enhanced the verticality of power relations and led to the reproduction of practices of domination throughout society. This represents a valuable step forward in answering Versluys's call to theorise the subject of Roman power.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the contributions to the volume focus more on identity than imperialism, though the two are always entwined. Read together, they demonstrate the difficulty of investigating this topic by examining specific types of material culture. Lundock discusses the use of copper alloy vessels in Roman Britain. While their ubiquity certainly attests to the accessibility of Roman material culture in rural contexts, I found the argument linking

<sup>1</sup> M.J. Versluys, 'Understanding Objects in Motion. An Archaeological Dialogue on Romanization'. *Archaeological Dialogues* 21.1 (June 2014), 1–20; M. Pitts and M.J. Versluys, 'Globalisation and the Roman World: Perspectives and Opportunities'. In M. Pitts and M.J. Versluys (eds.), *Globalisation and the Roman World: World History, Connectivity and Material Culture* (Cambridge 2014), 3–31.

<sup>2</sup> Pitts and Versluys (as in n. 1), 13–15.

<sup>3</sup> Versluys (as in n. 1), 10.

them to identity to be underdeveloped. These objects were all reported through the Portable Antiquities Scheme, and thus lack an immediate archaeological context that would reveal how they were used. The analyses by Cvjetićanin and Janković of material from funerary assemblages, however, demonstrate that context does not solve all problems. Cvjetićanin examines the pottery, from one cemetery in a mining district of Moesia Superior. The pottery is Roman in form and fabric, but appears unused prior to burial and comes from grave types that have been identified as indigenous. Janković discusses evidence for dice and board games from throughout Moesia Superior, which are found primarily in burial contexts. Both authors fail to find correlations between the specific class of artefact they study and other aspects of the burial from which they come. They can reject a 'native/Roman' dichotomy, but can only offer tentative suggestions about how the material might have been used to construct identity.

Some classes of evidence, particularly tombstones, are more amenable to the study of identity. Gui's analysis of 2nd- and 3rd-century AD belt mounts yields more positive conclusions because belts are known to have been an important signifier of military identity. She demonstrates that there are several types that are common in and around Dacia but rare elsewhere, suggesting a certain amount of regionalisation in supply. That this could translate into regionalisation of identity is suggested by the concentration of tombstones depicting one of these types in the Danube area and at Rome. Janouchová's comparison of pre-Roman and Roman period tombstones from Thrace works best when she focuses on how they were used to construct identity. Pre-Roman inscriptions are laconic, apparently serving to identify the burial site for those who knew the deceased; Roman period inscriptions are more verbose, addressed to strangers and emphasising the dedicatee's social status. This is done by means of membership in collective groups or achievements. Ethnicity plays no role, even though the onomastic evidence indicates an ethnically diverse population.

Three contributions highlight the complexities of ethnic identity in the Roman world. Mihajlović examines the history of 'Dardanian' as an ethnicity, arguing that Roman imperial geographical categorisation could have strengthened and transformed the concept of 'Dardania' as a focus of collective identity. Isaac investigates the usage of ethnic labels in the Near East, showing that they could apply to people and places and did so in an inconsistent, fluid manner. Pyy focuses specifically on the depiction of *Romanitas* in the *Punica*, arguing that Silius Italicus undermines the concept by locating the moral virtues associated with *Romanitas* in the geographic and social periphery, while showing the Romans falling short of them. Here, ethnicity is primarily about morality, rather than genealogy or geography.

In addition, the book also contains contributions on 'foreign relations' (Kemp on *amicitia* and subsidies under the Principate; Lamb on the Icenii; Stepanyan and Mynasian on Nero's Parthian war). Although they do not add up to a coherent account of Roman imperialism or identity, the contributions in this book provide much thought provoking material, especially from parts of the empire that have not previously been prominent in Anglophone scholarship.

The production quality is not high. Typos are frequent and the quality of images is no more than adequate.

P.O. Juhel, *Armes, armement et contexte funéraire dans la Macédoine hellénistique. Avec un appendice sur les trouvailles d'armes relatives à l'archaïsme et aux débuts de l'époque classique en Macédoine et sur ses confins*, Akanthina 11, Development Foundation/Department of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Gdańsk, Gdańsk 2017, 105 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-83-7531-182-2

The book represents an updated version of Appendix 5 of Pierre Juhel's doctoral dissertation.<sup>1</sup> The appendix concerns weapons, mostly from the Hellenistic age, excavated in Macedonia and beyond (Thessaly, Epirus, Thrace, etc.). In addition, J. adds a text that was originally a long note in the dissertation. It deals with weapons, especially military ones, from pre-Hellenistic times, but as noted by J., in this case he only draws some essential deductions and leaves the task of studying the material to others.

In the Introduction J. underlines a fundamental weakness in modern archaeological works: the lack of reflection as to the nature of the excavated weapons, i.e. whether they were military or non-military (for example hunting). Next, he clarifies his approach, which is to classify the weapons as military when the whole military equipment was buried, more precisely helmets, shields and cuirasses (or their fragments), which in his view prove the military character of the buried armaments.

In the Catalogue, J. prefers to follow the terminology for cold steel used by Greek archaeologists (εγχειρίδιο or εγχειρίδιον, μάχαιρα, μαχαίρι and ξίφος) instead of translating it into French which, in his view, may cause distortion. The material is presented in tables, each section giving archaeological place, the excavator and their publications, the type of finds and their dating. Footnotes provide additional information. Here is the right place to mention the two useful colour maps (inside the covers), the first of which notes weapon finds and their type from the Iron Age and from the Archaic and Early Classical periods, the second from the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods.

The catalogue is divided into two major parts. The first (pp. 11–22) presents material whose strictly military character is unlikely. It is subdivided into two minor parts, the first of which concerns unspecified weapons dated from the 4th century BC and the Hellenistic period, and excavated in Macedonia. The second minor part focuses on three types of weapons, namely spearheads, cold steel and arrowheads. Most of them dated to the Hellenistic period, some from the beginning and the middle of the 4th century BC, a few from the end of the Hellenistic and beginning of the Roman period. The finds derive from almost all districts of ancient Macedonia as well as from Thessaly, Euboea and Thrace.

The second major part (pp. 23–41) includes material whose military character is most likely. It too is subdivided into two parts, the first of which is devoted to unspecified weapons. They were excavated in Macedonia and date mostly from the Hellenistic period, but some are from the middle of the 4th century BC and Alexander the Great's reign. The second minor part presents three main type of weapons: offensive (spearheads and cold steel), defensive (helmets, greaves, shields and cuirasses) and projectile (arrowheads and sling bullets). Most date to the Hellenistic period, some from the middle and second part

<sup>1</sup> *L'Armée du royaume de Macédoine à l'époque hellénistique (323–148 av. J.-C.). Les troupes 'nationales'* (Paris-Sorbonne).

of the 4th century BC (or simply the 4th century BC) and the Roman period. They derive from Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, Boeotia and Thrace.

In Part II (pp. 42–44), basing his arguments on the finds presented in the catalogue, J. demonstrates that with few exceptions (aristocratic tombs) the male tombs from the Hellenistic period almost entirely lack military weapons: no helmets, *cnemides*, cuirasses or shields, only spearheads, cutlass blades and sometimes swords or sabres (*xiphos* or *machaira* types) which he defines as hunting weapons.

Part III (pp. 44–48) offers an explanation of this fact: in J.'s view, in the Hellenistic period military weapons did not belong to ordinary soldiers but to "l'État" royal', as the few and rare exceptions are from the tombs of aristocrats.

In Part IV (pp. 48–50) J. deduces that armaments were produced and distributed by the royal authority and that soldiers were not allowed to dispose of them.

Next follows a full bibliography (pp. 51–58) of works cited in the main text and in the figure captions; information on works cited in the appendices is given in their footnotes at first appearance (with the exception of those already been mentioned in the bibliography).

There are three appendices. The first two are devoted to the finds of weapons from the Archaic and Classical periods in Macedonia and beyond (Thessaly, Thrace, etc.). Appendix 1 (pp. 59–68) gathers material listed in *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* (Μέρος Β' Χρονικά); Appendix 2 (pp. 69–75) the material from other journals. The general conclusions based on the finds from Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods are presented in Appendix 3 (pp. 76–83). There J. points out the contrast between the finds from the Archaic period (warriors buried with their weapons, some with shields and 'Illyrian type' helmets) and those from the Hellenistic (an almost complete absence of military weapons). This allows him to conclude that during the first period warriors possessed their own weapons, whereas during the second the weapons were property of the state. In his view, the change was due to a major institutional reform implemented presumably at the border of the Archaic and Classical periods, since when full military equipment was no longer buried (at least the helmets and the shields). This dating allows him to assume that it was Alexander I who implemented the reform. As additional arguments he offers the appearance of a helmet ('Illyrian type') on Alexander I's coins and the reported lack of any decoration on helmets ('Illyrian type') dated from *ca.* 500 BC, the latter of which suggests the helmets were part of a more standardised production eliminating any element of embellishment. Finally, he supposes that the Persians might have participated in the formation of the new Macedonian army (based on Herodotus 7. 185).

Figures and an index round out the volume.

The book is a contribution to the weaponry of the ancient Macedonians and it will be useful for all those studying this question. Particularly interesting is the brief discussion about the organisation of the Macedonian army, and more precisely the infantry. The idea is not new, but it is usually based on F 4 of Anaximenes and recently on Alexander I's coins depicting a horseman with a long spear.<sup>2</sup> Through his observations J. adds a new element in favour of Alexander I but the question remains open to further discussion.

Troyan, Bulgaria

Miroslav Ivanov Vasilev

<sup>2</sup> J. Heinrichs and S. Müller in *ZPE* 167 (2008), 294–95.

C. Jurman, B. Bader and D.A. Aston (eds.), *A True Scribe of Abydos: Essays on First Millennium Egypt in Honour of Anthony Leahy*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 265, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2017, xvi+503 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-3480-1

On the occasion of the approaching retirement of Anthony Leahy, his colleagues, friends and students joined to honour a scholar renowned for his longstanding and fruitful interest in 1st-millennium Egypt, especially the Libyan Period. In this – rather long neglected – branch of Egyptology, Leahy has added much to our present knowledge. Many of the titles in Leahy's bibliography clearly indicate that he has opened new ways of research and found a wide resonance not only among Egyptologists.

David Aston ('"The Third Cache" – Myth or Reality?') broadly discusses the possible existence of this enigmatic cache of grave-goods coming from a number of individual burials or small group tombs, rather than large caches such as the 'First (Royal) Cache' and the 'Second (Bab el-Gasus) Cache'.

Martin Bommas ('The Unpublished Stela of Hunefer. Remarks on Glorification Texts on New Kingdom Funerary Stelae') brings a thorough philological analysis as well as specific analysis of funerary texts to the interpretation of the unique composition on the stela. His copy of the Book of the Dead is without doubt amongst the finest to have survived

Gerard Broekman, in 'Suggesting a New Chronology for the Kushite Twenty-fifth Dynasty and Considering the Consequences for the Preceding Libyan Period', argues that of two chronological models – low chronology (Table V) and higher chronology (Table IV) – the low one is to be preferred, because crucial historical events in Egypt, Kush and the Levant are then more explicable in their broader consequences.

Julia Budka ('Kushites at Abydos: A View from Umm el-Qaab') deals with a specific type of votive pottery, so-called *qaabs* (small offering cups), very well documented from the famous Osireion at Abydos; the author also gives a series of examples of their Kushite modifications. However, these were used as a part of the foundation deposits and discovered in the royal Kushite necropolis at Nuri.

'From the Embalmers' Cabinet of Curiosities' (Maria Cannata) touches briefly upon the wide range of artefacts obtained from the embalmers' deposits at the Theban necropolis and dated to the 26th Dynasty.

Mélanie Cressent ('Nouveau raccord Memphite: la statue d'Horemataouyemat Vienne Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5775 + Caire Musée Égyptien CG 888'), Didier Devauchelle ('Les enterrements d'Apis au temps des Nectanebos') and Claus Jurman ('Impressions of What is Lost – A Study on Four Late Period Seal Impressions in Birmingham and London') offer brief but extremely fascinating overviews of a series of typical ancient Egyptian artefacts, namely statues, stelae and mud sealings, housed in renowned museums across the globe.

Robert Gozzoli elucidates some historical and archaeological questions connected with the turbulent era of the end of the Kushite Egypt in 'Chronology and Royal Succession in the Kushite Kingdom (664–593 BC)'.

A long and in-depth study of the concept of 'linear' and 'cyclic' time, so typical of the Egyptian Pharaonic tradition, is provided by Steve Gregory, 'On the Horus Throne in *ḏt* and *nḥḥ*: Changeless Time and Changing Times'.

'Dead Ringers: The Mortuary Use of Bells in Late Pharaonic Egypt' (Benjamin Hinson) offers an inspiring discussion on the role and function of different types of bells in Egyptian material culture as well as religious belief.

In the largest and one of the most important articles in this volume, a renowned specialist on the history of the 1st millennium BC, Karl Jansen-Winkel, '„Libyerzeit“ oder „post-imperiale Periode“? Zur historischen Einordnung der Dritten Zwischenzeit', thoroughly examines all facets of the so-called Libyan era (mostly the assimilation of non-Egyptians, the political fragmentation of country, the emergence of a strong local centre of power) and its place in Late Pharaonic Egypt.

Allan Lloyd ('Saite Warfare: The Resurgence of Military Ambition') analyses – by giving plenty of examples – the most significant changes in the military practice of the pre-Saite and Saite periods, showing a high level of innovation, mainly nautical (new ramming war-galleys). However, the most radical break is connected with a new concept of Egyptian military strategy, i.e. the active participation of the Saite kings in a series of international alliances with eastern Mediterranean countries against powerful Near Eastern empires.

'Aggregation with the Gods' (Antonio Morales) touches upon the transmission of particular sequences of Pyramid texts from the Old Kingdom to the later periods of the Pharaonic era (Middle–New Kingdoms, and Late Period) and their adaptation to new settings.

Michinori Ohshiro, in 'Searching for the Tomb of the Theban King Osorkon III', suggests not only the possible location of the tomb to the site of Medinet Habu, precisely in front of the Small Temple, but also proposes its architectural type – an underground tomb with a pyramid superstructure. Some briefly mentioned examples prove that this type of royal tomb was very popular at that time.

'Nesptah, père de Montouemhat, à Karnak-nord' (Frédéric Payraudeau) brings a brief philological analysis of the text on the fragment of Nesptah's statue and adds some remarks on his social status.

Olivier Perdu's 'Les origines du précepteur royal Ankhefensekhmet, le nom ancien de Kom Firin et le fief Libou dans l'Ouest du Delta' makes a long and thorough investigation of the career and family background of this nobleman from the Western Delta.

Campbell Price, 'The 'Admiral' Hor and his Naophorous Statue (Manchester Museum acc. No 3570)', like a previous paper on the textual side of the statue, concerns Hor's titles. Price tries to place this information from the short reign of Psamtek II (595–589 BC) in a broader archaeological context. Taking into consideration all the evidence, shifting Hor's burial place (so far unknown) from Tell el-Yahudiya to the Saqqara necropolis, where his contemporary military colleagues lie in huge shaft tombs, is convincing.

Troy Sagrillo ('King Djehuty-em-hat in Swansea: Three Model Scribal Palettes in the Collection of the Egypt Centre of Swansea University') brings a detailed analysis of some examples of well-attested ancient Egyptian artefacts which are, however, understudied. The paper is a good opportunity to see clearly that this class of object can be an excellent source of enormously important information, both historical and geographical.

The paper by Cynthia Sheikholeslami, 'Some Theban Choachytes of the Third Intermediate Period', is highly recommended for its deep and erudite insight into the *choachyte* system and its fairly sophisticated hierarchical organisation. The class of *choachytes* created a real management of cemeteries with a wide range of duties, consequently, their social status was rather high than low.



John Taylor ('Two Lost Cartonnage Cases of the Early Twenty-second Dynasty') offers, in a comprehensive investigation, a fairly acceptable explanation of the rather different iconography of the cartonnage of Horsiese and Neskhonspakhered (Royal College of Surgeons, RCSSC/P. 506, 1 and 2).

Günter Vittmann, in 'An Abnormal Hieratic Letter from Dakhleh Oasis (Ostrakon Amheida 16003)', presents a brilliant (as usual) philological analysis of the ostrakon from Ahmeida, where New York University undertook extensive and fairly successful excavations.

To conclude, this book brings a lot of highly interesting and original information pertaining to various fields of Egyptology. It does full honour to Anthony Leahy.

Charles University, Prague

Květa Smoláriková

S. Kerner, R.J. Dann and P. Bangsgaard (eds.), *Climate and Ancient Societies*, Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen 2015, 352 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-87-635-4199-2

This book contains material presented at a workshop that took place in 2009 by scholars from many countries (Denmark, the Netherlands, the United States, the Czech Republic, Belgium, Italy, France, Switzerland, Germany, Canada and the United Kingdom). It is dedicated to Stine Rossel, a young Danish zooarchaeologist who met her death in 2007.

The work is divided into four sections: 'Holocene Climate Reconstruction'; 'Complex Society's Responses to Climatic Variation'; 'Archaeological Evidence for Pollution and its Ecological Implications'; and 'Stable Isotope Analysis in the Middle East'. Most chapters are devoted to the ancient societies of the Near and Middle East and Egypt.

Section 1 contains two chapters: in the first, 'Holocene Climate Change and Archaeological Implications, with particular Reference to the East Mediterranean Region', N. Roberts shows how human beings responded to climate changes in Holocene period; the second ('Hunter-gatherers Living in a Flooded World: The Change of Climate, Landscapes and Settlement Patterns during the Late Palaeolithic and Mesolithic on Bornholm, Denmark', by Sørensen and Casati) deals with the change towards a warmer climate and flooded landscapes during the Early Holocene on the island of Bornholm, earlier a peninsula, and with the adaptation of the local hunter-gatherers to the changing landscape.

Section 2 is devoted to the adaptation to climatic changes of the ancient societies of the Near East and Egypt: Mesopotamia ('Urban Adaptations to Climate Change in Northern Mesopotamia', by J. Ur; and 'Cultural Transformation and the 8.2 ka Event in Upper Mesopotamia', by Akkermans *et al.*), Anatolia ('Climate and Social Change during the Transition between the Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic in Central Anatolia', by P.F. Biehl), Jordan ('A Narrow Place Can Contain Thousand Friends: Irrigation as a Response to Climate in the Zerqa Triangle, Jordan', by Ertsen and Kapteijn), the Levant ('The Late Bronze Age Collapse and the Early Iron Age in the Levant: The Role of Climate in Cultural Disruption', by Kaniewski *et al.*) and Egypt ('Long Term or Short Term? Climate Change and the Demise of the Old Kingdom', by M. Bárta).

Section 3 contains four chapters: 'New Data on Animal Exploitation from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic periods in Northern Sudan' (Chaix and Honegger), 'Large Game

Depression and the Process of Animal Domestication in the Near East' (B.S. Arbuckle), 'Living in a Marginal Environment: Climate Instability and Possible Lathyrism in the Syrian Neolithic' (Merrett and Meiklejohn) and 'Perceptions of Pasture: The Role of Skills and Networks in Maintaining Stable Pastoral Nomadic Systems in Inner Asia' (Wright and Makarewicz).

Section 4 houses 'Understanding the Reasons for Non-Sustainability in Past Agricultural Systems' (S. Riehl), 'AMS  $^{14}\text{C}$ -dated Plants as a Tool for Investigating Palaeoclimate: New Data for Analysing Social Complexity in Ebla and Qatna (Northwestern Syria) in the Light of 3rd Millennium BC Climate Change' (Fiorentino and Caracuta) and 'Provenance Studies of Ancient Textiles: A New Method Based on The Strontium Isotope System' (K.M. Frei).

The book represents a remarkable example of the interaction of precise geomorphic, geological, palaeoclimatic, dendrochronological and soil sciences, based on unique technologies using the latest methods of analysis, with archaeological data. All contributions trace the connection of changes in the climatic and environmental situation and the responses to them of the ancient societies of Asia Minor, the Near and Middle East, and explore the adaptation of the human community to these changes, which was most often successful. And this is the positive result of the research, which is also important for the further destinies of humanity on our planet.

No wonder that Rachel Dann, one of the co-editors, repeats in her Introduction the provocative question of S.D. Dawdy: 'Can archaeology save the world?' Her positive response explains the essence, aims and value of archaeological studies, connected with the problems of the climatology and environmental studies: 'Uniquely placed, due to well-developed methodological and interpretative strategies, and with our *longue durée* perspective, archaeologists clearly have much to bring to the table in forming strategies to anticipate and solve current and future climate and environment based problems' (p. 24).

Institute for World History  
Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow

Alexandr V. Podossinov

H.J. Kim, F.J. Vervaeke and S.F. Adali (eds.), *Eurasian Empires in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Contact and Exchange between the Graeco-Roman World, Inner Asia and China*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2017, xvi+333 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-19041-2

Spätestens mit der „Belt and Road“-Initiative der Volksrepublik China und entsprechenden anderen Projekten<sup>1</sup> konzentrieren sich viele Forscher auf diesen Großraum, unter der Verwendung ganz unterschiedlicher Ansätze wie etwa „Comparative Studies“, „Entangled History“ oder „Global History“. So wenig, auch in diesem Band, die theoretischen wie

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. etwa das japanische Projekt „IAFOR Silk Road“, <https://silkroad.iafor.org> oder das ERC Projekt „Beyond the Silk Road. Economic Development, Frontier Zones and Inter-Imperiality in the Afro-Eurasian World Region, 300 BCE to 300 CE“, <https://www.basar.uni-freiburg.de> (26.12.2018).

methodologischen Grundlagen der jeweiligen Ansätze geklärt sind,<sup>2</sup> so sehr werden analoge (und seltener disanaloge) Entwicklungen, direkte oder indirekte Austauschprozesse und Kontaktzonen ausgemacht, wobei aufgrund der disparaten literarischen Quellenlage der Archäologie und deren (neuesten) Erkenntnissen besondere Bedeutung zukommt.

Der hier zu besprechende Band versucht die eben angerissene Problemlage durch das Konzept der drei Imperien in den Griff zu bekommen. Nicht nur die griechisch-römische Welt und China werden dabei als „empires“ klassifiziert, sondern auch der Zwischenregion wird eine imperiale Tradition zugeeignet, wie die Einleitung durch zwei der Herausgeber, Hyun Jin Kim und Frederik Vervaeke, hervorhebt (S. 1–12). Als „comprehensive“ (S. 4) wird der eigene Ansatz umschrieben, da die Großregion holistisch in den Blick genommen werde; allerdings werden nur „key aspects which illuminate the inter-connectivity and shared characteristics of imperial societies and politics in ancient and medieval Eurasia“ (S. 4) untersucht, der eigene Ansatz also gleich wieder relativiert.

Und in der Tat sind die elf Beiträge, organisiert in vier Sektionen, ganz unterschiedlichen Themen gewidmet, werden dabei im Grunde genommen meist erst durch die Einleitung und den hierzu repetitiven Schluß (S. 313–17) miteinander verbunden.

Unter „Political Organization and Interactions of Eurasian Empires“ wird der eurasiatische Aspekt noch am deutlichsten. Studien zu den Hunnen (Kim), dem Pferdemanagement der Tang-Dynastie (Jonathan Skaff) und den Kimmerern sowie Skythen in ihren Auswirkungen auf den vorderasiatischen Raum (Selim Ferruh Adali), obschon zeitlich verschieden, zeigen das Potential eines Perspektivwechsels, welcher die Region zwischen Mittelmeerraum und China nicht als passive Transitregion versteht, sondern als Anstoßpunkt von Prozessen in den beiden angrenzenden Regionen annimmt.

In traditionelleren Bahnen bewegen sich dann jedoch die Studien im zweiten Teil „Socio-Institutional Aspects of Eurasian Empires“. Interessant, wenn auch nicht gänzlich neu, wie behauptet, sind die beiden Beiträge zu „Honour and Shame“ in der Römischen Republik (Vervaeke) und im China der Han-Dynastie (Mark Lewis), die in komparativer Perspektive zu lesen sind. Leider gerät der Ausblick auf die Römische Kaiserzeit im Artikel von Vervaeke hier doch sehr kurz, womit ein potentiell stimulierendes *tertium comparationis* entfällt.<sup>3</sup> Walter Scheidels Überblick zu „Slavery and Forced Labour in Early China and the Roman World“ bringt in einem Beitrag beide Seiten zusammen und beschreibt einsichtsvoll, obschon abhängig von der insgesamt dürren Quellenlage, wie unterschiedliche Sozial- und Staatsstrukturen und deren Umgang mit Sklaverei sowie anderen Formen der Unfreiheit auch unterschiedliche wirtschaftliche Entwicklungen zeitigten.

<sup>2</sup> Zu „Comparative Studies“ vgl. etwa das „Forum: Comparative Studies – Chances and Challenges“ mit Beiträgen von F.-H. Mutschler / W. Scheidel und S. Günther im *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 32.1 (2017), 107–21, 123–26. Auf dem Melammu-Workshop „At the Edges of Empires: Territories and Processes nearby and between Emerging Great Powers in Antiquity“ am Institute for the History of Ancient Civilizations (IHAC), Northeast Normal University, Changchun vom 30.08.–03.09.2018 wurden die diversen Begrifflichkeiten kritisch diskutiert, siehe den englischen Tagungsbericht in H-Soz-Kult: <https://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-7868> (26.12.2018).

<sup>3</sup> Zu aristokratischen Wertefeldern in der Kaiserzeit vgl. nun die Studie von E. Hartmann, *Ordnung in Unordnung. Kommunikation, Konsum und Konkurrenz in der stadtrömischen Gesellschaft der frühen Kaiserzeit* (Stuttgart 2016).

Mit „Cultural Legacies of Eurasian Empires“ werden Aspekte von literarischer Produktion und Aneignung sowie religiösen Akteuren angesprochen. Alexander Beecroft vergleicht den Umgang mit zwei literarischen Giganten, Homers Werke und das Shi Jing, das Buch der Lieder, in der Kommentarliteratur. Beispielhaft werden Anverwandlungen aufgezeigt. Samuel Lieu widmet sich der unterschiedlichen Ausbreitung des Manichäismus und deren Multilingualität, was durch neue Funde Bestätigung findet. Hier wären sicherlich ein intensiver Vergleich von Übersetzungen von der einen in die andere Sprache sowie systematische Überlegungen zu den verschiedenen Ebenen des Sprachgebrauchs ebenso instruktiv wie die Einbeziehung des Nestorianismus als teilweise vergleichbarer religiöser Bewegung zwischen verschiedenen Imperien.

In der letzten Sektion „Archaeology of Eurasian Empires“ wird die Perspektive erneut gewechselt, weg von den beiden Großreichen, Imperium Romanum und China, hin zu einzelnen Kulturen im innereurasischen Raum. In den drei Studien zu Alanen im südlichen Kaukasus (Antonio Sagona, Claudia Sagona und Aleksandra Michalewicz), Griechen, Skythen, Parther und Kuschan in Zentralasien und Indien (Osmund Bopearachchi) sowie den Siedlungsformen der „enclosure sites“ beziehungsweise „fortified sites“ im eurasischen Raum werden die Schwierigkeiten der Interpretation des archäologischen Befundes deutlich, unter anderem die Frage nach der Konnektivität von Objekten und Akteuren, der Bezeugung von Identitätsgraden oder dem Nutzungsverhalten. Mit dem Aufbrechen von traditionellen Identitätskonstrukten à la „Griechen“ oder Siedlungsweisen entlang den Zuschreibungen „nomadisch“, „ländlich“ oder „städtisch“ bleiben auch hier mehr Fragen als Antworten zurück.

Insgesamt gesehen sind die Einzelstudien sehr informativ und gut gearbeitet. Der Anspruch des Bandes, ein übergreifendes Gesamtbild, wenn auch entlang von Schlüsselfaktoren, zum eurasischen Großraum zu liefern, wird jedoch nur teilweise eingelöst, da wirkliche interdisziplinäre Arbeit nur ansatzweise stattfindet. Es bleibt beim Leser, ausgehend von der Übergreifenden adressierenden Einleitung und dem ebenso interdisziplinären Schluß derlei Verknüpfungen zu leisten.

Northeast Normal University, Changchun

Sven Günther

C.J. King, *Ancient Macedonia*, Routledge, London/New York 2018, 307 pp., maps. Cased. ISBN 978-0-415-82727-0

Carol King's book is the first English-language monograph studying both Argead and Antigonid Macedonia since Errington's *A History of Macedonia* (1990). Therefore, for the English reader such a publication is more than welcome. In the Preface, the aim of the study is clarified: to offer a narrative account of the rise and fall of Macedonia (7th century BC–167 BC), which is meant to be both informative and explorative, and 'not too overburdened with the many Gordian knots of historiography'. The book is addressed not only to scholars but also to undergraduates and non-specialist readers. K. notes that constraints of space have compelled her to limit the bibliography mainly to scholarship of the past 40 years (in English, though some works in German, French and Italian are also quoted) which, given the addressees, appears the right decision.

The book is divided into ten chapters. Chapter 1 deals with the geographical boundaries of Macedonia, the people living there, the legends of the foundation of the kingdom and its early expansion. K. only touches on the question of the origins of the ancient Macedonians. She assumes that Herodotus' account of Perdiccas and his brothers might well have been 'the "official" list from the Macedonian court in the mid fifth century' and believes that in their early expansion the Macedonians might have moved from west to east: Pindus–Orestis–western Pieria–the Emathian Plain.

Chapter 2 narrates events from *ca.* 510 to 400/399 BC. Here mostly political events are described, but attention is also paid to the coinage of Alexander I and the resources of Macedonia: gold and silver mines, timber, etc. Nothing is said, however, about Archelaus' patronage of prominent Greeks who stayed at his court.

Chapter 3 covers the four decades of instability of Argead Macedonia (400/399–360/59 BC). K. discusses the problem of succession and reaches the conclusion that father-to-son succession was 'the traditional practice from the beginning of the dynasty, even if the son was much underage'.

The reign of Philip II is the subject of Chapter 4. K. focuses mainly on his foreign policy, but also pays attention to the process of consolidation of Upper and Lower Macedonia.

Chapter 5 is a useful digression devoted to the Macedonian military. K. notes the predominantly aristocratic nature of the Macedonian cavalry before Philip II. As for the *pezhetairoi*, K. notes that there is no certain conclusion about which Macedonian king organised them: Alexander I, Alexander II, Philip II or Alexander III. Overall, the accent is put on Philip II's and Alexander III's reforms and innovations, as almost nothing is said about the Macedonian military under the Antigonids.

Chapter 6 deals with Alexander's youth and the first two years of his reign, Chapter 7 with his Asiatic campaign. In the latter a few pages (pp. 165–67) consider the judicial system in Argead Macedonia. As K. deduces: 'A fair "constitutional" judicial system did not exist. And we cannot be sure that the Macedonians had anything that can be rightly called a legal code.'

Chapter 8 discusses Antipater's career before and after Alexander's death and Chapter 9 the wars between the Successors in the period of 319–279 BC. In the latter one page (p. 214) is devoted to the archaeological finds from Vergina and the so-called Kasta Tomb.

Chapter 10 focuses on the political events during Antigonid Macedonia. A full bibliography and an index round out the volume.

The account is well structured, easy to read and informative. K. does not express her own view everywhere, but she provides the different opinions of scholars on the problems discussed. There are some shortcomings. The title of the book is somewhat misleading, since K. does not discuss the religion and culture of Ancient Macedonia, but focuses exclusively on its political history. She pays attention mostly to the ancient literary evidence and to a large extent ignores archaeological finds and Macedonian coinage. Antigonid Macedonia is definitely neglected (only Chapter 10).

To sum up, the book will be of benefit mostly to non-specialists, students and scholars unfamiliar with the political history of ancient Macedonia. It represents a useful introduction to the topic.

R.B. Koehl (ed.), *Studies in Aegean Art and Culture: A New York Aegean Bronze Age Colloquium in Memory of Ellen N. Davis*, Institute for Aegean Prehistory, INSTAP Academic Press, Philadelphia 2016, xvii+158 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-931534-86-4

This richly illustrated volume of handy size represents the publication of a colloquium in memory of Ellen Davis that took place in Roosevelt House at Hunter College in New York in September 2014. The series of ten articles included in this book thematically correspond, directly or indirectly, to the main fields of Davis's scholarly interest, i.e. the archaeology of metals and Aegean metal vessels, Minoan mural paintings and other artistic media as well as iconographic questions of the Aegean Bronze Age.

In her contribution, entitled 'The Silver Kantharos from Gournia Revisited' (pp. 1–10), Judith Weingarten supports the original inspiration of this very specific vessel form by Anatolian prototypes (in metal) and points to the high number of similar clay vases known from eastern Crete. By re-dating the kantharos from Gournia to MM II, the author approximates its date to that of the examples from Kültepe Level Ib.

Taking the two gold relief cups from Vapheio as point of departure in his study 'Helladic Pairs of Cups' (pp. 11–26), Malcolm Wiener discusses pairs of vessels in their wider Aegean context and suggests their use by host and guest. One may add that corresponding pairs of comparable bull imagery are known also from other Minoan and Mycenaean artistic objects.<sup>1</sup> Also, the phenomenon that artefacts were produced or, at least, distributed in pairs is well exemplified by Aegean seals and signet rings.<sup>2</sup>

In his article, 'For Ellen Davis: Transylvanian Gold?' (pp. 27–34), Günter Kopcke sketches a lively narrative model of the economic situation during the Shaft Grave Period by linking the Aegean type of gold sword from Persinari in the Carpathians with Mycenae while emphasising the Minoan craftsmanship of several metal vessels found in the shaft graves and their appropriation either by gift exchange or by looting.

In their study on 'Cycladic and More Northerly Connections in the Metal Objects from Petras Cemetery' (pp. 35–46), Philip Betancourt, Susan Ferrence and James Muhly confirm the image of strong connections of this east Cretan region to the Cyclades during EM IB and II as well as its participation in a complex network of exchange that also includes the Helladic mainland and the Balkan.

By considering the iconography of the Cycladic Bronze Age as a 'language' that reflects society, economy and social status, Christos Doumas, in his article on 'The Human Condition as Reflected in Early Aegean Art' (pp. 47–57), defines explanations of the varying frequency of female and male figures respectively in the arts throughout these periods that culminates in the "bourgeois" mentality of LM IA Akrotiri.

<sup>1</sup> F. Blakolmer, 'Chaos und Ordnung. Ein ägyptischer Antagonismus in der minoischen Ikonographie des Stieres'. In B. Brandt, V. Gassner and S. Ladstätter (eds.), *Synergia. Festschrift für Friedrich Krinzinger II* (Vienna 2005), 135–42.

<sup>2</sup> P. Rehak and J.G. Younger, 'Minoan and Mycenaean administration in the early Late Bronze Age: an overview'. In M. Perna (ed.), *Administrative Documents in the Aegean and their Near Eastern Counterparts* (Turin 2000), 277–301, especially p. 293.



In his contribution, 'Purple Rosettes/Πορφυροί ρόδακες: New Data on Polychromy and Perception in the Thera Wall Paintings' (pp. 59–76), Andreas Vlachopoulos presents, for the first time, a synopsis of the ornamental mural paintings attributed to the third floor of building Xeste 3 in Akrotiri, amongst them spiral-like compositions in monumental size. By discussing the rare use of the organic pigment purple in mural painting, the variability of colour combinations and the association of the Relief Lozenges Fresco with textiles as well as the symbolism of water, Vlachopoulos provides nuanced and convincing new interpretations.

In her very insightful analysis of 'Depictions of Water in Aegean Miniature-Style Wall Paintings' (pp. 77–92), Elizabeth Shank exemplifies the large variety and inventiveness of pictorial formulae of representing the water of rivers and the sea. Of particular importance is a mural painting fragment from Epáno Zakros published here for the first time.

Bernice Jones's study, 'The Three Minoan "Snake Goddesses"' (pp. 93–112), constitutes a detailed analysis of the fragments of these faience figurines from Knossos and their reconstruction. Amongst the many important and conclusive observations by the author, the dissociation of the apron from the figure with the tiara and its attribution to the third figure as well as the identification of the 'serpentine girdle' as a double rolled girdle must be highlighted.

In his contribution, 'Beyond the "Chieftain Cup": More Images Relating to Minoan Male "Rites of Passage"' (pp. 113–32), Robert Koehl, the editor of this volume, continues his series of very stimulating studies on Minoan age-grades. Although, for the reviewer, in examples such as the gold ring CMS I, no. 292, from Pylos a sexual scene could well be the case, other interpretations of the predominance of male figures might appear more plausible in outstanding scenes such as the 'Proskynesis ring' image from Zakros. Of great significance is the identification of a crouching fifth figure on sealing CMS II7, no. 2, from Zakros, interpreted by Koehl as the depiction of a sword dance.

The last and highly inspiring essay is by Thomas Palaima, 'The Ideology of the Ruler in Mycenaean Prehistory: Twenty Years after the Missing Ruler' (pp. 133–58), where he analyses the etymological meanings and semantic associations of the Mycenaean title *wanax* as well as the connected symbols *megaron*, *skeptron* and *thronos*. Most of them are of non-Indo-European origin and were ascribed values such as support, stability, ancestral legitimacy and linkage to the divine sphere.

This volume, richly illustrated in colour and in black-and-white, comprises a series of articles on prominent and challenging subjects of Aegean Bronze Age studies and thus is of great interest to all scholars active in this field. All contributions demonstrate the actual and timeless character of the favourite topics of Davis's *oeuvre* as well as the highly influential fruitfulness of her publications and ideas. Therefore, this volume forms a precious gift worthy of perpetuating her memory.

University of Vienna

Fritz Blakolmer

A. Kryszewski, *A Historical Geography of the Hittite Heartland*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 437, Ugarit Verlag, Münster 2016, xx+423 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86835-199-6/ISSN 0931-4296.

Der vorliegende Band stellt die überarbeitete Fassung der Doktorarbeit des Autors dar, dessen Ziel es ist, die geographischen Beziehungen der wichtigeren politisch-religiösen

Zentren des hethitischen Kernlandes anhand der schriftlichen Quellen zu rekonstruieren. Mit anderen Worten hat dieser Beitrag nicht vor, genaue Lokalisierungen anzustreben, sondern versucht er eine relative Geographie, eine Art Netz zu skizzieren (S. 1). Diese Untersuchung wird in sechs Kapiteln ausgeführt: das erste ist der Forschungsgeschichte (S. 7–20), das zweite den Quellen und der Methodik (S. 21–27), das dritte bis zum fünften den einzelnen Siedlungen (S. 29–387), und das sechste der Zusammenfassung gewidmet (S. 389–94). Das Buch schließt mit der Bibliographie (S. 395–408) und den Indices zu den besprochenen Toponymen und Belegen (S. 409–23).<sup>1</sup>

Obwohl der Titel des ersten Kapitels nicht nur Forschungsgeschichte, sondern auch „the Present State of Knowledge“ verspricht, bleibt das Kapitel auf die Forschungsgeschichte beschränkt und die einzelnen Hypothesen werden bei den jeweiligen Siedlungen gelistet (vgl. unten). Dies ist umso verständlicher, weil man über einen „Present State of Knowledge“ kaum sprechen kann, da nur extrem wenige Lokalisierungen als allgemein anerkannt gelten. Man darf auch nicht vergessen, dass es wegen der kontinuierlich heranströmenden Beiträge keineswegs eine dankbare Aufgabe ist, die Forschungsgeschichte der hethitischen historischen Geographie darzulegen – kurz nach der Veröffentlichung dieses Bandes wurde z.B. das Handbuch der hethitischen Geographie veröffentlicht, das nicht nur das Hauptthema der vorliegenden Arbeit betrifft (dazu s. noch unten), sondern auch einzelne Fragestellungen.<sup>2</sup> Diese Forschungsgeschichte ist dennoch eine nützliche Zusammenfassung, vor allem, weil die bisherigen Methoden innerhalb dieser Forschungsgeschichte vorgestellt wurden. Prophetisch sind die abschließenden Worte dieses Kapitels, denen zufolge, die Analyse des Tontafelmaterials „certainly will be of crucial importance for identifying ancient settlements“ (S. 20): kurz nach diesem Buch erschien die Untersuchung Ganders,<sup>3</sup> in der er die naturwissenschaftliche Analyse des angeblich aus Apaša (dem angenommenen Vorläufer von Ephesos) stammenden Amarna-Briefes (nämlich, dass er nicht aus der Umgebung von Ephesos stammen kann) aus geographischer Sicht zum ersten Mal wahrnimmt, und versucht, die sich daraus ergebenden Probleme zu lösen (diese Untersuchungen wurden allerdings schon 2004 durchgeführt<sup>4</sup>). Dem methodisch interessierten Leser fällt es allerdings auf, dass eine Methode, das statistische Gravitationsmodell (und seine Varianten), fehlt. Obwohl diese Methode sowohl aus philologisch-methodischer als auch aus mathematischer Sicht zu Recht abgelehnt wurde,<sup>5</sup> wäre es interessant zu erfahren,

<sup>1</sup> Die technische Qualität des Bandes ist hoch, es finden sich nur wenige Tippfehler: *Boğaköy* (S. xx, zweimal) *noed* statt *noted* (S. 17), *fiedom* statt *fiefdom* (S. 46, die Bedeutung des entsprechenden hethitischen Wortes *paršahannaš* ist allerdings nicht so klar, vgl. H.G. Güterbock, H.A. Hoffner und T.P.J. van den Hout (Hrsg.), *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago 1980–), 201 mit Diskussion); *graet* (S. 96); *Kuruštsama* statt *Kuruštama* (S. 176); *Prodeedings* (S. 407).

<sup>2</sup> M. Weeden und L.Z. Ullmann (Hrsg.), *Hittite Landscape and Geography* (Leiden/Boston 2017).

<sup>3</sup> M. Gander, 'An Alternative View on the Location of Arzawa'. In A. Mouton (Hrsg.), *Hittitology Today: Studies on Hittite and Neo-Hittite Anatolia in Honor of Emmanuel Laroche's 100th Birthday* (Istanbul 2017), 163–90.

<sup>4</sup> S.M. Artzy, H. Mommsen und F. Asaro, 'Neutron Activation Analysis of EA 32'. In Y. Goren, I. Finkelstein und N. Na'aman (Hrsg.), *Inscribed in Clay. Provenance Study of the Amarna-Tablets and Other Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Tel Aviv 2004), 47.

<sup>5</sup> G. Chambon, 'Gravitationsmodelle in der historischen Geographie des Alten Orients. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen ihrer Anwendung'. In E. Cancik-Kirschbaum und N. Ziegler (Hrsg.), *Entre les*

was der Autor darüber meint, vor allem, weil auch seine Region und sogar eine seiner Siedlungen (Durmitta) mit dieser Methode untersucht wurden.<sup>6</sup> Als weitere, kleinere Kritikpunkte zu diesem Kapitel muss noch hinzugefügt werden, dass es keine gute Idee ist, Fischer 2010 als einen Überblick zur Geschichte der Aḫḫiyawa-Frage (S. 10, Anm. 21) und Savaş 1998 zu den Toponymen im Hieroglyphen-Luwischen vorzuschlagen (S. 17, Anm. 65), weil sie bekanntlich unbrauchbar sind.<sup>7</sup> Es sei zu erwähnen, dass, im Gegensatz zur Feststellung des Autors, nicht nur die hieroglyphen-luwischen Texte, sondern auch die sog. Bronzetafel Hawkins erlaubten, eine neue Geographie Westkleinasiens zu skizzieren und nicht nur ihm, sondern auch Starke.<sup>8</sup>

Das zweite Kapitel ist das zentrale Kapitel des Bandes, insofern der Autor darin seine Methodik beschreibt. Er teilt die relevanten Texte in vier Gruppe ein, die sog. Itinerarien (Gruppe A, typisch sind z.B. die sog. Reisefeste), Beschreibungen von einzelnen Regionen (Gruppe B, wie z.B. die lokalen Kulte), unklare Kontexte von Toponym(beziehung)en (Gruppe C), und Listen (Gruppe D). Die Beleglage der Toponyme wird anhand dieser Gruppierung tabellarisch bei jedem einzelnen Toponym zusammengestellt, und mithilfe dieser Texte werden dann die beiden eigenen Toponymclusters (das lokale [die unmittelbare Umgebung] und das regionale) jeder Toponyme erarbeitet. Falls möglich, werden auch die Details, die die Distanz der jeweiligen Siedlungen charakterisieren, mit einbezogen. So erfahren wir z.B. am Ende der Untersuchung zu Arinna, dass die Reise von Ḫattuša nach Arinna einen Tag dauerte, der König während der Reise zuerst nach Kulilla ging (und zwar mit einem *ḫuluganni*-Wagen), dann mit Streitwagen nach Matilla und von Matilla aus nach Arinna wiederum mit *ḫuluganni* nach Arinna (eine andere Möglichkeit war, direkt nach Matilla mit Streitwagen, S. 48). Das zweite Kapitel bespricht ausführlich die methodologischen Probleme dieser Angaben, z.B. was ein Tagesreise bedeuten kann und welche Geschwindigkeit *ḫuluganni* (sehr niedrig) und das Streitwagen implizieren.

Das dritte, vierte und fünfte Kapitel besprechen die Siedlungen von einer Tagesreise von Ḫattuša aus (Arinna, Taḫurpa, Tawiniya), von einer Reise von zwei Tagen (Ḫanḫana, Katapa, Zippalanda), sowie von einer Reise von mehr als zwei Tagen (Ankuwa, Ḫattena, Šapinuwa, Durmitta). Die Kapitel folgen einem einheitlichen Schema: Zuerst wird die bisherige Literatur angegeben, dessen Lokalisierungsversuche auch auf einer Karte veranschaulicht werden. Diese Karten sind allerdings nur begrenzt hilfreich, weil keine Distanzangabe in der Legende dieser Karten zur Verfügung steht, weshalb man die tatsächlichen

*fleuves 1. Untersuchungen zur historischen Geographie Obermesopotamiens im 2. Jahrtausend* (Berlin 2009), 323–37 bzw. H. Brunke, 'Kraftgesetz und Statistik. Anmerkungen zum Thema „Gravitationsmodelle in der historischen Geographie“'. *Altorientalische Forschungen* 41 (2014), 147–54.

<sup>6</sup> W. Tobler und S. Wineburg, 'A Cappadocian Speculation'. *Nature* 231 (1971), 39–41; G. Barjamovic, T. Chaney, K. Coşar und A. Hortaçsu, 'Trade, Merchants, and the Lost Cities of the Bronze Age'. *The National Bureau of Economic Research Working Papers* No. 23992 (2017) <http://www.nber.org/papers/w23992> (letzter Zugriff: 6. August 2018).

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. z.B. die Rezensionen von M. Gander, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 110 (2015), 290–95 und I. Yakubovich, *Kratylos* 58 (2013), 185–92.

<sup>8</sup> J.D. Hawkins, 'Tarkasnawa, King of Mira. »Tarkondemos«, Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel'. *AS* 48 (1998), 1–31; F. Starke, 'Troia im Kontext des historisch-politischen und sprachlichen Umfeldes Kleinasiens im 2. Jahrtausend'. *Studia Troica* 7 (1997), 447–87.

Entfernungen von der Karte nicht ablesen kann. Diesen folgen die chronologisch geordnete Beleglage und Bemerkungen zur Orthographie des Namens (zur Orthographie der Toponyme gehört, dass sich auch der Autor an die unglückliche Praxis anschließt, die eine bestimmte nordöstliche Region „Azzi-Hayaša“ nennt [S. 13, Anm. 45], obwohl diese Region konsistent *entweder* Azzi *oder* Hayaša genannt wird, nie als Kompositum<sup>9</sup>). Nur in einem Fall bietet der Autor auch sprachwissenschaftliche Bemerkungen zur Orthographie an, und zwar im Falle von Durmitta, die in den altassyrischen Texten in vielen verschiedenen Formen belegt ist (Durḫumit(u) / Dirḫumit, Duruḫmit, Durḫimit, Durmit [er erwähnt diese Form zweimal]), die er als \*/Durḫmit/ interpretieren würde (S. 347), obwohl die Gruppe °rḫum°/°ruh° offenbar eine Form \*/Durḫ°mit/ voraussetzt, mit späteren Vereinfachung der Konsonantengruppe.

Danach kommen die Gruppierung der Beleglage nach der oben beschriebenen Weise und die tatsächliche Analyse, zuerst des regionalen, dann des lokalen Clusters (in der die Beleglage mit der des „Haupttoponyms“ identisch angegeben wird). Nicht nachvollziehbar war die Feststellung des Autors auf S. 324 zur Identifizierung von Ortaköy: „A. Süel’s identification of the site with Šapinuwa has been almost universally accepted, despite the fact that no compelling supporting evidence has been presented. Nevertheless, the identification seems sound and it is assumed correct in the present analysis.“ Wenn der Autor seinen Skeptizismus zur Identifizierung äußert (und zwar zu Recht), warum betrachtet er sie dann als korrekt und nutzt sie als Stützpunkt (S. 389)?<sup>10</sup> Auch die Charakterisierung Šapinuwas als „royal residence“ (S. 324) wurde jüngst in Frage gestellt.<sup>11</sup> Zu einem lokalen Cluster auf S. 134 ist ein Lapsus eingedrungen, weil der Autor konsequent über das Toponym „*Militiya*“ spricht, obwohl der korrekt zitierte Beleg *Mi-il-ti-ya* (KBo 16.57 Rs. 4) zeigt. Die Analysen schließen mit der Zusammenfassung beider Clusters, in denen die Netzwerke des Toponyms auch visuell dargestellt werden. In der Analyse werden die einschlägigen Texte sowohl in Umschrift als auch in Übersetzung angegeben, in denen man manchmal veraltete Deutungen findet (Götternamen in Akkusativ mit dem Verb ‚trinken‘ sind nicht wörtlich zu übersetzen [*contra* S. 54–55, 73], sondern ‚man trinkt auf die Gottheit So-und-So‘;<sup>12</sup> *telipuri-* (S. 62) hat eine gut etablierte Bedeutung als ‚Bezirk‘;<sup>13</sup> die Übersetzung von *zintuḫi-* einfach als „girls“ (S. 65) lässt sich schwer rechtfertigen<sup>14</sup>).

<sup>9</sup> S. zuletzt M. Alparslan, ‘The East: Upper Land, Išuwa-Malitiya, Azzi-Hayaša[.]Philology’. In Weeden und Ullmann (Anm. 2), 215 mit Lit.

<sup>10</sup> Für Süels Argumente s. A. Süel, ‘Ortaköy’ün Hitit Çağ’ındaki Adı’. *Belleten* 225 (1995), 271–83 (= ‘The Name of Ortaköy in the Hittite Period’. In *XII. Türk Tarih Kongresi* [Ankara 1999], 117–28) und jetzt A. Süel und M. Weeden, ‘Central East: Philology’. In Weeden und Ullmann (Anm. 2), 200.

<sup>11</sup> M. Doğan-Alparslan und M. Alparslan, ‘Wohnsitze und Hauptstädte der hethitischen Könige’. *IstMitt* 61 (2011), 90.

<sup>12</sup> O. Soysal, ‘Philological Contributions to Hattian-Hittite Religion (I)’. *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 8 (2008), 45–58 mit P.M. Goedegebuure, ‘Hattian Origins of Hittite Religious Concepts: The Syntax of ‘to drink (to) a deity’ (Again) and Other Phrases’. *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 8 (2008), 67–73.

<sup>13</sup> J. Tischler, *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar III. T, D* (Innsbruck 1991–94), 306–08.

<sup>14</sup> Tischler (Anm. 13) IV. W–Z (Innsbruck 2016), 747–50.

Das sechste Kapitel stellt die Zusammenfassung dar, und zwar auch mit einem Gesamtnetzwerk (S. 392), das den zukünftigen Forschungen sehr nützlich wird, und mit zwei vorsichtigen Projektionen dieses Netzwerks auf die Karte Nordzentralanatoliens (S. 393–94). Um nur ein Beispiel für die Nützlichkeit der Methodik des Autors und seines Netzwerks zu erwähnen: Zippalanda wird oft südlich von Ḫattuša lokalisiert (so auch das Grabungsteam von Uşaklı Höyük, das sein Fundort mit Zippalanda gleichsetzen möchte<sup>15</sup>). Die klaren geographischen Beziehungen von Zippalanda zu Katapa (S. 251–85, 392), das zweifellos *nördlich* von Hattusa lag, beweisen allerdings, dass Zippalanda nur nördlich von Ḫattuša lokalisiert werden kann.<sup>1616</sup>

Trotz der methodisch fundierten Vorgehensweise des Autors wäre es allerdings verfrüht anzunehmen, dass damit die Probleme der hethitischen Geographie im Nordzentralanatolien gelöst wurden. Zum einen werden die philologischen Details weiterhin diskutiert und gegebenenfalls ganz andere Folgerungen gezogen (wie einem ein Blick auf das entsprechende Kapitel im neuen Handbuch zur hethitischen Geographie lehrt<sup>17</sup>). Zum anderen werden dadurch die Siedlungen noch nicht genau lokalisiert. Es ist allerdings klar, dass Kryszewski's Arbeit dazu einen entscheidenden und der zukünftigen Forschungen unentbehrlichen Schritt darstellt.

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Zsolt Simon

R.M. Léger, *Artemis and Her Cult*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2017, vi+177 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-550-6

This work nicely combines in its presentation a published dissertation (from the University of Birmingham) and an archaeological report (in this case an up-to-date survey of the archaeological record for the veneration of the Greek goddess Artemis in major sites in Arcadia and Attica and at both Sparta and Ephesus). The work is in A4 size and its sections are numbered (1.1.1, etc.) after the fashion of both thesis and report. Ruth Léger works on the hypothesis that the materials recovered for ritual activity honouring the goddess let us in on the cultivation of group identity in the particular locales under scrutiny.

After wading through the classical texts from Homer on to sources provided by the Byzantine *Suda*, L. holds that, if in the earlier Bronze Age the deity was probably an aspect or version of the ancient 'Mother of the Gods' (which epithet often still attached to her), Artemis emerged in the Mycenaean period as *potnia therôn*, or fierce mistress of the wild beasts, before gaining clearer identity in the classical sources as Artemis, and as the object

<sup>15</sup> G. Torri, 'Epigraphic Evidence about Zippalanda'. In S. Mazzoni und F. Pecchioli-Daddi (Hrsg.), *The Uşaklı Höyük Survey Project (2008–2012). A Final Report* (Florenze 2015), 365–67.

<sup>16</sup> Eine erwägenswerte Identifizierung mit Kuşsaray schlägt P. Taracha, 'Looking for Ziplanda. The Hittite Names of Kuşsaray and Kaletpe'. In A. d'Agostino, V. Orsi und G. Torri (Hrsg.), *Sacred Landscapes of Hittites and Luwians* (Florenze 2015), 57–66.

<sup>17</sup> Ö. Sir Gavaz, 'Ḫattuša and Environs: Philology'. In Weeden und Ullmann (Anm. 2.), 179–99. Für ihre Rezension zu Kryszewski's Buch s. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 80 (2017), 126–28.

of temple cult activity. Perhaps because L. has the business of researching four major site areas, her textual citations relate to her main purposes. From the viewpoint of 'Ancient East–West' connections, though, it is a pity that the pre-Classical cross-Aegean bridgehead of Delos is barely considered. Delos was traditionally the birthplace of Artemis and Apollo, and the Cyclades would seem to be crucial as both trading and cult-pilgrimage centre from the 6th century BC. The even wide comparative question of Lords of the Beasts in Eurasian archaic religions (given special attention by an unmentioned Mircea Eliade, and by two classicists Chryssanthos Christou and Nanno Marinatos, who are acknowledged) is left undeveloped.

In organising her survey (Chapter 3–5), L. opts first to cover Sparta (especially the sanctuary of Artemis-Orthia within the old city walls), then Ephesus (with a history of its great Artemisia), and lastly remains at Tegea, Laconia, Arcadia (where connections between Artemis and Athena are found), with Attic remains such as Brauronia given supplementary attention. Each site has its own interest, and the stages of cultic formation and temple history have had to be traced from Late Bronze Age to Roman times. The most significant finds are carefully documented (buildings, statues, figurines, sacrificial remains, masks, etc.), with helpful listings and colour photographs in appendices, and L. draws together common features of the sites, related aspects of cult activity and signs of a flow-on of Artemis worship into community life and local-to-regional identity-building. The logic of her ordering is sometimes left unclear, but the mounting of the evidence is excellently done and the exposition generally persuasive.

L. settles that Artemis is a fertility goddess. Part of the interest in the book is that she may not have always been so, because her earlier guise as *potnia therôn* and huntress does not suit the case (p. 15), and if our author is going to go on to conclude, especially from signs of Artemis' supervision of *rites de passages* for children, that her connection with fertility is paramount (p. 93), naturally readers might be asking for more about Orientalising and Eastern mother goddess influences in that process (cf. pp. 11, 46–48). In some western input, Roman bas-relief work in the Braurian Diana Museum try to capture this 'whole story', with Artemis giving advice both to an attentive deer close to her and to parents lined up apparently seeking advice about the children accompanying them. Of course in the study of religion, such matters can be tied up in the way such terms fecundity, generativeness, life-giving, etc. are deployed to capture all relevant associations.

Interestingly, L.'s cautious approach to the renowned, allegedly multi-breasted Ephesian statue of Artemis is relevant here (pp. 45–46). Are the many bulbous protrusions from the goddess's torso meant to be multiple mammarys for succouring needful devotees, or is there a wider evocation of rich and plentiful life? This makes all the more archetypal the difficulty Paul of Tarsus had, missionising his new message from the east about a different understanding of life abundant, and trying to challenge a very popular cult that satisfied both a sense of prosperity and a city's greatness, and which did not go away for another three centuries (cf. p. 49).

Overall, L. sets a fine pattern for archaeological studies on other ancient deities that may be envisaged in the future.



A. Lianeri (ed.), *Knowing Future Time In and Through Greek Historiography*, Trends in Classics 32, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2016, vii+433 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-043953-3

Reflections about time have a long history. Recently it became a main topic of literary studies, and the ensuing wave of studies soon arrived in the field of Classics. This book is the outcome of a conference, held at the University of Thessaloniki in 2013. The editor gives a lengthy Introduction to the topic of more than 50 pages. This provides the reader with Alexandra Lianeri's theoretical concept which is thought to bind the 18 papers in this book together. They are organised into three sections: 'Future Times and the Poetics of Greek Historiography', 'Temporalities of the Future and the Times of Historical Action' and 'Toward the Modern Futures of Greek Times'. From different perspectives answers should be given to the basic question of 'how the temporal dimensions of past and future are related in a given present to enquire about how both these dimensions and temporality itself – the order of relations posited by our concepts of time – become relative to those who identify them' (p. 11). Since this is the case for both the ancient texts and the modern scientific beholder of those texts, the well-known problem arises whether there is space left for a scientific metanarrative. This problem is not in the focus of the introduction which takes another direction. To be brief, it is firmly based on structuralism.

With regards to the role of glory in Homer and to Thucydides, it is said that in poetic works their own eternity is in the objects; in historiography the eternity lies in the relation between the author and the readers. Hence future becomes the criterion to separate 'history from other narratives'. Behind this view lurks the well-known fact that it is the historian who as a narrator provides an object with sense. This thread of the argument is further developed. Since historians can differently make use of time, there are different modes of historiography. This leads to the surprisingly generalising statement that the future was less important to the Greeks than to the Romans and Christians. When L. quotes Michail Bakhtin's concept of polyphony, the strong bias to structuralism in her reasoning comes to the fore. In this context, L. quotes from Carolyn Dewald's application of Bakhtin's concept to Thucydides: the thinking of the historian and that of the historical actors leading to actions and events 'are conveyed simultaneously to the reader, through the way the narrative structure is organised' (p. 13). This kind of polyphony is thought to be characteristic of historiography in antiquity. In contrast, in modern historiography the conception of time is part of the thinking of the author, the beholder of the past. Even more generalising: L. locates this kind of (alleged) difference in 'the way in which different cultures configure distinct modes for dividing time and attribute to them distinct rhythms and orientation' (p. 7).

Again Thucydides serves as an example of proof. 'The dialogic constitution of Thucydides' narrative involves a specific consideration of time: a plural sense of the future as the outcome of both diverse "authorial" voices engaging with the present and past, and a certain openness and unfinalisability attributed by these voices to historical events' (p. 13). There are two levels of dialogue working side by side, a dialogue between the 'historiographical work' and the historical actors and readers, and a second one between the narrative temporalities and those of actions and events. It is argued that from this derives 'the

potential and unfinalisability of the historical event as such' (p. 13). Obviously due to structuralism, the historical actor and the author are not given their necessary importance. In Thucydides' words, the *anthropinon* is not given the importance it deserves. Seemingly the authors of the contributions to this book felt this discrepancy as well, because only in part did they follow the theoretical considerations.

The papers in the first section are thought to focus on the tensions caused by polyphony. In the first paper, J. Grethlein ('Ancient historiography and "Future Past"', pp. 59–78) draws upon R. Koselleck's concept of *Vergangene Zukunft* ('Future Past') and focuses on the wisdom of the historian. It is he who controls time from hindsight, but becomes unsure when looking to the future. E. Greenwood ('Futures real and unreal in Greek historiography', pp. 79–100) comes to the conclusion that 'Greek historiography is informed by an implicit futurity ... in conversation with other genres of knowledge'. A. Tsamakis ('Between Thucydides and the future: narrative prolepsis and Xenophon's concept of historiography', pp. 101–18) concentrates on Xenophon as the inventor of 'continuous history', though Jason of Pherai, the example for the ideal leader to his contemporaries, was taken out of the changes caused by time. E. Baragwanath ('Knowing future time in Xenophon's *Anabasis*', pp. 119–40) puts at the end of her paper the question of the 'utility of history'. N. Miltisios ('Knowledge and foresight in Polybius', pp. 141–54) refers from the beginning to Polybius' purpose to teach the reader a lesson. Not surprisingly, he comes to the conclusion that Polybius supplies the reader 'with valuable assistance' to understand the future. C. Pelling argues in his paper ('Preparing for posterity: Dionysius and Polybius', pp. 155–74) that the Romans could draw a lesson from Polybius and Dionysius. Obviously in these papers, the question of how time was conceptualised to constitute sense in history has the tendency to turn into the question of how to make use of the past, polyphony excluded.

This kind of distance to the theoretical concept also characterises the contributions to the second section. These papers are thought to discuss 'how the closures and endpoints constituted by Greek historiographical poetics relate to the times of action' (p. 20). But the papers do not meet these expectations. They offer some general considerations of Greek historiography (C. Darbo-Peschanski, pp. 177–94), investigate possibility and permanence in Herodotus (K. Wesselmann, pp. 195–214), visibility and legibility in Thucydides (K. Bassi, pp. 215–42), deal with ambiguity and deferred closure in Polybius (N. Wiater, pp. 243–66), with Plutarch's concept of the future of ancient world (P. Desideri, pp. 267–80), Appian's focus on the present and not on the future (L. Pitcher, pp. 281–92), and Lucian's purpose to transmit to the reader his way of dealing with the past 'as a model for future historians' (M. Tamiolaki, pp. 293–308).

To describe the paper in the third section, L. uses a further term which is of great importance to her theoretical concept. They are supposed to discuss 'the narrative constitution of modern historical knowledge as the future of Greek historiography' (p. 20). By introducing the term 'knowledge' L. implicitly seems to refer to Michel Foucault's *Archéologie du savoir*. Yet the contributions collected in this section show no direct reference to this kind of text-analysis. D. Pausch (pp. 311–28) considers whether the modes of presentation of the future as known from Polybius are also in Livy's text. He comes to the conclusion that, in contrast to Polybius, Livy strives for a more emotional involvement of the reader and an open-ended anticipation. A. Liakos (pp. 329–38) starts from

Peter Paul Rubens's title-page which he created for the book *Romanae et Graecae antiquitatis monumenta* by H. Goltzius, published in 1645. He observes that this picture signals the shift in European thought from one temporal order to another. It replaces the succession of the four empires which so far dominated the chronological organisation of historiography by a new order, positing Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance as genealogical succession leading to modernity. T. Rood's paper (pp. 339–60) is about the motif of the future ruins of Sparta and Athens in Thucydides and its aftermath. A. Tucker (pp. 361–84) compares Thucydides with Ranke, the founder of modern scientific historiography. The last paper by O. Murray (pp. 385–400) looks into the way how modern modes of thinking about the past were coined by reducing history to Graeco-Roman history, even excluding Jewish history. This was caused by the wish 'to justify contemporary preoccupations'.

Everybody interested in historiography will find new insights in each paper; but the connections between them, and with the Introduction, cannot easily be discovered.

University of Innsbruck

Christoph Ulf

A. Lichtenberger and C. von Rügen (eds.), *Multiple Mediterranean Realities: Current Approaches to Spaces, Resources and Connectivities*, Mittelmeerstudien 6, Wilhelm Fink/Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn 2015, 311 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-7705-5740-0 (Fink); 978-3-506-76638-0 (Schöningh)

While the study of Mediterranean history and archaeology have a very long pedigree, the exploration of what constitutes the Mediterranean and in what ways it forms a meaningful framework of analysis has a more recent history. This history involves both wider discourses about the Mediterranean and its peoples that one can find in travel literature, ethnography, anthropology and cultural studies, as well as more historically oriented paradigms, like Braudel's *La Méditerranée* and Horden and Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea*. These various traditions are all present in the current volume, but it is primarily the last one that exerts the strongest influence. The thirteen contributions range very widely both in terms of chronology (the 3rd millennium BC to the 21st century AD), as well as in terms of disciplines and subjects (history, archaeology, anthropology, cultural studies). While some of the papers focus on the history of the Mediterranean, many explore aspects of history and culture which happen to take place in the Mediterranean, in the terms proposed by Horden and Purcell. The editors have tried to deal with this diversity by delineating three main axes of analysis, which work rather well: spaces, resources and connectivities.

The first axis explores the role of spaces and spatial perceptions in the Mediterranean. Bernard Knapp examines the traditional image of prehistoric Cyprus as a crossroad of interaction. While it is undoubtedly true that Cyprus has been a crossroad of interactions between different cultures for most of its history, Knapp rightly argues that such an image tends to present Cyprus as the laboratory of external processes and cultures and to obscure the agency of the local inhabitants of the island. The chapter shows how local elites started in the 2nd millennium BC to take advantage of external processes in order to create new forms of community and culture. The same theme is explored in the chapter by Gudrun Klebinder Gauss and Walter Gauss, which focuses on Aegina. Given the poverty of the island in terms of

resources, the fact that it has been a particularly significant place both in the Bronze Age and the archaic period shows the networks that its inhabitants fostered with various other parts of the Mediterranean, employing maritime connectivity for their own benefit.

Constance von Rüden turns to spatial perceptions by exploring how communities in Egypt, the Levant and the Aegean reacted to the Mediterranean. While Egyptian texts and material culture show a strong engagement with the Nile and the Red Sea, the Mediterranean is largely invisible; on the contrary, the communities of the Levant have engaged deeply with the Mediterranean, but as a dangerous element that had to be conquered and controlled, as shown in their religion and art; finally, Aegean art shows a radically different perception of the Mediterranean, by making the sea and its creatures one of the main elements of reflection. Achim Lichtenberg explores the conception of Mediterranean art espoused by the German archaeologist Guido von Kaschnitz Weinberg. While his conception of Mediterranean art is essentialist and rather abstract, Lichtenberg argues that historians and archaeologists cannot operate without essentialising concepts; thus, a lot can be learned from how von Kaschnitz Weinberg tried to formulate his concept of Mediterranean art. The final chapter in this section, by Lorraine Farrelly and Andrea Vernini, examines practical solutions for dealing with the urban landscapes of Mediterranean cities in the present; while it is undoubtedly an interesting chapter, it is rather difficult to see what it contributes to the study of the Mediterranean *per se*.

The second section on resources is less coherent than the other two. It starts with a chapter by Thomas Stöllner on the role of mineral resources in Mediterranean history. As he persuasively shows, the search for mineral resources constituted prime movers in the processes of Mediterranean connectivity in many different historical periods; but equally important is his demonstration of how mineral resources shaped technological and social networks in various areas. Stefan Riedel explores the Trojan Palladion as a means for constructing identities in various parts of the ancient Mediterranean, including Troy, Athens and Argos, Rome and various Italian communities. The Palladion is surely evidence of how Greek myth created an interconnected Mediterranean which involved non-Greek communities like Rome; given that Greek myth did not play such a role only in the Mediterranean, but also in areas like Anatolia and Armenia, is there anything which is specifically Mediterranean in the way it functioned?

Michael Hertzfeld's chapter on Mediterranean stereotypes rehashes his long-stated criticism of Mediterraneanism from a different perspective. He has repeatedly challenged the essentialising clichés that he identifies with the Mediterranean discourse, and there is plenty of that in this chapter too. But he also explores the role of negative stereotypes of Mediterranean attitudes and behaviour as a means of creating 'cultural intimacy', by using the Mediterranean Other as a mirror for negotiating the vices of the societies and cultures of the European North. Finally, Ian Chambers examines the relationship between blues and Mediterranean music, as a means of exploring the unity and diversity of Mediterranean music cultures.

The third section on connectivities starts with two chapters that shift the focus towards the mediaeval Mediterranean. The first chapter by Stefan Altekamp is a fascinating exploration of the transfer of relics between North Africa and other parts of the Mediterranean from the Early Middle Ages to the 20th century. It examines the transfer of Christian relics out of a heretically controlled or Muslim Africa, as well as the re-importation of relics once colonial powers like France conquered the Maghreb, and their expulsion after decolonisation. The

chapter illustrates Mediterranean connectivity, while also showing how culture and power have shaped this connectivity in diverse ways across time. In contrast to traditional images of the Carolingian empire as the first European empire to emerge outside the Mediterranean, Sebastian Colditz demonstrates the significance of the Mediterranean in the imaginary and the concerns of Carolingian rulers and clerics. Since the term Mediterranean first made its appearance in this period, the chapter offers an interesting discussion of how contemporaries understood the term. Martin Baumeister's chapter discusses the various theories of the Mediterranean from the 18th century to the present, not only in history and the social sciences, but also in terms of politics and the construction of a usable past and present. The chapter would work well as an accompaniment to the rather short introduction by the editors, and is rather misplaced in this section. Finally, the chapter by Heidrun Friese explores the use of social media and culture in the Arab Spring revolutions, exploring the role of mobility and mobile resources in the practices of blogger and musician participants.

It should be obvious from this review that while much in this volume falls under the rubric of history *in* the Mediterranean, the categories for a history *of* the Mediterranean established by Horden and Purcell continue to provide stimulation and issues for discussion.

University of Crete

Kostas Vlassopoulos

G.E.R. Lloyd and J.J. Zhao in collaboration with Q. Dong (eds.), *Ancient Greece and China Compared*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2018, xv+430 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-08666-1

This volume emerged from the conference 'Comparing Ancient Worlds: Greece and China' at Cambridge in 2013. The collected papers offer comparative case studies of ancient Greece and China, focusing on philosophical, religious, scientific and social dimensions. On the whole, the book reveals more about difficulties of comparative studies than their alleged potential and advantages.

Already in the introduction, Geoffrey Lloyd admits (p. 1) that comparative studies are frequently challenged as they are often not judged in a good light due to methodological problems (overusing secondary literature, missing interpretation of primary sources in their respective historical/social contexts).<sup>1</sup> In Part 1, these issues are addressed by Nathan Sivin (pp. 33–39) and Walter Scheidel (pp. 40–58), but are far from being solved. Sivin advocates the idea of 'cultural manifolds', i.e. examining 'all possible dimensions' of given culture(s), but one wonders how it could compensate (and even transcend, according to Sivin) the lack of necessary professional knowledge and skills. Scheidel rightly states that comparative studies remain an immature area. For Scheidel, however, the prospect is optimistic – since he believes that the problems can be fixed by contextualisation and interdisciplinary collaborations; and he promotes the principle that any comparative study should and could produce enlightening 'causal explanations' beyond superficial similarities and differences. Robert Wardy's contribution (pp. 59–80) illuminates the cultural complexity of translating philosophical ideas by offering modern examples as well as discussing the *Zhuangzi* (Chuang

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'Forum: Comparative Studies, Chances and Challenges'. *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 32.1 (2017), 107–26.

Tzū) and Heraclitus. The author, however, is not always reliable when translating the *Zhuangzi*: for instance, his translation of *qing* ('feeling, emotion') into 'essence' (p. 72) is very problematic.

In Part 2, which concerns philosophy and religion, the expectations of Sivin and Scheidel are, however, not fulfilled. R.A. King (pp. 83–109) and Jingyi Jenny Zhao (pp. 110–30) attempt to interpret the *Zhuangzi* and Xunzi, respectively, in a way that they might fit into the (what they see as) political and moral frameworks of Epictetus and Aristotle, with often far-fetched argumentation (for example, both papers apply Western and modern concepts – such as 'spontaneity' – while interpreting Chinese texts). In her discussion on human and animal in early China and Greece, Lisa Raphals (pp. 131–59) presents extensive sources from ancient philosophers, while leaving out observations from historiography and technical treatises of both sides. In general, these papers all end up with enumerating similarities and differences. Considerations of social/historical contexts are generally absent, not to mention any 'causal explanations'. Michael Puett (pp. 160–85) tries to connect certain Chinese sources with historical backgrounds, however unsuccessfully – he even makes chronological mistake by wrongly placing the Rebellion of the 'Three Supervisors' (the first year of king Cheng) after the founding of Louyi and the composing of the *He Zun* (the fifth year).

Both authors in Part 3 formulate more insightful questions but provide still unconvincing arguments. In the paper entitled 'Visual Art and Historical Representation in Ancient Greece and China' (pp. 189–233), Jeremy Tanner relies only on Homer and architectural evidence from classical, and democratic, Athens. His connection of Chinese funeral paintings and contemporary political *topoi* is thought-provoking but needs much more justification. Yiqun Zhou's paper on Chinese and Greek *femmes fatales* (pp. 234–55) focuses much on moral criticisms in Chinese literature, thus fails to see the deeper political implications/intentions of excluding females from the political sphere behind these 'morally shaped' texts. Besides, on the Greek side, the reception of Helen's image(s) is very hard to judge, since it was consistently under modification by rhetorical training and ongoing discourses embedded within them.

One could certainly expect the book to contain something on ancient science (especially mathematics), as the main editor (Lloyd) is a leading expert in that field. Reviel Netz (pp. 259–89) offers a comparison of Archimedes and Liu Hui. As Netz admits, with regard to the latter he is totally dependent on secondary literature and translations. The paper starts with a deconstruction of the cliché that Greek science was more 'scientific' than its Chinese counterpart, yet ironically, it concludes with a justification of the former's superiority. Karine Chemla's paper (pp. 290–325) points to the key role played by the concept of abstraction in 19th-century Orientalism. Nevertheless, one can be confused by what 'abstraction' means, as it is not well defined throughout the paper. 'Recipes for Love in the Ancient World' (pp. 326–52), by Vivienne Lo and Eleanor Re'em, is informative as it discusses a wide range of original sources. On the other hand, one cannot ignore that a huge amount of compilations and detailed studies have already been done on Chinese aphrodisiac texts, so their claim that relevant evidence is unacknowledged due to 'academic amnesia' (p. 327) is surely an exaggeration.

The first paper in Part 5 is co-written by Xinyi Liu, Evi Margaritis and Martin Jones (pp. 355–72). After touching slightly on classical literature, it suddenly switches to prehistoric archaeological findings. The paper mainly summarises modern studies and is completely



without any footnotes. During its lengthy discussion on archaeological sites and materials, no graphs or pictures are provided for the readers, except a very simple map. The contribution by Michael Nylan on libraries and manuscript culture (pp. 373–409) talks much about social networks and personal motivations of ancient authors, but this is not supported by profound analysis of original texts.

To sum up, this book fails to achieve what the adherents of comparative study promised. Furthermore, one could ask how far the ‘cultural manifold’ actually reaches. The dimensions (or so-called manifolds) discussed in this volume largely focus on philosophy, science and religion – all common topics in the study of ancient Greece, which is often regarded as a world where ‘ancient culture’ flourished. On the other hand, in comparative studies between ancient China and Rome,<sup>2</sup> the focus is mainly on administration, political power, bureaucracy, etc. – all suitable topics for ‘ancient empires’. So, within these comparative frameworks, China is always *compared* with shaped impressions and images of the ancient western world. Is this the core of comparative studies we want?

Northeast Normal University, Changchun  
Shanghai Normal University

Wu Tong  
Yang Yongsheng

D. Lohmann, *Das Heiligtum des Jupiter Heliopolitanus in Baalbek: Die Planungs- und Baugeschichte*, Orient-Archäologie 38, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2017, xiii+259 pp., illustrations (many in colour), 31 pp. of plates + CD. Cased. ISBN 978-3-89646-668-6/ISSN 1434-162X

This definitive study of the great temple complex of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus results most immediately from the present Baalbek project sponsored by the German Archaeological Institute and the University of Cottbus. It takes into account previous studies, going back to the earliest explorers from the 17th century onwards. Very appropriately it is headed by a quotation from the 18th-century diary of Robert Wood, now in the archive of the Institute of Classical Studies in London, that ‘in short these are the most sumptuous, solid and magnificent remains of Antiquity I have ever seen’. In addition to the recent German work following the earlier 20th-century studies it takes into account work carried out in the Lebanon under the French mandate and then by the Antiquities Service of the independent Lebanon before and after the shattering civil war of the 1970s. Daniel Lohmann also looks at unpublished communications between the two foremost pre-war German scholars involved with Baalbek, Daniel Krencker and Armin von Gerkan.

L. begins with a description and comment on the earliest investigations, predominantly the 18th-century publication by Robert Wood and James Dawkin in 1757, which established the general plan of the sanctuary in its final development. He then considers 19th-century studies, leading on to the visit by the German emperor, Wilhelm II, in 1898, as a result of which, inspired by the architectural grandiosity of the sanctuary, he set in motion the German excavations and studies, in succession of Koldewey, Puchstein and Krencker, with the publication of the results in three volumes.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. Scheidel (ed.), *State Power in Ancient China and Rome* (Oxford 2015).

L. gives a very full account of this earlier work. It is noticeable that the earliest investigations, particularly those of Robert Wood and his collaborators rather look at Baalbek as a source for contemporary architects – Baalbek as inspiration for 18th-century baroque. The later studies look to the actual archaeology of the place (though perhaps with an element of his own grandiosity on the part of the Kaiser). Critically out of this came Krencker and von Gerkan's establishment of phases in the development of the sanctuary.

Both Krencker and von Gerkan divided the building history of the temple complex into distinct phases. Krencker saw two phases, the second divided into IIa and IIb. Von Gerkan argued for a five phase sequence. Phase I for Krencker was Augustan and saw the construction of the visible podium of a very large temple. He first suggested this had  $14 \times 23$  columns, but when Friedrich Krischen argued against this he modified it to a width of 10 columns. His phase IIa temple had  $10 \times 19$  columns with a courtyard in front based on the surviving lower level of walls, fronted to the east with a cross wall construction, the side walls planned to extend to an outer structure on the position of the later propylon. Phase IIb saw this extension advanced, with the hexagonal courtyard in the space it would have defined, and the propylon.

For von Gerkan phase 1 saw the construction of a  $10 \times 20$  column temple on a restricted foundation (the 'T' foundation) and dated to Hellenistic. Phase 2 saw the construction of the  $10 \times 19$  column temple and courtyard and dated to the time of Claudius or, at the latest, Nero. Phase 3 saw the construction for the courtyard and dated to Antoninus Pius, phase 4 created the propylon at the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, while phase 5 was a modification in the middle of the 3rd century.

L. divides the history of the design and development of the temple complex into four phases. He puts the beginning as coincidental with the foundation of the Roman colony at Berytus in the time of Augustus. The recent excavations have shown that there was no earlier Hellenistic phase for the sanctuary, the suggestion of an earlier cult site under the surviving structures being dismissed as a mediaeval well leading to a natural cave.

L. begins his study with a very full and careful description of the existing structure, with a precise account of the different elements and the variations found in them. This is a fundamental and convincing basis for his analysis of the structure's planning and building history. From this he argues for four phases to the planning, with the second phase leading to two phases of actual construction, IIa and IIb.

Phase I saw the construction of the temple terrace, with substantial masonry comparable with that of the structures at the Herodian Temple of Jerusalem and similar in date. On this stood a relatively small temple having, L. suggests, a porch flanked at either side by a tower (i.e., in German terminology, a *risalit* form). The platform extended in front of this with a forecourt having two towers at its eastern corners and a stepped approach from the altar courtyard to its east. This was narrower than its successor courtyard. It contained the original 'small' altar and a propylon building at its eastern end.

Phase II saw the construction of the Corinthian dekastyle temple. A graffito on a column drum dates this to Neronian times. It occupied not only the site of the earlier temple but also the forecourt in front of it. Its stepped approach projected into the altar courtyard which retained the original small altar. This courtyard was defined by substructures supporting flanking colonnades on either side extending as far as the front colonnade of the temple but not continuing further to the west, and so keeping the original temple podium exposed. There was a propylon structure extending across its full width at its eastern end.

Phase III saw the construction of the larger, tower altar in a courtyard now flanked by new colonnades in front of a series of open rooms which did not precisely coincide with the phase II structures which supported them. To the east of the propylon end of the altar courtyard was a forecourt, on a level described as 'erhöhter' – raised – but on not quite as high a level as the altar courtyard. The east end of this had an outer propylon, of which only a southern tower is assured, with steps leading down to a walled semi-circular area which faced it and marked the end of a water channel leading into it from the east. This phase is dated to the second century with a beginning following the death of Trajan. It includes in the altar courtyard granite columns from the Imperial quarries at Syene (Aswan) in Egypt, i.e. a demonstration of Hadrian's support for the sanctuary.

Phase IV sees the completion of the area between the outer propylon and the entrance to the altar courtyard. This area is badly preserved, but its developed form, the hexagonal courtyard and the completed outer propylon is clear enough. What is less clear is its purpose in relation to the rest of the sanctuary and the activities performed in it. A *terminus ante quem* for its construction is the dedication in it of a gilded bronze capital dedicated to Caracalla and his mother Julia Domna, so a date between the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries seems reasonable.

L.'s fifth chapter comprises a study of the architectural motivation behind the sanctuary. In it he looks at comparable major sanctuaries in Rome, beginning with the Forum of Augustus. He looks at the sequence of outer colonnade, propylon and temple at the sanctuary of Athena Lindia on Lindos and compares with the later stages at Baalbek the Forum of Trajan at Rome and, with both the Imperial Fora, the square plan of the courtyard area in front of the temple in Augustus's Forum and the Basilica Ulpia of Trajan's Forum. Together with the provision in phase III of columns from Aswan all this implies Imperial involvement going back to the original re-foundation of Berytus as a Roman colony. Yet Baalbek is far from being purely Roman: the tower altars, especially the second and larger one, are a distinctly Syrian element in architecture and religion.

So, finally, the local context. Here L. looks at the temple's geographical location, in the fertile Bekaa Valley between the Lebanon and Antilebanon mountain ranges, on the route between the Mediterranean coast and Damascus, and adjacent to the sources of the two vital rivers, the Orontes and the Leontes, which he discusses under the heading 'Water, Fertility and Landscape'. Thus the sanctuary is very much of its place. As comparison with the other Roman period temples in Syria demonstrates, there are clear regional characteristics. Combined with the Imperial input there is surely a deliberate attempt to create a central dominant regional place of religion, closely linked to the Imperial authority that can clearly out do any other potentially less Imperial or even overtly anti-Roman place of religion.

The quotation from Robert Wood's diary on the preliminary page IX continues 'what pity tis we cannot know the author of them' (i.e. these remains of antiquity). What L. shows, of course, is that there is no single author of these remains. Construction spread over centuries, change of plan and arrangement, the virtual certainty that there was no continuing drawn plan which was followed through from beginning to end. But the resulting complexity is a fascinating paradigm of the period and the area, admirably elucidated by L. This is a most important and comprehensive study.

R. Malvezzi, *The Archetype of Wisdom: A Phenomenological Research on the Greek Temple*, Architecture 5, Mimesis International, Milan/Udine 2018, 132 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-88-86977-150-7

This book is described in its subtitle as a phenomenological research on the Greek temple. Its preface begins with the statement that it is difficult to find a symbol that is able to represent Greek culture better than its temple. The author, we are told on the cover, is an architect and PhD in civil engineering with a solid background in humanistic studies who found in the phenomenological tradition a place where to merge his interests for science and the humanities. This book, therefore, is a rather different approach to Greek temple architecture – not the usual archaeological or architecture history approach. The bibliography and abundant references in the footnotes show that he has read and studied widely the up to date literature on Greek temples, their architecture and historical context.

Therefore, before he comes to the temples themselves his first chapters set the context. After an introductory chapter he first discusses the *temenos* as a new type of sanctuary which emerges following the fall of the Mycenaean world, and looks at the sort of location selected for them.

The next, brief, chapter gives a preliminary survey of the Homeric world, followed by a chapter on the Greek sense of the divine. The arguments and ideas he presents are not original, but he gives full reference to the various scholars whose ideas lie at the basis of his discussion.

Then there follow three ‘case studies’, on the geometric style, covered in three pages, the foundation of Greek wisdom (four pages) and the invention of the *kouros* (three pages). The next chapter is on Paideia, which he categorises as the education of a Greek man.

Finally, with Chapter 9 we at last come to the temples. He discusses early form and development, the nature and appearance of the columns. Next, the spatial dimensions of the temple architecture, where he points out the experience of entering varies according to the time of day, the differing effects of sunlight and shadow. He considers the differences between the temples of Sicily (a visit to which was the original inspiration of his study) and elsewhere. He pays respect especially to the experience of Le Corbusier and the impact made on him by a visit to the Acropolis of Athens in the early evening. A final chapter gives his conclusions.

This book gives a very short, personal impression of what Roberto Malvezzi experienced from the temples he saw and his reading. He is, however, very limited in the aspects which he selects as significant. Reading his book an inevitable reaction is the essential superficiality of his experience. The topics of his discussion are immense and cannot be adequately elucidated in the extremely brief accounts he provides. Again and again there are points where one would expect deeper argument, points which are omitted, contrary interpretations which are equally valid. Even limited to the temples themselves he seems exclusively concerned with what one might term the popular concept of a Greek temple, a simple box structure but embellished externally by its surrounding colonnade, overlooking the fact that very many temples are non-peripteral, and that in function they simply require the housing of the god and, perhaps the more valuable dedications. He does not consider the element of prestige behind the more magnificent structures, whether for the tyrants who built the temples of Archaic Sicily, or for Pericles in

democratic Athens, adorning the city with statues and temples, his opponents said, like a harlot.

The book is generally well produced but there are problems. For some reason when original Greek texts are quoted they are given not in the Greek alphabet but transliterated into the Roman, and this too with Italian overtones (*gamma* before *iota* becomes *gh*). There are mistakes also in individual words – mymesis, methopes, triglyphs, enthesis, Byzanthium. There are ten plates of photographs, of which only two actually show temple architecture, exclusively of Temple E at Selinus. The rest are geometric vases and the New York *kouros*. Confusingly, captions are printed on the back of the page, so that they appear to refer to the following plate.

Birmingham, UK

Richard Tomlinson

M. Matera and R. Karasiewicz-Szczepiorski (eds.), *The Crimea and the Northern Black Sea Coast in Archaeological Research 1956–2013*, Światowit Suppl. Series C, Pontica et Caucasia vol. 1, Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw, Warsaw 2017, 332 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-83-61376-51-4/ISSN 1642-4956

This Polish publication is the first volume of a new series *Pontica et Caucasia* and is dedicated to several aspects of the archaeological research on the northern Black Sea coast (in which Chersonesos and the Crimea as a whole are well represented) between 1956 and 2013. The area presented is in fact the Black Sea coast of the former Soviet Union, now divided between the Ukraine and Russia. The idea for this publication came from a conference held in Warsaw in October 2015. Of the 28 contributions, 21 are in Russian, the remaining seven in English. The historical range is from the Greek Archaic to the Early Mediaeval period, and subjects include seals (Aleksienko and Nessel), tombs and graves (Khrshanovskii; Schultze and Lyubichev), architecture (Egorova, Klenina and Bernatski, Lantsov and Gratsianskaya, Papanova and Lyashko), fortifications (Goroncharovskii and Rakochi, Molev, Nikonenko), weapons (Gavronski and Karasevits-Shchiperski, Ushakov), Roman glass (Novychenkova-Lukicheva), coins (Novichenkova and Novichenkova), ceramics (Nessel and Demyanchuk, Tsetskhladze), economics, trade routes, the fish industry and shipwrecks (Gavriilyuk, Karasevits-Shchiperski, Gerasimov and Novakovska, Kontny, Kopylov and Kopylov, Matera), Olbia in the Roman period (Karasevich-Shchiperski), the Kulchuk settlement in the Crimea (Lantsov and Gratsianskaya), ancient geography (Zedgenidze), the early methodology of excavation on the northern Black Sea (Kuzmishchev), and a preliminary report and overview of several Polish/Russian excavations in the Lower Dniester region, the northern Black Sea coast in general and Tanais (Mielczarek, Sarnovski, Scholl).

Unluckily, the editors did not merge the contributions by subject, geography, historical period or topic. With such a large number of subjects ranging over a long chronological period, it is difficult to review all contributions. I shall concentrate on several of the most important or remarkable. That of V.A. Khrshanovskii about the elite tombs in the area of the Bosporan kingdom, which already existed in the Hellenistic period, touches on a clue to Thracian influence in this area. Extremely interesting are the conclusions of N.A. Gavriilyuk, based on the archaeological material, that the economic prosperity of

smaller sites on the Lower Dnieper in the short period between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD can be connected to the destruction of Olbia by the Getae during this time. This caused a new wave of Greek migration into the hinterland which can be compared with the earlier pattern of colonisation. Another very interesting contribution is that from R. Karasevits-Shchiperski, indicating that Olbia during the Roman period was isolated from the seafaring routes on the northern Black Sea coast and adding information about this little known period of this city. B. Kontny compares other archaeological finds with the traces of a northern branch of the amber road in the Early Mediaeval period, concluding that trade along the eastern water routes still continued, despite the depopulation and constant migrations in this area during this period.

V.P. and A.V. Kopylov publish the results of some closed archaeological complexes at the Elizavetovskoe hillfort on the Don which yield important information about the rise of the Bosporian kingdom at the end of the 4th century BC. M. Matera comes to the surprising conclusion that there are no indications of fishing industry facilities at Tanais till this moment, nor indications of the export fish in amphorae. This leaves the conclusion that either dried fish were exported or that caught fish were used mainly for local consumption. Finally, there is the contribution of G.R. Tsatskheladze about new discoveries of early East Greek pottery on the northern Black Sea coast, again indicating that this coast was uninhabited at the moment that the first Greek settlers arrived and that most early Greek pottery was found in the graves of local chiefs far inland, probably as diplomatic gifts to cement good relations, reaching the hinterland by the river system.

Despite the lack of systematic order to the contributions this volume contains a wealth of unpublished information. It is extremely well illustrated with many colour plates and enriches our knowledge of the northern Black Sea coast, in particular of Chersonesos in the Crimea.

Ghent University

Jan de Boer

S.T.A.M. Mols and E.M. Moormann (eds.), *Context and Meaning*, Proceedings of the Twelfth International Conference of the Association Internationale pour la Peinture Murale Antique, Athens, September 16–20, 2013, Babesch Suppl. 31, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2017, xiv+527 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-90-429-3529-7

The international association for ancient wall-painting developed out of an informal meeting held in London in 1978. Initial colloquia took place at Cambridge (1980), Paris (1982) and Avenches (1986), before the body was formally constituted at Cologne in 1989. Since then there have been regular conferences every three years, the proceedings of which have been published, with commendable promptitude, within three or four years of the event. The volume under review, the twelfth in the series, can be taken as illustrative of the present state of the project.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The proceedings of a more recent conference, held at Lausanne in 2016, have just been published at the time of writing (2018).



The first thing to say is that the proceedings testify to the vigorous participation of a large number of delegates from a variety of nations. There are 81 papers in all, contributed by 107 writers from 15 different countries. Admittedly, the countries in question show a significant bias in favour of Western Europe, and especially of Italy (44 contributors) and France (21), but this does not necessarily mean that other geographical regions are totally neglected: Ephesus and Cyrene, for example, are the subjects of papers by an Austrian and an Italian respectively. Nonetheless, considering that the conference took place in Athens, it is disappointing that only seven contributors come from Greece and only nine papers, including the two keynote lectures that start off the proceedings, deal with Greek material. Other regions fare even less well. For Eastern Europe and the Balkans (other than Greece) there are only three papers – one from Hungary, one from Serbia and one from Bulgaria.

Like many of the previous volumes in the series, this one has been given a nominal theme – ‘Context and Meaning’ – and, as in the case of its predecessors, the attempt to impose uniformity has not been entirely successful. A relatively small number of papers tackle questions of context – not surprisingly when many of the paintings under examination take the form of decontextualised fragments – and even fewer explore meaning. Even when a context can be established, the absence of a complete ensemble makes it hazardous to draw conclusions about overall meaning. This is the nature of the beast, and the editors should not be blamed for trying to give a sense of order to their publication. Some of the papers, indeed, produce stimulating investigations of meaning within the constraints of the evidence (see, for example, R. Thomas on the Dionysiac and Apolline imagery of the well-known wall-plaster found under Cologne cathedral, and M. Fuchs on the reconstructed paintings from the German frontier fort at Echzell).

More success has been achieved in terms of presentation. For all the differences of content and methodology, the papers maintain a general consistency of length and style. Each comes out around six or seven pages and is illustrated with a maximum of four figures. But even here the ideal has proved difficult to implement in every case. Several authors have got round the restrictions by submitting multiple images grouped under individual figure numbers (in this way, for instance, a paper on survey techniques at Aquileia smuggles in a total of 18 separate illustrations). Conversely, some authors do not use their full allocation of figures: an extreme example is S. Perrot’s paper on representations of musical instruments in Greek painting, which badly needs illustrations yet has none.

A standard grouse of mine concerns language. For some reason several authors have chosen to publish their papers in a language which is not their own, even where their native tongue is one of the accepted vehicles of international scholarship. The results of German-speakers and Italians writing in English are rarely satisfactory and in at least one case here are barely comprehensible (such mistranslations as ‘champions’ for ‘samples’ represent the worst form of dictionary-dependence).

Does the volume offer any major new perspectives on ancient wall-painting? The answer is, probably not; but one or two contributions are of special interest. The keynote lecture by H. Brecoulaki and others reports on the technological examination of the four wooden plaques from Pitsa which has revealed the use of rare pigments, including cinnabar and pararealgar. Four papers by S. Falzone and others deal with paintings from Ostia and its environs, featuring the results of an important investigation into material from the first centuries BC and AD, a period for which little evidence survives in the city. The finds

concerned come from excavations since the 1970s, some of which are totally unpublished: particularly striking is a fragment of a sacro-idyllic landscape rendered in cinnabar monochrome. A paper by J. Boislevé supplements various articles of recent years which have revealed that figured stucco-work, normally associated with Roman Italy, has cropped up on various sites in Roman Gaul; the evidence is so far confined to the northern half of France, and is dated mainly to the second half of the 2nd century AD or later. To this should be added a paper by C. Guiral Pelegrín and others on a stucco ceiling decoration found at Valdeherrera in the Ebro Valley; employing recessed coffers, it reproduces a Late Republican type of vault-decoration hitherto known only from Roman Italy.

Of essays in interpretation we can cite only a small number. A. Allroggen-Bedel re-examines the so-called Flora from the Villa of Ariadne at Stabiae and identifies it from the context, plausibly, as a mythological personage, either Persephone or (more probably) Europa. An excellent paper by S. Tortorella looks anew at the architecture and decoration of the hypogeum of Via Livenza, Rome, and proposes, with all due caution, that it can be identified as an oratory. Finally, we may pick out the contribution of I. Dörfler on the paintings from the Magdalensberg in Austria. The mythological scene interpreted by the first publisher, H. Kenner, as Theseus and Pirithous in the Underworld is reinterpreted as Orestes meeting with Electra, who pleads with him to avenge the murder of Agamemnon. This theory is reinforced by an argument based on the historical and cultural situation of the early Augustan period, to which the murals are assigned. The role of Orestes as the avenger of his father is an obvious model for Octavian's role as the avenger of Caesar, and there are further parallels that can be adduced to strengthen the analogy. The reviewer finds himself more or less persuaded.

It is an impossible task adequately to assess a collection of 81 papers within the space of a brief review, but it is hoped that the foregoing comments give some idea of its strengths and weaknesses. We must wish AIPMA every success in its mission to promote a deeper understanding of ancient wall-paintings.

University of Manchester

Roger Ling

K. Nawotka, R. Rollinger, J. Wiesehöfer and A. Wojciechowska (eds.), *The Historiography of Alexander the Great*, *Classica et Orientalia* 20, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2018, vi+258 pp., 1 illustration. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11164-5/ISSN 2190-3638

This volume, on the historiography of Alexander the Great, is the twentieth in the *Classica et Orientalia* (CLEO) series, which first took physical form with CLEO 2 on the Achaemenid court. However, the ancestral editors of the series have neglected to emphasise something once thought unimaginable at the time Seibert published his *Alexander der Grosse* (Darmstadt 1972) and the Fondation Hardt held its Alexander meeting (1975), that there would emerge in contemporary Poland, 'The Most Serene Republic' in Jozef Wolski's words, an intelligent and vibrant centre not for the study of Alexander alone, but the study of antiquity in general.<sup>1</sup> The contributions here can be placed under three headings: new data

<sup>1</sup> Wolski's statement can be found on p. 15 of M.J. Olbrycht, 'Jozef Wolski (1910–2008): An Epitaph', *Anabasis* 1 (2010), 7–17. This journal has also presented the *vitae* of a number of Eastern

considered; *epanorthosis*, i.e. correction or improvement, with the scholars achieving better success than the 4th-century Hellenes did with Artaxerxes; items damaged primarily by oversight.

Federicomaria Muccioli (pp. 119–29) examines the image of Alexander across the whole corpus of Plutarch, who adjusted his presentation to a variety of target audiences. Alexander had both positive and negative aspects: for example in the *Life of Pelopidas* 34. 1–3 funerals were farcical when arranged by tyrants, such as Alexander's for Hephaestion (p. 128). Treatment of *proskynesis* in the corpus contains many passages written in negative tone. Krzysztof Nawotka (pp. 157–75) investigates the opening of 1 *Maccabees*, which has Alexander on his deathbed apportioning empire to successors – quite different from most ancient accounts (although the Jesuit Alexandre Xavier Panel in 1739 said *Maccabees* got it right). Nawotka suggests reasonably that a tradition which passed kingship from Alexander to Philip III to Seleucus I to Antiochus I made its appearance in a variety of sources and was part of a pro-Seleucid historiography which left an imprint on *Maccabees*. Ory Amitay (pp. 177–86) offers an explanation of why Gaius' *Wahnsinn* exercised influence in Jewish tradition on a report of Alexander's behaviour at the Temple at Jerusalem. In mid-10th-century AD Josippon (a Hebrew rendering of Josephus' *Antiquities*) Alexander announces his intention to set up his own statue in the temple as a memorial, but is convinced to so otherwise by the high priest. Rabbinical sources and their associated scholia, complete with the ancient equivalent of puns about Caligula which find a modern version in the 'Life of Brian', represent a process of conflation, resulting in the later assignation of Gaius' demand to the figure of Alexander, who is quickly restored to sanity. Corinne Jouanno (pp. 187–210) offers a detailed introduction about the Alexander historians in Byzantium, said historians exhibiting a variety of manuscript traditions and a near absence of 'Alexander codices' (p. 189). Special interest in Alexander history is found in the 14th-century *Marcianus gr.* 511. Byzantine-era authors regarded Diodorus, Plutarch and Arrian as their main sources – although viewed as literary works – and their treatment varied. George Pisides (7th century) reshapes Plutarch to enhance his own portrayal of Heraclius. George Kedrenos (11th/12th century) pointedly cites Diodorus to enhance his own respectability as an historian. Tzetzes (12th century) does not hesitate to use elements of Ps.-Callisthenes, while Nikephoros Gregoras (14th century) uses the Alexander traditions to enhance his portrait of Constantine.

Nicolaus Sekunda (pp. 43–50) offers an acceptable resolution to the problem of who may have served as the author of the 'mercenary source', the military writer Patron of Phocis, mentioned solely as Patron in list of writers on siege craft given in Ioannes Lydus *de magistratibus populi Romani* 1. 47. Two contributions lend a measure of clarity to Egypt, land of misconceptions. Adam Lukaszewicz (pp. 71–73) rightly proposes the *Memnonis Tithonique celebrata regia* Alexander wished to visit (Curtius 4. 8. 3) was Medinet Habu, a complex built by Ramesses III, Memnon a deformation of Mery-Amun, Tithonus of Tatenen, one of the names used by Sethnacht, Ramesses' father. Ivan Ladynin (pp. 76–90), who is to be thanked for printing the necessary *Oikonomika* passages, discusses the reception of Cleomenes as an unfit ruler (Alexander, too, for forgiving him), overanxious and

scholars. Our volume here is the third which Nawotka and Wojciechowska have supervised (earlier *Philippika* nos. 74 and 103 from the same publisher).

arbitrary in his thirst to increase state income by sacrilege, forced resettlement and a 'new economic policy' for temple precincts. The *topoi* of Egyptian use were applied in early Ptolemaic times for the benefit of Ptolemy I, and survived in a work assigned to Aristotle. There can be too much Aristotle: modern scholars have posited a Peripatetic trend in Greek historiography (p. 105). This is the topic explored by Goshciwit Malinowski (pp. 105–18). Agatharchides of Cnidus is used as a test: 'In Agatharchides Alexander is therefore an individual who is completely defenceless against the claims [i.e. desires, wishes: *MNW*] of his companions and is no way pictured as a tyrant' (p. 117). The chimera of a Peripatetic perception of Alexander must be assigned to Aelian, who offers a new variety of history (Ael. *VH* 9. 3). Pierre Briant (pp. 9–19) explains the necessity for Alexander, politically and personally, to make an appearance at 'Troy'. Sabine Müller (pp. 131–47) and Giuseppe Squillace (pp. 149–56) also discuss the use of the Panhellenic *topos*. Callisthenes made frequent use of various *mirabilia*, and such was incorporated into Arrian's account, a measure of his own desire to commemorate a glorious Hellenic part during the reign of Hadrian. Squillace demonstrates how Alexander used the theme of vengeance (*cf.* p. 151) and manipulated the presentation of data so as to impose his own viewpoint on his military.

Three presentations must be examined by rewriting the statement normally applied to American football: owners own, coaches coach, players play as organisers organise, speakers speak and printers print. Although the organisers of the conference cannot be held responsible for the natures of the various presentations, I must express dismay at the appearance of Kenneth Moore's speech (pp. 21–42). Beginning with the mistaken citation of the Athenaeus passage (not Book 9; should be 11. 115 [506e]) in his abstract, Moore displays himself oblivious to recent work on the Argeads, to the revision of the Kaibel Teubner by S. Douglas Olson now underway, to the treatment of Athenaeus' use of sources, to recent work on Anatolia (Hermeias a king?, p. 28), while he skips from topic to topic, the end result being little better than one of those *völkisch* forays into the putative influence of the *Atlantis-Weltkultur* on succeeding states, with one important difference: when I read the latter, I am entertained.<sup>2</sup>

Robin Lane Fox (pp. 91–104) diminishes the majesty of his own work. *P. Oxy.* 4808 is a fragmentary two column scrap, difficult to read without falling prey to one's imagination. Lane Fox's account of the text is on point, his suggestions on disputed readings measured, as are his suggestions about the author's accuracy and purpose. But Lane Fox does not print the text of the fragment. Simply because the fragment's author is 'an excellent chap' (p. 104) does not grant immunity from the Leiden Conventions for Epigraphy and Papyrology.

Printers print. Reinhold Bichler (pp. 51–69) walks the traces of Onesicritus, but someone else tripped. Bichler's suggestions about Onesicritus' important impact on the Alexander historians' perception of India are quite acceptable. A difficulty, more than counterbalanced by Bichler's careful documentation, emerges when one tries to follow cross references in the footnotes. For example, note 39 points back to note 20, which has nothing to do with

<sup>2</sup> In addition to *CLeO* 19, S. Müller: *Alexander, Makedonien und Persien* (Berlin 2014); *Die Argeaden* (Padeborn 2016). Also D. Lenfant (ed.), *Athénée et les Fragments d'Historiens* (Paris 2007) (pp. 341–54 Luciana Romeri on Plato).

the cited Nawotka. The problem persists for other notes – a defective manuscript tradition has taken a hand.

In spite of these problems this volume is an important contribution to Alexander historiography, so long as one is mindful of the lesson taught in Plutarch *Demetrius* 1. 6.

Berkeley, CA

Michael Weiskopf

A. Parker and S. McKie (eds.), *Material Approaches to Roman Magic: Occult Objects and Supernatural Substances*, Themes in Roman Archaeology 2, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2018, vii+135 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78570-881-7

This is a timely volume that has two aims: (i) to continue the fairly nascent investigations of magical beliefs in the Roman world, primarily in the West; and (ii) to champion the role of material evidence in these practices. The Introduction by the co-editors nicely frames the book as an original contribution extending and combining the areas covered the two previous and ground-breaking collections, R.L. Gordon and F. Marco Simon's *Magical Practice in the Latin West* (Leiden 2013) and D. Boschung and J.N. Bremmer's *The Materiality of Magic* (Paderborn 2015). The word limit imposed on this review necessitates a brief survey of its contents and assessment.

In 'The Medium Matters: Materiality and Metaphor in Some Latin Curse Tablets' Celia Sánchez Natalias does an excellent job of focusing on the variety of media for these curse tablets, some of which are not lead (for example copper or stone), and others which are not even tablets (such as terracotta jugs or votive images). She puts the magical papyri to good service, by noting the many other possible media that could be used, but do not survive, and she closes with an interesting survey of the different materials. Alissa Whitmore's 'Phallic Magic: A Cross Cultural Approach to Roman Phallic Small Finds' makes interesting use of cross-cultural comparisons with phallic pendants used in Thailand, although her ultimate conclusion – that in the Roman world they were worn mainly by children for protection against the evil eye – will not surprise many. The Thai *com-paranda* do, however, allow us to see a much wider array of uses and explanations in the Thai world: uses and explanations that are presumably lost to us in the study of Roman phalli, because there are so few references to them in our literary sources. Thomas Derrick's 'Little Bottles of Power: Roman Glass Unguentaria in Magic, Ritual and Poisoning' provides an interesting survey of these small glass containers, but in the end does not demonstrate any concrete connections with magic. Idit Sagiv's 'Victory of Good over Evil? Amuletic Animal Images on Roman Engraved Gems' has better chances for success, but is filled with inaccuracies, such as the unsubstantiated claim (p. 45) that 'an invisible demon dwelt within each gem'. The case studies vary in their success to connect gem designs to magic or beliefs in the supernatural: only the first two are entirely successful, owing to the scholarly consensus that red jasper gems engraved with Heracles and the lion or *grylloi* were used as amulets. Of the many images of predatory animals and their prey, only that of lion treading on a supine human figure (fig. 5.7) can be confidently called 'amuletic' and although Eros does appear often enough on amulets connected with erotic conquest, those that illustrate the god playfully riding lions and dolphins do not.

Adam Parker's 'The Bells! The Bells! Approaching *Tintinnabula* in Roman Britain and Beyond' tackles an important material object clearly used in ancient magic: the numerous bells found in Roman period archaeological sites that were used to primarily to ward off the evil eye. The choice of topic, however, highlights the potential problem with focusing on a single type of object ('bell' or 'phallus'), rather than a goal at which connected objects are used (apotropaism or protection). The focus on the single object, which tends to follow archaeological practices of sorting, undoubtedly results in a much richer dossier on objects under discussion, but it also leads to repetition in a multi-author volume like this, in which the essay of Parker and the previous one of Whitmore must devote time to general discussions of apotropaism, the evil eye and phalli. Both essays seem confused, by the way, over the word 'phallus', which seems to be used as a synonym for 'penis', for example (p. 60) 'flaccid phallic objects'. The use of *comparanda* from Early Mediaeval Scandinavia (bells worn by domestic animals) is brief, but extremely instructive, and might have been pressed further, as Whitmore does with the Thai evidence for phalli. The discussion of the Isaic *sistrum* seems, however, unhelpful, as does the insistent focus on the rare and complicated phallic *tintinnabula*; in light of the volume's theme, this reader would have preferred more discussion – which is introduced late (pp. 62–64) and not emphasised – of the popularity of single bells found with animals or in the graves of children, as well as a discussion of the materials: why are nearly all bells copper alloy, while their clappers are often iron?

Glynn Davis's 'Rubbing and Rolling, Burying and Burning: The Magical Use of Amber in Roman London' is a good example of how to argue for the remains of a magical ritual by cautiously combining literary evidence (from Pliny and other authors about the special qualities of amber) with the special circumstances of deposition, using two cases from London, one of which is a single amber die, whose worn edges suggests use that would have produced (as Pliny tells us) a special smell. To the list of possible uses that she explores, one might tentatively add also the use of dice in oracular sanctuaries. Nicky Garland's 'Linking Magic and Medicine in Early Roman Britain' nicely shows how the so-called 'doctor's burial' in Stanway confounds modern categories of 'magic' and 'medicine'. Andrew Wilburn's 'The Archaeology of Ritual in the Domestic Sphere' discusses artefacts (identified as 'power objects') of Roman date: a small female figurine placed under a house in the Egyptian town of Karanis and the apotropaic image of a dog rendered in mosaic in the entrance of a house from Pompeii, arguing rightly that unlike most images, these were not realistic representations or duplicates of a real woman or dog, but rather an effigy of a desired woman or a powerful apotropaic device that could keep away malign supernatural entities, just as a real dog could keep away natural enemies. Like Davis's article, Stuart McKie's essay on 'The Human Body as Magical Weapon' neatly combines literary and archaeological evidence to make some original and astute connections between the use of effigies in magic and in a generally forgotten passage of Pliny (*NH* 28. 17), who claims that people were thought to be guilty of sorcery (*veneficium*), who interlaced their fingers or clasped their knees in the presence of parturient woman, a patient receiving medicine or at councils of war and other official business on the grounds that such gestures were an obstacle to the transaction of all business. Finally, Véronique Dasen's somewhat brief article, 'Amulets, the Body and Personal Agency', seems to serve two functions, an essay of its own right on amulets as the title suggests, but also as a kind of conclusion to the volume, tying



together a number of the earlier contributions with her own by alluding to them frequently. Her case studies on teeth as amulets for teething children and amulets depicting Omphale in Herculean guise are excellent.

University of Chicago

Christopher A. Faraone

P. Pavúk, V. Klontza-Jaklová and A. Harding (eds.), *EYΛAIMΩN: Studies in Honour of Jan Bouzek*, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague/Masaryk University, Brno, Prague 2018, 574 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-80-7308-767-8 (Charles); 978-80-210-9025-5 (Masaryk)

This book publishes papers presented at a conference in honour of Jan Bouzek held in anticipation of his 80th birthday and which took place in the conference room of the Clam-Callas Palace in Prague in May 2015. Reflecting Prof. Bouzek's wide interests and achievements the papers are divided into six headings: 'The Aegean and Anatolia'; 'The Classical, Hellenistic and Roman World'; 'Central Europe'; 'Celts on the Move'; 'Thrace and its Rulers'; and, finally, 'The Black Sea Area'.

The first section begins with a paper by Philip Betancourt and Jim Muhly on the early trade routes for metals in Bronze Age Crete. The sources of copper are traceable by isotope analysis of minute lead inclusions, coming in the Early Minoan period from Cycladic sources; by Late Minoan the main sources are Laurion and Cyprus. Next, they consider arsenic and tin, then silver and finally gold.

In the next paper Fritz Blakolmer discusses 'A special Procession' in Minoan seal images – observations on ritual dress in Minoan Crete, for which the evidence is a group of seal and other images dating to LM I. He argues that these refer to an exclusive ceremony on the highest political level.

Konstantinos Kopanias examines the fate of Piyamaradu, possibly a son of king Uhha-ziti of Arzawa, defeated by the Hittite king Mursili II and exiled to an Aegean island within the realm of the king of Ahhiyawa. He argues that his subsequent military activities on behalf of the king of Ahhiyawa find a close parallel in the Homeric *Iliad* and the achievement of Achilles. This is an interesting hypothesis as a contribution to the origins of the legends behind the Homeric tradition.

Sarah Murray writes on imported objects as proxy data for change in Greek trade after the Mycenaean collapse. This forms a summary drawn from her dissertation research and includes material subsequently published by her in a monograph. She argues that the presence or absence in this period of identifiable finished imported goods is not reliable evidence for fluctuations in trade volume, and that the scale and organisation of production might be a better guide to the scale of a prehistoric trade economy.

Finally in this section Sara Wallace's paper 'Movement mad?' discusses perspectives on movement in the Ancient Aegean. Following earlier treatment in the 19th and 20th centuries with its root in contemporary nationalist, colonial and culture-historical attitudes, these perspectives require re-engagement and the identification of frameworks in which movement may occur.

The second section begins with a paper by Eleni Zimi on Corinthian conventionalising pottery from Euhesperides and the broader region of Cyrenaica found in the excavations at

Benghazi in 1997–2007. The pottery types are described and their distribution compared with other Corinthian types found in Cyrenaica is discussed.

Ioannis Xydopoulos considers the Macedonian expansion west of the Axios with special reference to the recent excavations at Almopia which have revealed burials of the Late Iron Age and the Archaic period. He considers whether these reveal an ethnic character, and concludes that the Almopes could be regarded as indigenous pre-Greek and non-Macedonian. This gives an interesting insight into the nature of the expansion of the Macedonian kingdom.

Next Marek Verčík on Marathon without Phalanx is concerned with the development of hoplite tactics and its influence on city-state society, looking at the relevant archaeological evidence.

Lucia Nováková and Andrea Ďurianová write about the tradition of above-ground burials for the disposal of the dead in western Anatolia, that is in mausoleia, Lycian *heroa*, temple tombs and the like, local tradition with both Persian and, subsequently, Greek influence.

Fikret Yegül's paper is entitled 'Change you can believe in: architecture and unorthodox classicism in Asia Minor'. This is an important and convincing paper, showing how in a series of major buildings in the Asia Minor provinces of the Roman empire the architects did not blindly follow the precepts laid down in Vitruvius' *de Architectura* but, following on from a distinctive local Hellenistic tradition, introduced their own concepts of architectural design and construction.

Dorel Bondoc gives an account of the Roman bridge across the Danube between Dolni Vadin (Bulgaria) and Grojdibodu (Romania). This paper has also been published verbatim in a separate book which I review above (p. 358) in the present issue of *AWE*. It gives a convincing account of the evidence for this bridge and its position within the lines of Roman communications in this part of the Danube.

The third section begins with a paper by Hilke Henig, 'Böhmen und Bayern in der Urnenfeld Zeit', on a grave of the middle Urnfield period at Sengkofen in the *landkreis* of Regensburg, Upper Pfalz. This discusses grave 17 and the finds from it, including pottery and a bronze cup, which illustrate the connections between eastern Bavaria and the Bohemian Milaveč-Knovizer culture.

Next, Bogusław Gedica, Dagmara Laciak and Anna Józefowska discuss the cultural contacts between the societies of south-western Poland in the Early Iron Age, based on recently excavated sites as well as those already known and show how these produce material clearly of extraneous origin, from the Balkans, more distant Hallstatt, Etruscan and Besarab cultures, and how these contacts led to change in funeral practice, social structures and so forth.

Petra Kmetová looks at the custom of burying horses within human cemeteries in the early Iron Age, particularly in Central European Hallstatt Culture. This is followed by an article by Luana Kruta Poppi on the presence of horses in Iron Age burials in northern Italy, particularly in the Villanovan and Este cultures.

In the fourth section there are two papers concerned with the movement or migration of Celtic peoples in Europe. First, Vencestas Kruta considers the Boii and Volcae. This sees the long establishment of what might be termed a Boii confederation in Bohemia through the Bronze and Early Iron Age, with the departure of a large part of them to Italy in the early 4th century BC, when most of Bohemia and Moravia was occupied by the Volcae.

Pavel Sankot considers the relationship of Bohemia with La Tène east and west between the 5th and early 3rd century BC, looking at recent discoveries in Bohemia with new types of ornament, technology and decoration. He argues that these are in line with reports in the historical sources of movements of Celtic groups, bringing back to Central Europe advanced technologies originating in the Mediterranean area.

Finally, in this section, Andrew Lamb looks again at the movement of the Belgae across the English Channel, where archaeological evidence is linked to the historical sources. He traces the varying popularity the migration theory has enjoyed within British archaeology, and shows how considerations of groups like the Belgae may aid in contextualising British archaeology against the backdrop of Continental European archaeology, tracing the history of research between 1890 and 1965, followed by subsequent developments (though mercifully he does not relate this to the contemporary political furore).

The papers in the fifth section, Thrace and its rulers, are mostly devoted to the excavations at Emporion Pistiros in South Central Bulgaria. Aleksey Gotsev, Vyara Petrova and Vladimir Gotsev report on the latest excavations. These are concerned with the three main periods of development, the chronology, characteristics and extent of cult practices there, the architectural development, relations there between Thracians, Greeks and eventually Celts, defining the location and the natural environment. Next, Valentina Taneva provides statistical data on the pre-Roman coins found at Pistiros, those of cities, Thrace, and the Macedonian and Hellenistic kings.

Vyara Petrova then presents the Attic painted pottery, with special emphasis on its spatial distribution, the quantity and variety of forms in each context. Black-figure comprises fragments of Panathenaic amphorae, plus lekythos fragments and askos sherds. Red-figure pottery is primarily concerned with wine drinking, kraters and skyphoi.

Jan de Boer, in 'Pistiros: the middle ground of a small Greek world?', applies models of analysis originally designed for prehistoric archaeology to the development of maritime colonisation in the Archaic period and the Hellenistic, mostly river orientated inland mixed settlements. He applies these ideas to Middle and Eastern Thrace and the evidence particularly of amphorae and amphora stamps.

Of the three remaining papers in this section Marios Kamenou and Alina Dimitrova discuss the cult of Hephaistos Dabatotios and the divine patronage of metallurgy in Moesia Inferior and Thrace, a syncretic cult attested in the 2nd to 4th centuries AD. Then Emil Nankov and Alexandrina Tsoneva publish a Roman krater with a Dionysiac scene from South Central Bulgaria, an appliqué ware vessel now in the Archaeological Museum in Sandanski. They trace the spatial distribution of these wares. Finally, Ivo Topalilov presents a paper 'Once more on the benefactor of the Metropolis of Philippopolis, Thrace, T Claudius Sacerdos Iulianus', asking why he, as Procurator Augusti of Thrace was also honoured as the benefactor, suggesting either that it was because he played a crucial role in enabling Philippopolis to preserve this title, or that it was connected with the movement of the title from Perinthos to Philippopolis in the reign of Trajan.

The final section of the book is concerned with the Black Sea Area. First of all, Gocha Tsetschladze considers the concerns of the Great King of Persia with the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Starting with Herodotus' account of the Scythian campaign of Darius and looking at evidence from other authors, archaeology and Achaemenid royal inscriptions, he discusses whether, despite the failure of the Scythian expedition, the Scythians and

Greeks living in the Cimmerian Bosphorus fell into Persian domination. He lists Achaemenid objects and seals found in the region, inscriptions concerned with the area and its peoples. He concludes that the Steppe Scythians and the Cimmerian Bosphorus were outliers of the Persian empire.

Next, Victor Cojocoru and Marta Oller Guzmán review the date for the constitution of the civic body in North Pontic Greek cities based on recent research on the epigraphic material and concentrating on local peculiarities related to phylai.

Alexandru Avram considers the judicial status of the Greek cities on the west coast of the Black Sea in the time of Augustus, and concludes that there was a *civitas foederata* (Callatis), the *civitates liberae et immunes* (Histria and Odessos plus, possibly, Tomis) and perhaps a *civitas stipendiaria*, Dionysopolis.

Hristo Preshlenov discusses the position of south-western Pontus within the *Orbis Romana*, general trends of the political integration of the Thracian regional communities from the Roman expansion in 72/71 BC onwards, the *civitates stipendiariae*, the emperor cult in the cities of the *koinon* of the Hexa/Pentapolis. Roman citizenship, he argues, was not widely spread until the Constitutio Antoniniana of AD 212.

Finally, Ayşe Erol and Deniz Tamer discuss the place of Cincirt Kayası in the Pontic region during the reign of Mithridates VI based on their excavations which suggest it was part of a security chain of forts to provide control and defence of the Pontic region.

Thus this volume forms a most fitting tribute to Prof. Bouzek. It is both wide-ranging but also gives a proper emphasis to Central European archaeology while at the same time most appropriately extending from the fringes of the Achaemenid empire to Britain on the verge of its incorporation into the Roman empire through its European connections.

Birmingham, UK

Richard Tomlinson

J.F. Quack, *Eine magische Stele aus dem Badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe (Inv. H 1049)*, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Universitätsverlag Winter, Heidelberg 2018, 120 pp., illustrations, 16 pp. of plates. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-8253-6929-3

Mit seiner kleinen Monographie, die im Rahmen des SFB 933 „Materiale Textkulturen“ an der Universität Heidelberg entstanden ist, widmet sich Joachim Friedrich Quack einer ägyptischen magischen Stele im Badischen Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe (Inv. H 1049) und erschließt damit ein zuvor lediglich knapp vorgestelltes, aber noch nie gründlich bearbeitetes Objekt. Es handelt sich um den 18 cm hohen Rest einer relativ schmalen Sched-Stele aus Kalkstein, die einst *ca.* 45 cm hoch war. Die Vorderseite mit der Darstellung des Gottes Sched auf zwei Krokodilen ist ganz stark beschädigt (eine Strichzeichnung würde dem Leser bei der Orientierung helfen). Die Seitenflächen und die Rückseite tragen gut erhaltenen Text. Q. datiert die Stele aufgrund ikonographischer und paläographischer Kriterien in die 21., allenfalls frühe 22. Dynastie.

Den Schwerpunkt der Arbeit bildet die intensive Behandlung der Texte (S. 25–73). Der Spruch gegen Seths Sohn Maga (S. 25–40) steht als erster erhaltener auf der Rückseite. Eine Umsetzung in Drucktypen, Umschrift, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen sowie eine ausführliche Behandlung des Gottes Maga sind diesem Spruch gewidmet. Daran schließt

sich auf der Rückseite unmittelbar der Beginn des „Ersten Buches zum Niederwerfen des Apopis“ an, eine Parallele zu P. Bremner-Rhind 23.17–24.4 und weiteren Textzeugen. Sie alle werden ausführlich vorgestellt, umschrieben, übersetzt (mit der Karlsruher Stele als Basistext) und kommentiert (S. 41–73); die Textsynopse, der der P. Bremner-Rhind als Basistext zugrundegelegt ist und in die zusätzlich der bisher unveröffentlichte Text der Statuette Louvre E 2762 = N 3975 einbezogen wird, ist als Anhang (S. 101–11) ausgelagert. Die Fotos und Strichzeichnungen des Textes (Abb. 2–4 und 8–10) erlauben eine gute Kontrolle, würden aber die Verbindung zur Behandlung des Textes erleichtern, wenn sie mit einer Zeilenzählung versehen wären. Denn mit der als  $x+8$  gezählten Zeile wechselt der Text auf die rechte Schmalseite, mit  $Z. x+11$  auf die linke. Auch die Übersetzungen bleiben ohne Zeilenzählung, was dem Leser die Verbindung zwischen Originaltext und Synopse erschwert und umso mißlicher ist, als auch die philologischen Anmerkungen in die Übersetzung eingehängt werden. Die Kommentierung der Texte ist sehr gründlich und profitiert von der bemerkenswerten Materialkenntnis des Verfassers, der ein besonderes Gewicht auf das Verhältnis der verschiedenen Textfassungen zueinander, ihre Abweichungen voneinander und die Textkonstituierung legt.

Auf S. 68–73 widmet sich Q. der Datierung der Abfassung des Ersten Buches zum Niederwerfen des Apopis und wendet sich auf der Grundlage von Beobachtungen zu Orthographie, Sprache und Inhalt gegen die bisherige Datierung, plädiert vielmehr für eine Entstehung im Alten Reich oder in der Ersten Zwischenzeit.

Da auf der Karlsruher Stele ein Spruch gegen Krokodile und einer gegen die mythische Schlange Apopis aufeinanderfolgen, stellt sich die Frage nach der Vergesellschaftung von Texten (S. 75–89). Q. führt verschiedene vergleichbare Fälle aus dem Corpus der magischen ägyptischen Texte an. Der überlieferungsgeschichtlich komplexe Befund läßt Q. drei verschiedene Arten des Umgangs mit dem Spruch gegen Apopis erkennen: (1) Horus- und Heilstatuen mit einem langen Auszug aus diesem Spruch; (2) solche mit einem selbständigen, kürzeren Auszug, der in verschiedener Weise mit anderen Sprüchen kombiniert werden kann, und (3) ein noch kürzerer, der in einen Spruch gegen Maga eingearbeitet ist (S. 85–86). Q. vermutet, daß das komplexe Corpus der im 1. Jt. v. Chr. auf Statuen und Stelen monumentalisierten Sprüche auf einer bis ins 2. Jt. und z. T. noch weiter zurückgehenden Tradition beruht (S. 88–89).

Es folgen zwei kurze Abschnitte zum Skorpionsbeschwörer (mit einem langen Auszug aus dem Buch vom Tempel), der für Ächtungsrituale u. a. gegen Apopis zuständig war und somit vermutlich auch bei der Konzeption der hier behandelten Stele beteiligt war (S. 91–95), und zur Objektbiographie der Karlsruher Stele, die längere Zeit benutzt worden und zugänglich gewesen sein muß, so daß die Sethzeichen sekundär ausgemeißelt wurden, als sich das Verhältnis zu diesem Gott ins Negative änderte. Irgendwann zerbrach die Stele und wurde eingemauert, ehe sie wohl im 19. Jh. gefunden und einem europäischen Sammler verkauft wurde (S. 97–100). Ob das Fehlen einer Vorrichtung zum Auffangen von Wasser sicher ausschließt, daß die Stele im Ritual mit Wasser übergossen wurde (S. 98), weiß ich nicht recht. Denn es ist doch unbekannt, ob die Stele einst z. B. in einem Bassin o. ä. stand oder Teil eines Ensembles war.

Dem Buch sind Indizes beigegeben, die die herangezogenen Textstellen, die diskutierten ägyptischen Wörter, Gottheiten, Personen, Orte und Sachen einschließen (S. 113–20). Die inkonsistente Ansetzung der Stichwörter reißt leider manches auseinander, z. B. steht die

Stele „Avignon, Musée Calvet“ unter A, aber andere Stelen unter S; „Göttingen Inv. 3 (Horusstele)“ findet sich unter G, doch andere Horusstelen unter H, und H insgesamt hinter K. – TB 137A muß vor TB 163 stehen.

16 qualitätvolle Abbildungen der Karlsruher Stele und der Statuette des Louvre schließen den gehaltvollen und lesenswerten Band ab.

Einige Detailanmerkungen: S. 52 (x+11): In der Umschrift fehlt *iw=k dr.ti* vor *hsf*, und statt *b3=k hmi* lies *b3=k nhm*. – S. 52 (x+13): Warum wird *tr* aus K nicht in die Umschrift aufgenommen, sondern kommentarlos *ti* aus B? – S. 52–53: Erst durch die Anmerkung m auf S. 61–62 wird deutlich, daß der in doppelte eckige Klammern gesetzte Teil der Übersetzung (S. 53), der sich nicht in der Umschrift (S. 52) findet, aber sehr wohl in der Synopse (ab S. 105), im wesentlichen aus P. Bremner-Rhind stammt und auf der Karlsruher Stele ausgelassen ist. – S. 57: Zum Anfang des „Lebensmüden“ vgl. jetzt Escolano-Poveda in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 144 (2017), 16–54 – S. 101–111: Die *k*-Hieroglyphe zur Wiedergabe des entsprechenden hieratischen Zeichens im P. Bremner-Rhind ist immer spiegelverkehrt gedruckt. – S. 111 2. Zeile (K): Über dem *m* von *stnm* steht ein flaches Zeichen, das im Original (x+12) keineswegs nur ein kleines Strichlein ist, sondern die volle Breite eines Quadrats einnimmt. Hierzu vermißt man einen Kommentar. – Abb. 2 hätte man mit weniger freiem Rand und damit größer drucken können.

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Friedhelm Hoffmann

C. Reinhardt, *Akroter und Architektur: Figürliche Skulptur auf Dächern griechischer Bauten vom 6. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Image and Context 18, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2018, x+598 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-053880-9/ISSN 1868-4777

In the introduction to her book Corinna Reinhardt states that it is a revised and shortened (at 698 pages) version of her doctoral thesis submitted to the Ludwig-Maximilian University of Munich in 2015. Her subject is a difficult one. Figure sculpture placed at the ends and summits of temple gables nowhere survive *in situ*, and the identification and proving of fallen statues and fragments can be difficult, though the well preserved examples from the Late Archaic Temple of Aphaia on Aigina, now, of course, in the Glyptothek at Munich provide an admirable inspiration for a thesis submitted to the University there.

The thesis is therefore based initially on a mere 18 examples of proven roof sculpture, and even with these it is not always possible to relate them to the architecture of the building that once supported them. One of the examples belongs to the H fragments of the Archaic temple on the Acropolis of Athens; another four examples are simply listed from unknown buildings whose place in the architecture is therefore not recoverable. A further problem results from the actual dating of R.'s examples. Some may be broadly defined as Late Archaic; others belong to the 4th century BC, but there is a significant gap resulting from the absence of any examples from the mainstream Athenian architecture of the 5th century *floruit*.

R. abides strictly by the definition contained in her subtitle. There is no place for non-figurative examples or of precedents before the 6th century BC. Terracotta disc acroteria are mentioned in passing only once or twice. She adds to the information



available by including a full study of the bases above the extremities of the pediments which once supported statues that are now completely lost. These give some idea of the potential pose of the statues they once carried, but not really of the statues themselves. She also includes statues placed on the top of high pillars such as the Nike of Paionios at Olympia which can fairly be stated to have characteristics also found in acroteria sculpture. She also compares the types of acroteria sculpture with similar figures depicted on painted vases, which certainly help in understanding the forms and poses of the sculptural examples. She assesses the posing of the statues and the view points from which they were intended to be seen, fixed points in front of the temples' façades, and, of course, their backs, though one might wonder just how many visitors would actually have paused at these locations to view the statues on the roof. The statues, certainly, were large enough to make their presence and positioning felt, particularly as, unlike the statues contained within the pediments, they would have risen clear of the architecture on which they depended.

Three of R.'s examples – Aphaia Aigina, Artemis in the Delion on Paros and the Laphrion of Kalydon – have sphinxes for flanking sculptures. To these can be added the Temple of Athena at Assos, where Bonna Wescoat accepts a volute scroll fragment as part of the central element and a (now lost) paw for a flanking sphinx. Possibly also (on the very flimsiest of evidence) I might add Apollo in Aigina town, where a fragment found in a wall and bought by Haller von Hallerstein and now in Munich might indicate that it had acroteria similar to those of Aphaia. All these can be dated broadly to Late Archaic. The similarity means that their function is not specific to the buildings on which they are placed, the central element as perhaps no more than a decorative flourish, the sphinxes as, in general terms, Guardians of the building. Thus the central element here seems to derive from the disc acroteria of the 7th and 6th century, with the disc reconstructed by Klaus Hoffelner from the earlier Temple of Apollo at Aigina being a good antecedent for the later temple and its central element as proposed by Hans Walter on the basis of Haller's purchase. I might also point to the Menelaion outside Sparta, whose disc acroteria were reconstructed by me from the fragments found in Hector Catling's excavation and to be published in *Menelaion* II, where acroterion A, 7th century in date, was replaced by acroterion B in the early 6th century, identical in its decorative elements to the great disc acroterion of Hera Olympia but with the addition of a *gorgoneion* as its central element.

At the core of R.'s thesis, though, are the subsequent figure acroteria with subjects which, as she cogently argues, are specific to the buildings on which they were placed. She selects particularly the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, the temple of the Athenians on Delos and the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros.

For the Treasury she argues for the victorious protagonists being depicted in the central acroterion sculpture (which of course has not survived) and the enemy as the Amazons on the flanks – pointing to the building as a thank-offering for the victory at Marathon rather than as a late 6th-century dedication. The sculpture of the temple on Delos relates to Athens with the central acroterion depicting Boreas carrying off Oreithyia, daughter of the king of Athens and Eos abducting Kephalos. At Epidauros, on the other hand, the sculpture has a general rather than a local application, emphasising the developing Panhellenic importance of the sanctuary.

This book presents a cogent and significant analysis of figure sculpture acroteria. R.'s thesis is convincing, despite the limits imposed by the vicissitudes of survival, and is a most important contribution to our understanding of the purpose and interpretation of Classical Greek buildings.

Birmingham, UK

Richard Tomlinson

M. Rekowska, *In Pursuit of Ancient Cyrenaica... Two Hundred Years of Exploration Set against the History of Archaeology in Europe (1706–1911)*, transl. by A. Kijak, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2016, x+273 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-320-5

There are three main chapters. The first (pp. 11–49) provides a history of travel and travellers to Cyrenaica in the last two centuries of Ottoman overlordship, developing from stages of adventuresome discovery (up to 1819) to surveys/research and exploration/archaeology: the Britons, North and South, run from James Bruce of Kinnaird (1767), via the brothers Beechey (1821), Smith and Porcher (1860), George Dennis (1864) to Herbert Weld Blundell (1895), but there were French, Germans and, particularly, Italians, notably from the 1880s onward as the area was covertly recognised as an Italian sphere of influence by other European powers. Like those from elsewhere, the Britons were socially a mixed bag: Presbyterian landowner with wanderlust, sons of a portraitist, minor diplomat, Roman Catholic large landowner with antiquities in the blood, etc. The second main chapter, 'The Topography of Ancient Sites' (pp. 50–187), covers at varying length over 20 ancient sites from Berenike to Tocra, and from Ptolemais (site of a Polish expedition in which the author participated) to Cyrene and the settlements of its Eastern Chora: who visited, what they saw, recorded, reported and depicted (the illustrations are plentiful, of excellent quality and mix modern photographs with the drawings and plans of the travellers), how these accounts developed from 'travelogues' to scholarly studies in the course of the period covered by the book (and in line with the characterisations/phases described above), their 'significance to topographical surveys of the region', etc. The third is "'Transferring" Cyrenaica to Europe' (pp. 188–238) – studying inscriptions, appreciating ancient art, collecting (sculpture, vases, terracottas), as well as what travellers knew beforehand from ancient sources (and from their predecessors), the exploratory and collecting activities conducted in the mid-19th century by British vice-consuls at Benghazi (Francis Werry and Frederick Crowe), etc., and the beginnings of the professionalising of archaeology.

My 'doubts' are in connection with the brief Chapter 1, 'The History of Archaeological Interests in Europe (18th century–early 20th century). Selected topics' (pp. 3–10). Ideally, a much fuller and deeper essay is required or, if selective, then eschewing such superficial nonsense as 'Until as late as the mid-19th century Britain was a country in which scholarship and culture were shaped by basically just one social group – oligarchs, land owners and aristocrats' (p. 7). Were these one social group? There was Whig oligarchy for much of the 18th century, but lots of new money then, and even more later, contributing to the most open elite in Europe. To describe Elgin as 'the man who plundered the Parthenon' (p. 7) is a mite simplistic. This is a pity: the author's acknowledgments indicate much digging in archives as well as at Ptolemais, and overall the subject-matter is engaging.

The volume ends with the arrival of Italian suzerainty (control it was not, at least until bloody repression in the 1920s and 1930s): in a hubristic 'buns and circuses' diversion from half a century of domestic failure, Italy staged an unnecessary war with the Turks (1911–12), grabbing the Dodecanese as well, to begin a third of a century of international failure as the new Roman empire, and, in no small way, lighting the match for the ensuing Balkan Wars and the conflagration of 1914.

Good quality translation, and an opportunity to note the rising production standards at Archaeopress.

Leeds, UK

James Hargrave

L. Revell, *Ways of Being Roman: Discourses of Identity in the Roman West*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2016, x+175 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-84217-292-6

Louise Revell has produced a lean, highly intelligent and carefully thought through discussion of an enormous subject: the potential of social archaeology to illuminate aspects of identity in the Roman provinces. It is not her intention to be encyclopaedic. She focuses on areas with which she is most familiar: the evidence of buildings and inscriptions; the provinces of Britain and the Iberian Peninsula; and the topics of status, gender and age. She is well aware of the potential for expansion: other evidence, other places, other topics. Her analysis is framed, both in her Preface (pp. ix–x) and her Conclusions (pp. 147–49), by concise and lucid statements of intent and findings. Her writing benefits throughout from economy and clarity. As a result, this book is considerably more significant than its lean proportions might suggest, and it deserves to be read well beyond the world of professional Roman archaeology – not least by historians and students.

R. begins with a survey of the development of professional approaches ('Identity in Roman Archaeology', pp. 1–18) both in scholarship overall and in Roman studies, going on to emphasise the 'social construction of identity' and to consider how an 'archaeology of Roman identities' might proceed. She takes valuable note of the work of sociologists: the present reviewer was particularly pleased to see reference to Giddens on structuration theory (pp. 9–10; cf. 87) and, more fundamentally, a real internalisation (here and *passim*) of the interdependence of social structure and the individual.

This leads to discussions of ethnicity (Chapters 2–3), status (Chapters 4–5), gender (Chapter 6) and age (Chapter 7).

R.'s chapter on 'Ideas of Roman ethnicity' (pp. 19–39) opens with a good summary of developments since the 19th century, both in terms of how ethnicity is defined and how it is approached archaeologically. This is followed by an account of the 'rethinking' of Roman ethnicity in particular and a discussion of its archaeology, with a strong sense of its relation to temporal context and imperial power. R. observes that the 'fluidity of ethnicity within the provinces is related to a fluidity in ethnicity in Rome itself, where there was an ongoing renegotiation of what it was to be Roman' (p. 37). As a result, although 'the adoption of Roman cultural traits was the acquisition of the dominant ethnic traits by the subjugated group' (p. 38), involving 'an inequality' and 'largely a one-way flow' (p. 39), it need not surprise us that 'the outcome of these changes was not uniform, and there is a clear flexibility and fluidity in their interpretation of how to be Roman' (p. 39).

It is a natural corollary to discuss 'A Poly-ethnic Empire' (pp. 41–60). Treatment of the 'variability' of Roman provincial material culture is enhanced by highlighting the multi-layered nature of ethnic identities even at an individual and local level; and then by re-framing the relation between local ethnicity and Roman imperialism as one in which, while Roman traits were integrated with local ones, local ethnicity was itself restructured. As R. puts it: 'Unlike the modern identities of the nation-state, which actively suppressed regional identities, the Roman system incorporated them, in effect creating and recreating local identities' (p. 60). This, she notes, leaves major questions. Did it mean that, two or three generations after the adoption of Roman ethnic traits by a community, the local elements of its ethnicity ironically regained primary importance as a means to distinguish this community from its neighbours? Did the dynamic differ between inner and outer provinces, with Roman traits remaining more important on the frontiers? Did the relation between Roman and local ethnic traits, and the recreation of local ethnicity, give way in importance to the role of social status in identity formation?

It is to the latter question of status that R. turns, in Chapters 4–5 ('A New Provincial Elite', pp. 61–82; 'Looking for the Non-elite', pp. 83–104). After some discussion of class in the Roman world and the public articulation of status and power, she turns to the more informal role of houses in projecting elite status, both through architecture and decoration. In doing so, she notes some interesting variation between provinces, with Romano-British elites placing markedly less emphasis on the specific notion of magisterial munificence, despite sharing with elites of Iberia and Gaul a broad notion of rank 'based upon political activity and conspicuous display in and around the towns' (p. 82). R. raises the point that variation might be seen elsewhere, 'such as areas with heavy elite recruitment and sparse urbanisation', noting 'a similar lack of inscriptions recording magisterial munificence in Belgica and Germania Inferior' (p. 82).

In turning to the 'non-elite', R. is conscious of the challenges but also identifies three productive, up-to-date approaches: the notion of 'entangled spaces'; the archaeology of labour, with particular reference here to the production of goods; and the constraints of institutions and social structures, with reference here to slaves and gladiators. A fascinatingly complex picture emerges of a wide range of ways in which groups might be identified and delineated, going far beyond a simple dichotomy of elite versus non-elite. Whether it be the reserved seating in the amphitheatre at Nîmes, scrupulously allocating 25 places for the boatmen of the Ardeche and Ouvèze, and 40 seats for the boatmen of the Rhône and Saône (p. 88); or the reliance of an Iberian mining community on a mixture of additional skills, ranging from hydraulics engineering to the ancillary but privileged trades of barbers, shoemakers and fullers (pp. 92–93); or a vendor's claim that a certain slave was healthy and not given to straying (p. 99); or the epitaphs of gladiators that tallied their appearances in the ring (pp. 102–03): in these and a host of other ways, the social status both of local groups and individuals was in constant construction.

With similarly sharp relevance to the social historian as well as the archaeologist, R. turns to the archaeology of gender ('Gendering the Provinces', pp. 105–25) and age ('Age and Ageing', pp. 127–46). First, she ranges over dress and adornment; the 'provincial family'; the gendering of work; and the relation of gender to status and the imperial context. Next, she surveys notions about, and evidence for, the life course; and, by turns, looks at the phases of life, from infancy to childhood, adulthood and the elderly. These discussions could of course be considerably expanded. Each one is a major theme and a chapter apiece

can only go so far. But R. touches nonetheless on a wealth of detailed points and possibilities. To take just two examples, she notes that women's experiences in areas from which many young men departed into military service were likely to be distinctive (p. 124); and that one reflection of regional differences in attitudes to age was that not every community was as given as every other to the commemoration of a person's age at the time of their death (p. 132).

R.'s book, as will be obvious, is ambitiously wide-ranging. She does not claim to have the final word on the topics she touches, nor does she claim any definitive precedence for her own choice of topics over others to which (as she urges) a social archaeology could be applied, such as religious or military identities, or disability (p. 147). One might well think of her study as an essay that is intended to serve as a *vade mecum*. In this, it succeeds. Not the least reason why it succeeds is that it offers a rich seam of provincial social life, for both archaeologists and historians to explore.

Virtual Centre for Late Antiquity, London

Alexander Skinner

W. Rienjang and P. Stewart (eds.), *Problems of Chronology in Gandhāran Art*, Proceedings of the First International Workshop of the Gandhāra Connections Project, University of Oxford, 23rd–24th March, 2017, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2018, iv+164 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-855-2

This book is the first publication of the research project 'Gandhāran Connections' inaugurated in 2016 by the Classical Art Research Centre at the University of Oxford.<sup>1</sup> The papers were presented at a conference held in Oxford in March 2017, and the authors as well as the editors must be commended for the celerity of the publication.<sup>2</sup> The nine contributions cover numismatics, sculpture, epigraphy, archaeology, art history and architecture. They address the links between Gandhāran and Graeco-Roman art, as well as the problems associated with relative and absolute chronology. In their Introduction (pp. 1–5), the editors emphasise the lack of chronological data for history, archaeology and thus artefacts, as well as the need for archaeological context and written sources (stressed by the debate regarding eras), leading to a need for a multi-disciplinary approach.

In his contribution (pp. 7–34), Joe Cribb gives a detailed and comprehensive study of the various coinages related to Gandhāra, and discusses the hypotheses regarding the eras, including Kanishka I's.<sup>3</sup> The paper overviews, sometimes in details, the coinages of the Indo-Parthians, Kushans, Kushano-Sasanians and Kidarites, and their relation to Gandhāran chronology. Cribb reminds us that the global chronological sequence of this region is based

<sup>1</sup> Available at: [https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/PublicFiles/media/final%20e version%20Problems%20of%20Chronology%20in%20Gandharan%20Art.pdf](https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/PublicFiles/media/final%20e%20version%20Problems%20of%20Chronology%20in%20Gandharan%20Art.pdf).

<sup>2</sup> A second volume regarding the geography of Gandhāran Art has recently been published: W. Rienjang and P. Stewart (eds.), *The Geography of Gandhāran Art* (Oxford 2019).

<sup>3</sup> This era is rather called 'Kushan era' in Cribb's paper, and I shall carry on with this name.

on dated inscriptions, numismatic sequence,<sup>4</sup> historical texts, and Kushan and Indian eras. The summary of the debates surrounding the Kushan, Greek and Azes eras is both clear and useful: it is now widely accepted that the first began in AD 127, with the habit of dropping the hundreds, while the *Yavanajātaka* of Sphujiddhvaja and the Rukhuṇa reliquary's inscription both give strong arguments in order to pinpoint the relationships between them.<sup>5</sup> Various overstrikes provide solid ground for the sequence formed between the Indo-Parthians and the first Kushan kings, although the overstrike of Soter Megas<sup>6</sup> on a king Sasan coin presents rather thin evidence: the highlighted type features seem to be part of the original type. After the Sasanians progressively took over Bactria in the 3rd century AD, the 4th century is characterised by severe political turmoil, as the Sasanians are replaced by the Kidarites and later by the Alchon Huns. What is more, the author argues against N. Schindel's numismatic sequence based upon the appearance of earrings, diadem ribbons, crowns and fire altars, which indeed lead to a hundred-year gap between Wima Kadphises and his son Kanishka I, by dating the latter's era to AD 227. Several useful tables are provided, which efficiently clarify the arguments.

Juhyung Rhi's contribution (pp. 35–52) aims to demonstrate that the various Gandhāran Buddhist imageries may potentially represent co-existing formal series rather than a unified chronological evolution. The author's discussion is based upon five major visual types which he identified in a previous article.<sup>7</sup> Five inscribed Buddhist images are discussed: the Buddhas of Mamāne Dherī (year 89), Loriyān Tangai (year 318), Hashtnagar (year 384), the Hārītī of Skārah Dherī (year 399) and a Buddha triad stele (year 5). While the first Buddha image is considered to refer to the Kanishka era, the second and third ones, given their high dating, would belong to the Yoṇa or Indo-Greek era (*ca.* 175 or 174 BC<sup>8</sup>). Although the Loriyān Tangai Buddha shows late features, possibly under the stylistic influence of India, it is chronologically prior to the one from Mamāne Dherī: Rhi thus postulates that, if the era may be regarded as another one, the Loriyān Tangai area may represent a separate regional unit. The Buddha triad stele (also called the 'Brussels Buddha') is problematic as, according to Rhi, it is difficult to match its iconography with contemporary statues: its date might be 105 rather than 5. While two statues, the Hirayama and Matsuoka Buddhas, may be regarded as the first attempts to create the image of the Buddha,<sup>9</sup> Rhi

<sup>4</sup> Itself based upon the denominations, metal quality, weight standard, drawing style, language and epigraphy.

<sup>5</sup> Kushan era year 1 = Greek era year 301 = Azes era year 173.

<sup>6</sup> Surprisingly enough, no bibliography is given for the numerous authors who defend the hypothesis of two distinguished kings regarding Soter Megas and Wima Takto: M. Alam, 'Indo-Parthian and early Kushan chronology'. In M. Alam and D. Klimburg-Salter (eds.), *Coins, Art and Chronology: Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands* (Vienna 1999), 19–48; R. Göbl, 'The Rabatak Inscription and the Date of Kanishka'. In Alam and Klimburg-Salter 1999, 151–75; O. Bopearachchi, 'Chronologie et généalogie des premiers rois Kouchans: nouvelles données'. *CRAI* 2006, 1433–47. It would indeed be premature to consider this important debate closed.

<sup>7</sup> J. Rhi, 'Identifying Several Visual Types of Gandhāran Buddha Images'. *Archives of Asian Art* 58 (2008), 43–85.

<sup>8</sup> These dates are based upon the research of Cribb, and of Falk and Bennett.

<sup>9</sup> Possibly during the 1st century AD, according to Salomon's chronology: R. Salomon, 'Dynastic and Institutional Connections in the Pre- and Early Kuṣāna Period: New Manuscript and Epigraphic



emphasises that we must take into consideration the geographical distribution of sculptural production among several regions: Bajaur, the Swat Valley, the Peshawar Basin. In this context, a single and linear process for iconographical evolution seems less likely.

Stefan Baums focuses his paper (pp. 53–70) on relic inscriptions and how they contribute to Gandhāran chronology. Such relics of the Buddha are divided into *śāriraka* (bodily relics), *paribhoga* (objects used by the Buddha), *uddeśaka* (representations of the Buddha) and *dharma* (texts). The author provides detailed information regarding such deposits, such as the usual formula, its length, and data regarding the donor family. While literary quotations are canonical and therefore often unusable, Baums lists various potential chronological markers: a specific date; reference to an historical figure; notions expressed; palaeography (especially the evolution of the *akshara -sa*); progressive Sanskritisation of Gāndhārī; transition from phonetic to minimal phonetics; radiocarbon dating. Six new inscriptions are published, from the Museum Fünf Kontinente Munich and private collections.<sup>10</sup> Apart from the Greek, Azes and Kushan (i.e. Kanishka I) eras, we found the Vijayamitra era as well, although it most likely rather referred to regnal years: except for the Kushan era, all of these are mentioned together on the Rukhuṇa reliquary. Baums records 32 inscriptions mentioning these four eras. The Azes era is the most frequently used until the beginning of the Kushan era: the latter is characterised by the mention of a ruler, of a Macedonian month, of a Greek or Iranian name, of a year above 300, and depending of the type of object. Baums's paper is completed by four valuable appendices, concerning the chronological sequence of inscriptions, the concordance between Macedonian and Indian months, the days mentions and dated Gandhāran images.

Luca Maria Olivieri and Anna Filigenzi present in their shared paper (pp. 71–92) the latest results of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan (IAMP) in the Swat valley, especially in Barikot, in the general context of Gandhāra. The city of Barikot, whose chronology extends from the mid-1st millennium BC to the Ghaznavid period, goes under an important refortification process during the Indo-Greek period in the mid-2nd century BC. The first traces of Buddhism may be detected at that time, possibly earlier. In the 3rd century AD, a unit ('Sacred Building B') held a tetrastyle worship complex (niches, stele, altar); likewise, a small Buddhist temple is located in unit D, where stood a stele with a bearded male figure, holding a chalice and a goat's head. This stele may be compared with several other Gandhāran sculptures, though without archaeological context. For its part, unit K held a distyle building ('Temple K') and a small shrine with stucco decoration and wooden doors. The dereliction of the main city is attributed to the global context of the fall of the Kushan Empire, while two major well-documented earthquakes occurred in a 50–70-year period. All things considered, and in comparison with other neighbouring sites such as Gumbat and Amluk-dara, Barikot illustrates well the transition from schist sculpture to stucco decoration in the 3rd century AD. Filigenzi's contribution draws some stimulating parallels with the Buddhist site of Butkara I, excavated by an Italian team between 1956 and 1962: during the Great Stūpa 4 period (2nd/3rd–7th century AD), stone sculptures were also progressively disregarded, highlighting major shifts in taste,

Evidence'. In D.M. Srinivasan (ed.), *On the Cusp of an Era: Art in the Pre-Kuṣāna World* (Leiden 2007), 267–86.

<sup>10</sup> These inscriptions, as well as many others, may be found on the web site dedicated to Gāndhārī inscriptions: <https://www.gandhari.org/>.

techniques and materials. Reflecting on this evolution, Filigenzi raises the possibility that it may suggest some economic distress, by benefiting to local and cheaper material and techniques, and/or cultural influence coming from Afghanistan, southern Central Asia and Sinkiang/Xinjiang. In any case, these new and crucial archaeological data from Barikot help to better outline the chronology of Gandhāra.

In the wake of Baums's study, Wannaporn Rienjang's paper (pp. 93–102) focuses on the typology of *stūpa* deposits from eastern Afghanistan to northern Pakistan, notably the Dharmarājikā Buddhist complex in Taxila. This kind of deposits shows a clear evolution throughout time: the number of coins and the value of the depository gradually lower from the 2nd century AD onwards, which could indicate a possible change both in terms of merit-gaining and worship practices. Rienjang states that 'in the case of Dharmarājikā, [there is a] chronological correlation between coins, associated objects and the structures in which they were found', which indeed is possible, although it would have been interesting to see the author clarifying her thoughts a bit further. The deposits are mainly divided between those with or without relic containers, with sub-categories depending on the nature of the deposit. Thus, by combining the deposit type and the numismatic sequence (from the late Indo-Greeks to the Nezak Huns), Rienjang ends up differentiating five main chronological phases. The main shift occurs during the fourth phase, from the reign of Vasudeva I (*ca.* AD 190–227). The last two phases, IV and V, could thus separate events: the re-consecration of earlier deposits; new ritual practices such as the display of relics; or the cult of images of the Buddha which would progressively supersede relic establishments.

If Gandhāran art is widely recognised for its beauty, its place among the other Buddhist schools of art needs to be determined and explained, which is the subject of Monika Zin's paper (pp. 103–22). Among the finds from Butkara, a stele representing the Buddha's descent from the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven depicts a monk and a nun: while this is an evolution *vis-à-vis* the aniconic style, Zin dates it to after the time of the creation of the Buddha's image. On a broader scale, Gandhāran art (whether Buddhist or Brahmanical) emerged tardily compared to its neighbours. Zin links this lack of depictions to some kind of predominance of Brahmanism in this region: Indian authors are somewhat contradictory, since Gandhāra is depicted as a non-Brahmanical territory, while Taxila is described as a centre of Vedic education. All things considered, it appears that Gandhāra stood as a conservative and traditional region, and that the major change in religious policy is due to the Kushan rulers. As for pictorial motifs, the artists partly tapped into both Indian (see the Thul-Mir-Rukhan relief from Hyderabad, or the Mohammed Nari stele) and Mediterranean traditions: as the visual phenomena progressively became more central than literary description, the narrative shifted to devotion. Zin emphasises well that this kind of pictorial language crossed the border of Gandhāra, and notably as far as western China (Kucha, Dunhuang).

Gandhāran toilet-trays are as famous as they are problematic, and Circo Lo Muzio's contribution (pp. 123–34) aims to deepen our understanding of their relationship to northern Indian Buddhist art. These objects, whose chronology remains uncertain (earlier or coeval with Gandhāran art), have successively been regarded as cosmetic trays, referring to the underworld and/or to wedding, and finally as libation trays. Based on a previous article,<sup>11</sup> the author states that the links with the Greek period are rather weak, and that

<sup>11</sup> C. Lo Muzio, 'Gandharan Toilet-Trays: Some Reflections on Chronology'. *ACSS* 17 (2011), 331–40.

the toilet-trays from Sirkap are contemporaneous with the Indo-Scythian and Great Kushans periods. The art of Bharhut, Bodhgayā, Sanchi and Mathurā are selected by Lo Muzio, revealing iconographic and formal similarities with the Gangetic Plain. The lotus-flower motif, never depicted in full, is often associated with human figures, a combination which is never found in Gandhāran sculpture, while it is more common in Indian sculpture. Thus, not only are only a few rare toilet-trays related to Buddhism, but the motifs also are closely related to Indian iconography (such as winged lions or a drunken Dionysus/dead hero ascending into Heaven). These features led Lo Muzio to highlight iconographical links between these regions.

The somewhat peculiar title chosen by Robert Bracey for his paper (pp. 135–48) hides two broader questions of methodology: how to date objects without context or inscriptions, and whether it is the right method. Bracey bases his reasoning upon the Cleveland Dancers pillar from Mathurā. This piece is divided into four registers: grapes and foliage; onlookers playing instruments; four dancing female figures; two narrative scenes. The Hellenistic features may originate from Gandhāra, the closest source for such imagery. The female figures are discussed in detail: calling them ‘nymphs’, Bracey stresses that the belts which they wear are common in Mathurā but almost absent from Gandhāra, where naked figures are rather male while female figures wear long dresses. Thus, there would be a major cultural gap regarding genre and nudity between both regions. This piece would consequently possibly come from the Punjab, be the work of a non-local artist (from Gandhāra), or a forgery from the 1970s. Several interesting points of details are discussed afterwards: the origin of the grapes and foliage, the musicians, and the stone background. Bracey’s conclusion emphasises that dating must be put into perspective by the understanding of workshop practices and patronage.

The final contribution (pp. 149–64) is from Kurt Behrendt and focuses upon how earthquakes are related to Gandhāran architecture, with respect to subsequent repair or replacement of the buildings. The latter is directly linked with the modifications made to sacred areas. The decline of Gandhāra from the 6th century AD may be connected to the arrival of the Hephthalites, the shifting of trade routes, or earthquakes. The latter could thus possibly explain the reuse of sculptures or repairs of the stūpas. The author then lists a series of sites to illustrate this hypothesis, such as Kālawān, Janliān, Mekhasanda and Ranigat. These sites do indeed present clear of repairs both regarding the buildings and the decoration, but Behrendt provides no concrete evidence to link them to earthquakes. Indeed, without an archaeological analysis of the remains, it is extremely difficult to prove this point, while no article or book regarding this subject is mentioned in the bibliography.<sup>12</sup> If the conclusions of this paper are useful, especially regarding the chronology of construction phases, one must remain cautious with linking them to the author’s starting hypothesis.

This book is therefore an essential contribution to Gandhāran studies, by favouring an approach through various disciplines and paving the way for further studies. Gandhāran art forms an essential chronological and artistic phenomenon, both due to its sources of

<sup>12</sup> The scientific literature is, however, abundant on this subject. See, for instance, N.N. Ambraseys, ‘Earthquakes and archaeology’. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33 (2006), 1008–16, in which the author provides useful data regarding the effect of earthquakes on buildings and human remains.

inspiration and its influence. As with the Kushan empire, which is closely related to this region, it is crucial to address these chronological issues in order to outline a general frame for Gandhāra and Central Asia, in the light of the latest archaeological and iconographical data.

UMR 7041 ArScAn

Olivier Bordeaux

Team 'Archéologie de l'Asie Centrale', Nanterre

A.D. Rizakis, F. Camia and S. Zoumbaki (eds.), *Social Dynamics under Roman Rule: Mobility and Status Change in the Provinces of Achaia and Macedonia*, MEΛETEMATA 74, Fondation Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, Institut de Recherches Historiques, Athens 2017, 445 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-960-9538-63-3

This volume presents 17 papers in English, French, German and Italian based on contributions at a 2014 conference in Athens and is edited by three contributors well known for their work on Roman Greece. One paper is based on archaeological evidence (house plans), the remainder mainly on epigraphy. Contributions take as their regional nucleus Achaia and Macedonia. Narrower geographical foci are the Cyclades (one paper), Delos (three), Athens and Sparta (combined in one comparative study), Corinth (one), Messene (one), Delphi (one), Larissa (one) and Macedonia (three). Four papers themed on social categories discuss priests in Roman Greece; Philostratean sophists; *paroikoi*; and associations of Roman citizens.

Contributors do not seem to have been constrained by a detailed brief as to what questions to tackle, models to use or abuse, etc. There is not much inter-disciplinarity, apart from two papers (C. Müller; N. Doukellis) explicitly drawing on sociological theory. As for methodological pitfalls, the reader is mainly alerted to these within the content of individual papers. An exception is the paper by J. Bartels which could almost serve as an introduction to the rest, since it offers an incisive overview of 'factors conferring social prestige' based on a survey of Greek literature and also cautionary comments on both the value of inscriptions as evidence and on the prosopographical method.

Discussing Macedonia, he points to unexpected omissions of less prestigious family members in honorific inscriptions as likely evidence for social climbing – like the mule 'more ready to remember his mother the mare than his father the ass' as Nancy Mitford once put it, discussing *mésalliances* in 18th-century France.<sup>1</sup> Bartels's is one of three papers on Macedonia, also discussed in A.D. Rizakis's general introduction. E. Sverkos carefully searches for Macedonian viritane grants, concluding that they were relatively rare. He argues for a lack of continuity of wealth among the province's elites, linked, he suggests, to the fate of the Antigonid service-aristocracy after Pydna (to the slight evidence for old, or purportedly old, lineages in Roman times should be added the Beroean family 'descended from Alexander', its likely ties to the 4th-century AD Alexander-historian Praxagoras of Athens superbly studied by R. Smith.<sup>2</sup> P. Nigdelis republishes a rare attestation for land

<sup>1</sup> N. Mitford, *Madame de Pompadour* (London 1968), 67.

<sup>2</sup> R.B.E. Smith, 'A Lost Historian of Alexander "Descended from Alexander", and Read by Julian? Praxagoras of Athens Reviewed in the Light of Attic Epigraphy'. *Historia* 56.3 (2007), 356–80.

as a source of wealth of southern Balkan notables, in this case a Macedoniarch, whose family was probably based on an important city in the Lower Strymon Valley the name of which is not known – a startling reminder of the general dangers of the argument from the serendipity of inscriptional silence.

Two papers focus on Central Greece. R. Bouchon and N. Kyriakidis offer an exemplary study of holders of the Delphic priesthood of Apollo Pythios. They track a movement in imperial times towards greater opening up of the priesthood to notables from important provincial cities and also towards local monopolisation by a single extended lineage. A Delphic archon of *ca.* AD 20, C. Iulius Sidectas, is rightly seen as a member of a well-known Spartan family (on my view identifiable with Sidectas (I), who must have been enfranchised under Augustus along with his elder brother, C. Iulius Deximachus (I)).<sup>3</sup> R. Bouchon also studies the Cocceii of Larissa in a careful paper full of interest, including Thessalian examples of apparent lapses of Roman citizenship after a peregrine marriage (a possible explanation for why this Spartan family of C. Iulii resurfaces as one of P. Memmii), and a female notable whose kinship with 'senators and consulars' was emphatically inscribed on the crowning element of an honorific monument – clear demonstration that these Roman statuses were seen locally as a source of social prestige.

Of the Peloponnesian papers, D. Baldassara offers a welcome reappraisal of three inter-related families of Tib. Claudii at Messene in the light of inscriptions found in the excavations of P. Themelis, not all of them fully published. One of these (*SEG* 57 [2007] 374), attesting the marriage of the *eques* Tib. Claudius Dionysius Crispianus, himself son of a Gemonia, to an Aufidia Gemine, tends to confirm my view that this family sought social prestige through alliances with local descendants of Italian immigrants. B. Millis restates his view that Caesar re-founded Corinth for economic reasons and that the early colonial *liberti* were placed there to further the interests of absentee patrons. Rizakis and S. Zoumbaki compare the strata of notables of Roman Sparta and Athens respectively. There were local differences but also broad similarities. One, I would add, was that at least in some cases the descendants of notables fallen from Roman grace were able to return to prominence – the Athenian descendants of Apellicon of Teos (one might add, as well, those of Tib. Claudius Hipparchus, the grandfather of Herodes Atticus), and the Spartan descendants of the Augustan Eurycles. Did Rome treat these cases, involving two such renowned and favoured Greek cities, more leniently?

E. Stavrianopoulou focuses on representations of elite women from the Cyclades, as well as noting the draw for island families of much larger centres such as Ephesus. C. Müller highlights the evolving self-definition of the different population groups on Late Hellenistic Delos as revealed by changes of epigraphic habit and cautions against any easy statutory equivalence of the resident Athenians with the Athenian colonies and cleruchies of earlier times. C. Hasenohr focuses on Delian slaves and freedmen in ways suggestive too for the case of colonial Corinth (see especially pp. 121–22 distinguishing servile *institutores* operating on Delos on behalf of absentee owners or patrons). M. Zarmakoupi uses house-plans to argue that Delian *negotiatores* preferred to use the ground floor as storerooms and the first floor for

<sup>3</sup> Pace A.J.S. Spawforth, 'Families at Roman Sparta and Epidauros: Some Prosopographical Notes'. *BSA* 80 (1985), 199.

social representation (there is a clear case of an honorific statue originally installed on the upper storey), and that both floors in this way functioned to display their social milieu.

Of the papers dealing with broader social themes, I note F. Camia's as an interesting first attempt to take priests as a group. He notes the increasing 'oligarchisation' of priestly office and doubts whether imperial priesthoods, as some have claimed, myself included, were a stepping stone to equestrian and senatorial office (although this idea seems to work for the Saethidae, one of the Messenian families studied here by Baldassara).

Rizakis in his introduction offers some cogent general remarks. He rightly stresses that there was no 'frozen immobility' at the top of provincial society. Families rose and fell in prominence, and chance must always have been a big factor in familial continuity and the preservation of patrimonies. Rightly in my view he also puzzles over how best to interpret the rarity of knights and senators from European Greece – not necessarily as disdain for Roman advancement, so much as the lack of means to achieve it. He emphasises regional variations. In Macedonia the relatively short life of notable families – often no more than one or two generations – allowed greater alternations of power within the civic elites. Perhaps another conference will address specifically the techniques used by notables to curry favour with Rome and to what ends (Nigdelis's brief paper is highly instructive here). Overall, however, this volume is a successful contribution to its subject, full of stimulating insights.

Brighton, UK

Tony Spawforth

K. Ruffing and K. Droß-Krüpe (eds.), *Emas non quod opus est, sed quod necesse est: Beiträge zur Wirtschafts-, Sozial-, Rezeptions- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Antike. Festschrift für Hans-Joachim Drexhage zum 70. Geburtstag*, Philippika 125, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2018, viii+708 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11087-7/ISSN 1613-5628

The editors (pp. 1–2) open the volume with an outline of Drexhage's contributions, particularly in the economic and social history of antiquity, now reflected in the studies offered by students and colleagues, inspired by both his guidance and by the tools for inquiry which he helped create. And, although the volume is divided into a number of rubrics, I consider here only a limited number of essays, and not tied to a predetermined classification, in hopes of illustrating how his teaching cut across a number of fields. He encouraged his colleagues to approach their study with care and creativity. Ulrike Ehmig (pp. 5–17) investigated the means by which merchants reduced their risks in sea travel in a preliminary study she hopes will lead to others. *Sakralhandlungen*, for example money nailed to masts (shades of *Moby Dick*!), aimed at averting forces beyond mortal control. Mortals' observation of sea damage led to improved construction techniques and judgements of cargo weight to be safely transported. Light weaponry against piracy, improved transportation agreements and the presence on voyage of accompanying trusted agents increased the chance for success.<sup>1</sup> Patrick Reinard and Christoph Schäfer (pp. 45–83) focus on the role

<sup>1</sup> For comparative purposes I suggest a recent study of a more modern period: M. Häberlein and M. Schmölz-Häberlein, 'Revolutionäre Aussichten. Die transatlantischen Aktivitäten der Gebrüder



of individual merchants in interprovincial trade in Germany, Gaul and Britain (*cf.* pp. 49, 51 on the connections of Britain merchants). Regional economic activities were in play (p. 55) as were the desires of locally stationed legions, some wishing for goods from their far distant original duty stations. The individual merchants constructed their own trade networks (pp. 75–79), branching into areas of various economic significance.

Drexhage asked students and colleagues to think rationally about economic matters, a characteristic they found they shared with others, even from antiquity. Sebastian Fink (pp. 131–41) argues that Assurbanipal and the officials comprising his administration were aware of the economic influence of shortages and surpluses. Imperial weakness or treachery towards a signatory party led to high prices. Surpluses, the result of booty transferred into the kingdom, led to lower prices, but not always on goods desired by the general populace. Sabine Föllinger's and Oliver Stoll's examination of Xenophon's *Oikonomikos* (pp. 143–58) demonstrates that the principal must follow a strategy which ensures that in his absence the agent acts in the principal's interest. Although presented in the realm of household management, the emphasis on *taxis* and on the absence of *ataxia* calls to my mind the *Suda* definition of kingship – the ability both to direct and to manage. Beate Wagner-Hasel (pp. 295–308) on the *Hektemoroi* convincingly argues that what is new (categories of the New Institutional Economics) is not always good. Solon's reforms are not to be read through the lens of 4th-century Attic terminology, but rather as Solon's desire to lift a burden (pp. 304–05), thus extending citizenship. Yvonne Wagner's study (pp. 451–61), which might bear the contemporary label 'dress for success', discusses evidence from Pliny's *NH* on the steps private individuals could take to 'touch up' the physical appearance of their wardrobe by means of cleaning agents, insect-removal processes and natural agents (i.e. plants) to freshen fabrics. Although price data remain nugatory (pp. 457–60), she is able to provide the modern (German) names for most of the materials cited. Matthias Bode (pp. 109–15) gathers and examines evidence for ostrich raising in the Roman world, where there was little chance of the bird placing its head in the sand to avoid its use in medicine, cooking, as a pack animal, entertainer and object of sport, while raised in farms providing live birds, meat, feathers and decorative eggs. The ostrich has enjoyed a *translatio imperii* from Rome to our republic ([www.ostrichlandusa.com](http://www.ostrichlandusa.com) in California), but in 'failed states' a *translatio stultitiae* ([www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-48021656](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-48021656)).

This Latin term has nothing in common with Drexhage or his colleagues and students, but can be reflective of the topics and of the individuals they investigate. Wolfgang Spickermann (pp. 287–93) points to the difficulties in using data from the primarily Roman-occupied left Rhine bank to make definitive statements about the religious landscape on the right. Although the archaeological data are mostly silent, the 'neopagane Rezeption' will remain at the forefront of misinterpretation. Peter Kehne (pp. 561–85) discusses the problems in properly labelling the sphere of Germanic culture, one for which the ancients had no uniform appellation (*Germania libera* appears in the mid-19th century). I suggest it might be safest (*cf.* pp. 582–83) to say Germanika/Germanica (a neuter plural), i.e. 'German-stuff'. Reinold Bichler examines the introductory and concluding sections of the various reprints of Droysen's *Alexander* (pp. 465–91). In each we learn about

the editor's perception of Droysen and how the editor sought to place Droysen's work into a context the academic and general reader might understand. These more modern scholars' views were shaped by their own background, while Droysen's perception was held to be Alexander as an ideal, wished-for figure. Claudia Deglau (pp. 493–545), the author of a work which will be the standard on Hampl and his milieu, examines Wilhelm Weber's attempt to portray himself as a 'fighting-scholar' during the period of National Socialist *Herrschaft*. Apparently Weber's mouth emitted words long before his brain had fashioned rational thoughts (or, as Harder expressed it, he possessed 'zweifelloos Charakterschwächen', p. 531). He supported the new order – and his own self-interest and desire for aggrandisement. Attempts to foster *Südstofforschung* in Romania yielded little of consequence. It would have been advantageous if Deglau printed the full list (cf. p. 540–43) of Weber's works: his career began before 1933; many of these early works are mentioned or alluded to in the archival data Deglau cites. Finally, I cite Kai Ruffing's discussion (pp. 647–71) of the misfortune of von Premerstein, whose Augustus study, posthumously published under the guidance of his student Hans Volkmann, was stained 'brown', although completed before 1933. Von Premerstein long eschewed any use of historical inquiry as a justification for contemporary events. Ruffing publishes here for the first time a dossier of von Premerstein's correspondence with his contemporaries (pp. 659–69).

In sum, an excellent of studies in honour of Drexhage.

Berkeley, CA

Michael Weiskopf

A. Schäfer, *Siedlungen an der Niederelbe zwischen dem 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. und dem 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Materialien zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Niedersachsens 50, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2017, 206 pp., illustrations, 317 pp. of plates (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-89646-842-0/ISSN 0465-2770

In AD 5, according to Velleius Paterculus (2. 106. 3), a Roman 'fleet, which had circum-navigated the Ocean's bay [i.e. apparently today's German Bay], having sailed from a sea unheard and unknown before and going upstream the river Elbe, after a victory over numerous peoples and with a most abundant plenty of things of all kind, joined the army and Caesar [i.e. Tiberius]'. This junction has been located somewhere between Lauenburg and Magdeburg; hence the fleet must have passed some of the settlements mentioned in Andreas Schäfer's book, being the only Romans known to have done so.<sup>1</sup> Some 100 years later, Ptolemy (*Geography* 2. 11. 27) lists a *polis* called Τρηούα, for the location of which

<sup>1</sup> On the campaign and its circumstances, see H. Callies, 'Römer und Germanen im nördlichen Deutschland'. In R. Busch (ed.), *Rom an der Niederelbe* (Neumunster 1995), 15–23; J. Deininger, *Flumen Albis. Die Elbe in Politik und Literatur der Antike* (Hamburg 1997), 17–24; K.-P. Johné, *Die Römer an der Elbe. Das Stromgebiet der Elbe im geographischen Weltbild und politischen Bewusstsein der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Berlin 2006), 135–58; '„Schon ist die Elbe näher als der Rhein“. Zur Diskussion um die Elbgränze des Imperium Romanum'. *Gymnasium* 115 (2008), 237–50, at 249–50; 'Das Stromgebiet der Elbe im Spiegel der griechisch-römischen Literatur'. In E. Baltrusch *et al.* (eds.), *2000 Jahre Varusschlacht. Geschichte – Archäologie – Legenden* (Berlin/Boston 2012), 25–58, at 39–42. Also M. Sommer, *Die Varusschlacht. Spurensuche im Teutoburger Wald* (Stuttgart 2009), 130–31, 149–50.

there have been made different suggestions; probably it may be found at Bad Oldesloe to the north-east of Hamburg or in Hamburg itself. This is the only ancient topographical mention which touches the region covered in S.'s book before the reference to a *civitas Hammaburg* in Rimpert's *Vita Ansgari* 12 of *ca.* AD 870.<sup>2</sup>

With such sparse and hardly informative literary evidence, the prime relevance of archaeology here is not to question written statements but to provide insights into the settlement and development of the region. S.'s monograph centres upon today's Hamburg and its environs. However, S. does not specify the criteria by which the chronological and geographical limits are defined; apparently, these cannot be cultural or ethnical factors (whatever this means). Rather, in his chronological range he follows current conventions. The geographical scope – mainly the district of a modern city – is guided by the lack of a comprehensive study of the area. Here, S.'s work has been a *desideratum*, drawing together and analysing the results of a wide range of excavations, using published as well as unpublished reports.

The book starts with an overview of the geographical conditions of the localities (Chapter 1), before giving a summary of the evidence (Chapter 3). Already here, as well as throughout the book, it becomes evident that archaeological sources especially on the modern city's territory are comparatively poor. Hence, the first task S. accomplishes is the establishment of a chronology for the ceramics of the region both relative and absolute (Chapters 4–5.4). Since most of the evidence does not stem from stratified findings, he has to draw upon supra-regional comparisons of ceramic forms and decoration. Against earlier categorisations he convincingly suggests a rather simplified chronology of four stages, being the later pre-Roman Iron Age (*ca.* 200 BC–AD 50), the 'Early' (*ca.* AD 50–200) and Late (*ca.* AD 200–mid-4th century) Imperial periods and the Migration Period (*ca.* AD 350–500) (pp. 44–45).

After detailed descriptions of all kinds of small-finds (Chapter 5.5–5.8) and of discoveries such as pits, ovens and enclosures (Chapter 6.1–6.4), S. moves to the central issue of his book, a detailed catalogue of all known sites with houses in the study area (6.5), followed by extensive analyses and comparisons with evidence mainly from sites in northern Germany, Denmark and Eastern Europe (Chapters 7–8). Besides local variations, the main feature of the region as well as generally in Central and Northern Europe seem to be different kinds of post constructions, mainly three-aisled and pit-houses. S.'s careful hypothesis, that itinerant carpenters may have moved hundreds of kilometres (p. 161), is less plausible, however, if regarded as a general phenomenon.

<sup>2</sup> For different suggestions, see A. Kleineberg *et al.*, *Germania und die Insel Thule. Die Entschlüsselung von Ptolemaios' "Atlas der Oikumene"* (Darmstadt 2010), 42, favouring Bad Oldesloe; H.-J. Nüsse *et al.*, 'Germania magna – Ein neuer Blick auf eine alte Karte. Entzerrte geographische Daten des Ptolemaios für die antiken Orte zwischen Rhein und Weichsel'. *Germania* 89 (2011), 115–55, especially p. 124, favouring Hamburg. On the contexts of Rimpert's *Vita Ansgari* 12, see D. von der Nahmer, *Bibelbenutzung in Heiligenviten des Frühen Mittelalters* (Stuttgart 2016), 253–54 and 264–68 (with the most important references). On Greek and Latin sources on the region, see P. Kehne, 'Geographische und ethnographische Informationen über das nördliche Germanien und die Elbregion'. In Busch (as in n. 1), 25–33.

The next chapters (9–11) present first appraisals of data gained by LIDAR prospections in the investigated area, supplemented by measurements from the *Sachsenwald* to the south-east of Hamburg. While these data await more detailed studies, S. can show certain geographical settlement patterns. Thus, earlier suggestions of preferred settlement on the limits of the upper moraine have to be questioned. Hamlets are to be found mainly near lotic waters, 20 m and more above sea level. Furthermore, S. manages to link certain burial sites to habitations.

The last chapter (12) succeeds in refuting the notion of an occupational gap in the 3rd century AD, which hitherto has been based on an alleged lack of evidence for the period. By interpreting ceramic finds as well as archaeometric evidence S. demonstrates that the view of a settlement rupture cannot be upheld.

Unfortunately, the text is closed by just a brief summary (pp. 190–91). So it is left to the reader to draw conclusions. Apparently, this is difficult for two reasons. First of all, as S. indicates throughout his work, there are still and will be many questions regarding settlement structures and other evidence. It is certainly a strength of the book that it points to research gaps and poses subsequent questions. The second difficulty lies in the structure of the work itself. As the finds are interpreted under different perspectives, it is left to the reader to construct an overall picture of each site as well as of the investigated area as a whole. The plates do not present further information and thus can be used only in combination with the text – which occasionally is made complicated by incorrect references and some barely discernible maps. Unfortunately, there are no inferences about possible social and economic structures. Notwithstanding these points, S.'s monograph is a solid archaeological work indeed. The preliminary conclusion is that rather than breaks in ceramic and building traditions there seem to have been continuities, both in time and space and beyond ethnic or other boundaries. As a hypothesis, these may be explained by the constant shifting of groups before the Migration Period, suggesting also the migration of ceramic forms and housing structures.<sup>3</sup>

Saarbrücken, Germany

Ulf Scharrer

B. Schiller, *Handel in Krisenzeiten: Ägyptisch-mykenische Handelsbeziehungen in der Ramessidenzeit*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2018, iv+208 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-867-5

This volume, originally submitted by Birgit Schiller as her PhD at the Humboldt-Universität Berlin, aims at answering the following question: did the import of Mycenaean pottery stop before the beginning of the 20th Dynasty or Late Helladic IIIC pottery respectively?

<sup>3</sup> See also the large-scale study by H.-J. Nüsse, *Haus, Gehöft und Siedlung im Norden und Westen der Germania magna* (Rahden 2014). On permanent migrations, see K. Tausend, 'Wanderung vor der Wanderung. Migrationen und Ethnogenese im germanischen Raum'. In E. Olshausen and H. Sonnabend (eds.), *„Trojaner sind wir gewesen“ – Migrationen in der antiken Welt* (Stuttgart 2006), 303–401; K. Tausend, *Im Inneren Germaniens. Beziehungen zwischen den germanischen Stämmen vom 1. Jh. v. Chr. bis zum 2. Jh. n. Chr.* (Stuttgart 2009), especially pp. 89–141. On the problematic nature of the German term *Völkerwanderung*, see now M. Meier, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung. Europa, Asien und Afrika vom 3. bis zum 8. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Munich 2019), 99–123.

There was good reason to doubt this, mainly because of the rather massive occurrence of imitation faience stirrup jars painted in a style typical for Late Helladic III C vessels. In order to support her opinion, S. travelled extensively to museums all around the Europe and North America (the list of acknowledgments is indeed remarkable) to study Mycenaean ceramic and its imitations. The titles of her ten chapters ('Einleitung', 'Der Handel im 14. und 13. Jh. v. Chr.', 'Mykenische und mykenisierende Importkeramik in Ägypten', 'Mykenische und mykenisierende Importkeramik in Nubien', 'Zusammenfassung: Mykenische Keramik in Ägypten und Nubien', 'Imitate mykenischer Keramik in Ägypten und Nubien', "'Kriesenzeiten'", 'Handel mit Olivenöl im Neuen Reich – mykenische Keramik in Kontext', 'Der Handel im 12. Jh. v. Chr.', 'Schluss') clearly prove that she examined Mycenaean pottery very thoroughly and from various points of view, including the capacity of certain stirrup jars (pp. 67–71, with a couple of tables). Speaking about stirrup jars, it is worth mentioning that together with pilgrim flasks they are among the most numerous types ever identified; other vessels represent a minority: jugs, jars, cups, bowls and plates. Against the background of the development of the trading networks in the eastern Mediterranean area, S. presents, site-by-site in descriptive form plus analyses, the finding-places of Mycenaean and Mycenaeanising pottery in Egypt (Abydos, Der el-Meddineh, Gurob, Mendes, Saqqara, Tell el-Amarna, Zawyet Umm el-Rakhman, to mention the most important) and Nubia (Amara West, Aniba, Sesebi).

Considerable attention and subsequent discussion are given to both civil settlements and numerous fortresses in regard to the social levels of those people who could own such luxury goods. It seems possible, as S. stresses, that the king through the state administration used this commodity as payment for his/its elite employees; both high military officials in Egypt and Nubia and workmen in Der el-Medineh can be linked with certainty to a state redistribution system. S. makes significant observations also in the field of local production of imitations of imported ware. The hallmark of Mycenaean pottery, the stirrup jar, was imitated rather frequently, and it is no wonder, as this container for olive oil was extremely practical for pouring out liquids. S. was able to identify some 13 clay vessels, 21 faience pieces and even five made of stone. Faience vessels were especially popular among the inhabitants (as faience was widely popular in Egypt), but it is impossible to determine their workshops, which is fortunately not the case for the clay vessels. S. describes in detail two sites, the most active in this respect: Gurob in the Fayum Oasis and Tell el-Yahudiyeh in the Eastern Delta. From the conditions of their discovery and subsequent vague interpretations, it is difficult to date them correctly, as both the 19th and 20th Dynasties are considered.

The second part of the book contains a series of useful 'Registers' and a short 'Appendix' with several sketches of Mycenaean pottery from Sesebi/Nubia. The backbone of the monograph is represented by a catalogue of Mycenaean pottery that was found both in Egypt and Nubia. The catalogue entries include location, provenance, typology, date, material, decoration, diameters, state of preservation, short comments if necessary, as well as bibliography. This was an heroic work as the author has assembled data from 36 sites in Egypt and 12 in the Nubian territory. In respect to their date, they belonged to the rather short reign of Akhenaton, which is nearly the end of the 18th Dynasty, to the reign of Ramesses VI of the 20th Dynasty. And it was Akhenaton's capital Akhetaten (modern Tell el-Amarna) where the majority of sherds were found during Petrie's excavations (1891/2). Assessing

all facts connected with their occurrence and the situation in other cities/capitals, mostly Pi-Ramesses, S. concludes that this era represents only the beginning, but not the peak of mutual Mycenaean-Egyptian trading contacts, which gradually increased during the 19th Dynasty (Seti I and Ramesses II). The decline of contacts is then connected with Mycenaean imports from Cyprus, where this pottery was also manufactured. Because of the enormous popularity of this ware, it was produced in Syria-Palestine and Egypt as well, however, in significantly poorer quality of clay and decoration, it is known as so-called 'Simple style'. With seven colour 'Karten', showing both origins of imported ceramic during the 18th–19th and 20th Dynasty and its distribution across the territory of Egypt and Nubia, this book has no weak point. In addition, a short 'English Summary' closes the volume, and an extensive bibliography of over 19 pages.

In summary, this publication demonstrates a very solid and erudite approach to the problems of the occurrence and distribution of Mycenaean pottery during the New Kingdom in Egypt and Nubia and certainly deserves the attention of all specialists on trading relations within the eastern Mediterranean.

Charles University, Prague

Květa Smoláriková

H. Schwarzer, with contributions by von S. Jupp and A. von den Driesch, *Altertümer von Pergamon Bd 15: Die Stadtgrabung Teil 4: Das Gebäude mit dem Podiensaal in der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon. Studien zu sakralen Banketträumen mit Liegepodien in der Antike*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/New York 2008, xxxiv+318 pp., illustrations, 53 plates (some in colour), 3 plans in end pocket. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-020114-7

This volume in the series of reports of the excavations in the city area of Pergamon, the slopes of the hill immediately below the citadel, was published in 2008 but not sent to *AWE* for review until ten years later. It is concerned with a building on the north side of the main street that leads up from the lower public buildings to the top of the citadel. It comprises two distinct sections. Facing on to the main street is a series of rectangular rooms, a group of three to the west and another of two to the east, all serving as shops entered from the street. Behind and above these there is a courtyard building, the higher level resulting from the slope of the hillside. This is approached by an insignificant and unadorned doorway from the alley that leads up the slope from the main road. The floor level of the actual courtyard extends as a series of rooms coming over the western set of shops, but not the eastern. The courtyard is wider at its north side than the south and as originally built was flanked by a Doric colonnade on the north, east and west sides but not the south. A series of rooms on the north side was surmounted by an upper storey approached by a staircase leading from the room in the north east corner. In front of this upper storey was a balcony, presumably fronted by a colonnade restored here as Ionic for which there is no actual evidence, though it would be normal for this position. These buildings are of no outstanding architectural quality, and probably look more impressive in the excellent restoration drawings published in this volume than they would have done in real life.

Holger Schwarzer defines seven phases in the history of this building. Phase 1, its original construction, is given a *terminus ante quem* by the construction shortly after 70 BC of



the Heroon situated immediately to the west; so it is dated to the 2nd century BC. Phase 2 follows an earthquake which damaged the north wing and damage associated with the First Mithridatic War in the first quarter of the 1st century BC. Phase 3 involves major reconstruction after the serious earthquake of AD 17, with a complete remodelling of the main rooms on the north side to incorporate the north colonnade, leaving only the columns of the west colonnade. Phase 4 sees further remodelling of the main rooms on the north side, the two major rooms there being merged into one by the removal of the wall that divided them. This phase seems to belong to the first half of the 2nd century AD. Phase 5 sees minor alterations only, the closing of a secondary door into the now unified main room of the north side and some internal alterations. This dates to the first quarter of the 3rd century AD. Phase 6 sees a major alteration to the north wing, the main room there being further extended by the incorporation into it of the room to the east, so that it now takes up the entire length of the north wing. It is dated to the 60s of the 3rd century AD, perhaps as a consequence of the earthquake of AD 262 rather than the incursion of the Goths at that time. Finally, phase 7 sees more alterations in the north room and dates to the last quarter of the third to the beginning of the 4th century AD. The building was abandoned and destroyed around the middle of the 4th century AD.

The ownership and functioning of the courtyard building is defined by an altar, S18, dated to the third phase and dedicated to the Kathegemon Dionysus by Heroides the Archiboukolos. The Boukoloi – herdsmen – of Dionysus formed a *thiasos*, attested in other places as well as here at Pergamon. The nature and extent of this religious grouping is described by S., with the relevant connection of Dionysus to bulls.

Central to the practice of the cult here is the sequence of the principal rooms in the wing to the north of the courtyard, to be identified as banqueting chambers. This is seen in north room 2 of the earliest, Hellenistic building phase 1, in its measurement of *ca.* 11.00 × 5.00 m and the remains of part of a solid foundation against the north wall. This is taken to indicate a platform in front of and along the walls, arranged in couch like sectors of *ca.* 2 × *ca.* 0.70 m (though this seems rather narrow, compared with the surviving stone couches at the Perachora *hestiatorion*). This is defined as a first category of platform for reclining banqueters and related to the more obvious couches found in earlier *hestiatoria*. S. therefore postulates that what would otherwise be a continuous platform was divided by ‘headboards’ as found in the earlier Hellenistic *klinai*, though he places the individual divisions of the platform the wrong way round, to judge from the *klinai* at Perachora: the ‘couch’ to the right of the door should have its headboard rather than the feet next to the actual opening, the others following in due sequence. In phase 3 and later phases the enlarged equivalent north rooms contained platforms of wider type (here termed types 2 and 3), obviously related to the triclinia of Roman feasting. The broad difference between type 1 and the later types is that in type 1 the diners reclined lengthwise along the platforms while in the wider later platforms they lay obliquely with their feet towards the wall, here most amusingly illustrated by the frontispiece of the present volume in which the complete platform in the western half of the phase 6 dining room is occupied by some 24 of the excavation’s Turkish workmen. Obviously more diners could be accommodated this way than on the lengthwise platforms of type 1.

S. makes a distinction between the constructed platforms of type 1 on which diners could recline and the *klinai*, whether actual furniture, carved from blocks of stone or constructed

with upright slabs supporting wooden tops, (as in the banqueting building, the ex-gymnasium, at Epidauros). This is a rather artificial distinction. For all of these the diners would lie along the length of the couch rather than at an angle. The *klinai* for the earlier *hestiatoria* seem to come in two lengths, as Charalambos Kritsas points out in his discussion (*AE* 2016, 18–19) of the recently discovered fragment of the relevant building inscription which concerns the provision of the stone uprights for the couches in the Epidauros Banqueting building. In that building the 11 couch rooms are 6.32 m square, so with couches comparable in size to those at Perachora, which measure 1.80 m long  $\times$  0.89 m wide by 0.35 high. Others at Epidauros, in the larger halls, are longer, 2.00 to 2.22 m or even 2.39 m long. The distinction, Kritsas suggests is that the larger couches supported two diners instead of just one, and this should also apply to those in the Pergamon building in its original form.

Thus at Pergamon, in the first phase North room 2 would accommodate 26 diners. On the upper floor a room of comparable size above this room ('North room 5') could hold a similar number of couches, which because of the wooden floor would have been actual furniture couches, so another 26 diners, a total for the building of 52, though S. suggests the upper rooms were private residential. The enlarged banqueting room of phase 6, (which had no upper floor above it) with the platform used in the frontispiece photograph and a larger triclinium platform at the opposite end might have held a total of 60+, altogether not that different from the 52 of phase 1.

The archaeology of the complex demonstrates a high degree of continuity over the successive phases despite the interruptions of severe damage caused by earthquake. Taking into account the evidence for banqueting facility the numbers involved remain similar throughout. (I would argue that the two north wing single storey rooms 1 and 2 of phase 2 would have accommodated a similar number of diners to rooms 2 and (above) 5 of phases 1 and 2).

The building is not spectacular externally, with no unnecessary external embellishment. Architecturally, it is virtually invisible, its simple entrance doorway concealed in the alley to the east. However, the group that owned and used it had sufficient resources to fund a full restoration after the destructive earthquakes. All in all, it proves continuity for the Boukoloi of Dionysus for whom it was the cult meeting place.

Who, then were these Boukoloi? A number of them are named in inscriptions found at Pergamon, not necessarily in the building itself (inscription 1 from the Theatre, inscription 2 from the Upper Agora and so on) but who clearly are members of the Thiasos to whom the present architectural complex belongs. They form, in their functioning, a religious group, their activity is centred round the worship of Dionysus, and the context of the altars discovered in the present building bears this out.

Yet this is in contrast with the comparative secrecy, or at least the architecturally concealed nature of their building. Buildings designed specifically for feasting are, of course, well known within defined religious contexts. The *hestiatorion* building at Perachora is in the middle of the Sanctuary area. The Banqueting building at Epidauros is one of the largest – and therefore most prominent buildings there, whose substantial propylon not only acts as an architectural flourish but also, with its ramped approach seems specifically designed for processional entrance, as I argued in my book on the sanctuary. All this differs from what we have here at Pergamon, where the building seems rather to be concealed and hidden away.

However, it is unlikely that the Boukoloi were (as their name suggests) mere herdsmen. Some, at least, of those named in the relevant inscriptions of the Imperial period were Roman citizens. They might possibly be landowners whose estates supported herds of cattle but there is no evidence which actively proves this. Perhaps they form rather a private closed social group where the emphasis was as much on the pleasures of formal feasting as on religious observation and ritual, with as much relevance to actual herding of cattle as present day Freemasons have to the construction of buildings in stone.

Birmingham, UK

Richard Tomlinson

D. Slootjes and M. Peachin (eds.), *Rome and the Worlds Beyond its Frontiers*, Impact of Empire 21, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2016, xii+262 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-32561-6

This lean, wide-ranging volume presents a dozen papers by 15 authors in three parts. Geographical sampling is wide: each part contains Eastern and Western studies, and the view to the horizon is admirable – the Atlantic Ocean, Scandinavia and China all earning several references in the Index of Places, while the Indian Ocean and Sri Lanka are not absent. Chronology is broad, ranging from Republican expansion into the Hellenistic world to the influence of Late Roman medallions on gold bracteate in 5th- and 6th-century Scandinavia. Production values are good both for diagrams and photographs, and a dash of colour in places is welcome – most delightfully, perhaps, in the case of a sardonyx cameo, delicately bluish with touches of brown, of the Sasanian capture of the emperor Valerian (fig. 11.17 at p. 239), or in that sumptuous Scandinavian goldwork (figs. 12.1–5 at pp. 246–53).

Let us turn to Part 1, on 'Politics & Military'. Toni Naco del Hoyo and Isáías Arrayás-Morales propose, engagingly, that 'the Pontic area constituted an extension of the Danubian *limes* which separated the Roman and Parthian Empires' (p. 19), as well as making interesting observations on how a Thracian tradition of military service on behalf of external powers influenced relations with Rome. Gil Gambash highlights the disastrous loss of Germanicus' huge fleet in AD 16 as an event that reinforced Ocean as a mental limit, tentatively proposing to rescue the emperor Gaius' notorious shell-collecting exercise as an effort 'to produce a symbolic subjugation of the Sea, that comes as a prelude to crossing it' (p. 31). Stéphanie Benoist sketches out a range of observations on Roman and non-Roman notions about imperial power over half a millennium, as seen in direct relation to notions of emperorship, in a preliminary statement from an ongoing project of potentially wide scope.

But the contribution from Part 1 that achieves the most impressive balance of brevity and significance is, in the present reviewer's opinion, that of Lukas de Blois. Acknowledging modern uncertainty over whether the aims of Ardashir I and Shapur I were essentially restorative or a grander expansionism, de Blois leans to a more limited view; and he emphasises mutual Romano-Persian suspicion and pre-emption as primary drivers of conflict. But he is also in no doubt that the impact on Rome was profound – through high casualties, the puncturing of a long-standing victory ideology, and serious strain on finances and logistics. He closes with a powerful postulate: these wars were *not* merely the trigger for a crisis waiting to happen. Rather, they were 'the main cause of crisis, not just the trigger' (p. 44).

Dan Hoyer opens an impressive Part 2 (on 'Politics, Economics, & Society') with a highly significant and substantial study of regional differences in western experience of the 3rd century AD. He argues that the tumults faced by Gaul and Africa 'did not sprout up suddenly in the middle of the century, but rather were largely the product of a series of disruptive factors whose origins stretched back to the Late Antonine period' (p. 92) – and furthermore that the differences between the two can be traced, as he methodically does, through the 'political, ideological, military, economic, and financial elements' (p. 72) of their experience. In a nutshell, though it certainly does Hoyer inadequate justice to summarise so briefly, the Gallo-Roman case was particularly dysfunctional for deep-rooted reasons.

In a well-developed contribution, Wim Broekaert and Wouter Vanacker argue that nomadic tribes such as the Garamantes played a much more significant role than previously thought as both producers and mediators of goods that were traded across the frontier. In a sole contribution in German, Günther Schörner highlights a broad base of evidence for the cross-frontier spread of manufacturing techniques over many areas. In a real effort to engage with non-Roman evidence, Anne Kolb and Michael Speidel draw helpful attention to 'the enormous geographical distribution of detailed information (however accurate) of the Roman Empire throughout the ancient world at large' (p. 179) – their discussion ranging substantively from Persian to Chinese sources. John Nicols argues cogently that the institution of *hospitium* 'was sufficiently flexible to allow for some considerable variation in its practice' (p. 181).

And so to Part 3 on 'Material Culture and Culture' – a worthy finale. Blair Fowlkes-Childs turns to 'the subject of Palmyrenes' integration as residents of Rome' (p. 193) – looking closely at inscriptions and iconography associated with the Palmyrene temple built by immigrants in the Transtiberim neighbourhood of Rome. She finds that, while much of the evidence points to a lack of assimilation, one striking altar to Sol and Malakbel suggests that a subset of Palmyrenes were more integrated. Anne Hunnell Chen offers a substantial and engaging study of Diocletian's palace at Split, with special reference to the path-breaking influence of military architecture on Tetrarchic palace-building – and the likelihood that this element derived from exposure to Sasanian palace architecture, with which strong similarities are noted. This is supplemented by comparisons of decorative equestrian iconography. Nancy L. Wicker concludes the volume with an appealing 'case-study of a small number of fourth-century Late Roman medallions that were brought to the North and inspired a new type of object, the Scandinavian gold bracteate of the Migration Period in the fifth and sixth centuries' (p. 243).

A succinct editorial summary (pp. ix–xii) introduces the contents accurately and does not try to impose an unwarranted historical viewpoint on the collection as a whole. Readers, however, will be able to think of fascinating questions arising from the juxtapositions provided by this volume. (For the present reviewer, the combination of Lukas de Blois' paper with Anne Hunnell Chen's is a good example: conflict with Persia induced both public crisis and creative borrowing.) For bringing forth this volume, the editors deserve our sincere thanks. They have done the *Impact of Empire* series great credit.

M. Sommer, *Roms orientalische Steppengrenze: Palmyra – Edessa – Dura-Europos – Hatra. Eine Kulturgeschichte von Pompeius bis Diocletian*, 2nd revised ed., Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2018, 464 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11681-7

For scholars who in 2005 were already working on the Eastern Roman frontier, especially for those like the reviewer who in that period were taking their first steps in the Eastern periphery of the empire, a minor field of studies within the wide classical world, Michael Sommer's work, *Roms orientalische Steppengrenzen*, has been a source of inspiration.

S.'s innovative approach consisted in investigating the interaction between Greek, Roman and Oriental cultural elements by taking into consideration frontier entities like Palmyra, Dura-Europos, Hatra and Osrhoene. S. provided a solid theoretical base for his research through investigating those specific cases, a theoretical approach used to discuss the cultural dimension of the frontier and in particular the process of Romanisation. Cultural elements from societies situated on both banks of the river were for the first time put systematically into connection characterising the frontier as a zone of close cultural contacts and interchanges.

After 14 years, S. decided to revise his work. The eastern periphery of classical civilisation is still considered a grey zone, which fails to attract the attention it should deserve from the majority of classical scholars. Of course, a lot of work has been done and research has made huge steps forward since 2005, a circumstance which convinced S. to revise some parts of the original text and include in the already large bibliography most of the publications that have appeared in recent years. Still the value of classical Near East studies struggles to be recognised in universities. This circumstance risks compromising our capacity to understand fully the cultural richness of the periphery of the Eastern Roman world, a richness made evident of late when, threatened by modern barbarians, the cities of Palmyra and Hatra attracted, perhaps for the first time, the interest of a wide audience.

The multicultural situation of the Eastern Roman periphery is the perfect workshop, far more than Italy or Greece, to investigate the ductility of the Roman empire: that is to say its capacity for shaping and adapting itself in order to amalgamate and comprehend different cultural subjects.

The second edition of S.'s book, written in order to respond to the wide interest in the topic and to update the past research, gives the reader an exceptional opportunity. In it, it is not only evident how recent scientific progress has shaped the matter but also, and perhaps more interestingly, how S.'s point of view on the topic has been affected and therefore modified.

This is evident primarily from S.'s choice of words, an aspect that he always deploys with extreme accuracy. In the introduction, where he discusses the theoretical bases of his work, the concept of globalisation is presented in a more decisive way than in the first edition. It also appears in evidence in the sub-chapter titles. The process of globalisation is broadly defined as a process of formation of a global culture starting from the establishment of supra-regional connections, perceived as a crucial change by contemporaries.

The globalisation process is useful to define better the concept of Romanisation beyond the limits posed by Mommsen's bipolar model. A new model of Romanisation is thus presented, clearly influenced by the recent discussion concerning networks theory. It envisages the interaction among multiple cultural subjects able to influence each other reciprocally.

The interaction thus works in different directions affecting not only the peripheral subjects, but also the Roman authority and state as a whole. S. discusses in detail how this idea of Romanisation influences and finds its way through the local realities. Passive means such as the bestowal of citizenship and the offer of services like a better way of life and a more efficient state system are analysed. These factors are seen in synergy which the capacity of the Roman culture and state to induce a reaction in the local societies, which actively adopted traits of Graeco-Roman culture. The final step of Romanisation is marked by the adoption, all or in part, by the men living at the periphery of the empire of the same system of values and the same cultural horizon shared by all other inhabitants of the Roman world.

In the revised edition's conclusions, the evolution of the author's point of view is more evident. Again, the choice of words is the main clue: 'acculturation', 'assimilation', 'absorption' and 'resistance' are dismissed in favour of the new 'global' definition of Romanisation presented as an 'Imperial alternative'. A mono-directional approach to Romanisation seen as the adoption of classical values at the exclusive initiative of the Imperial authorities is thus substituted by a more globalised approach, one that requires new words in order to be properly expressed. Direct cultural influence and the export of cultural values and services is the means through which Rome gradually conquered the hearts of men who had been first conquered by its legions. The result was a local variation of Graeco-Roman culture: an expression of men who finally chose, and this is the element now stressed by S., to adhere to Roman Imperial culture. They autonomously chose the 'Imperial alternative' because they began to feel and to see themselves as Romans, that is to say part of Roman culture and of the empire.

'Global' Romanisation was based on a mutual cultural exchange. The hybrid cultures of the various peripheries of the Roman world contributed to shape culturally the whole empire. These 'new Romans', once they were part of the empire, were finally able to influence and shape the culture of the empire as a whole. The men of the Roman periphery, through adopting the Roman culture and identifying themselves as Romans, became an active part of the Roman state. The composite cultural milieu of the inhabitants of Palmyra, Edessa and Dura-Europos, with their non-classical ways of speech and dress, their weird gods and forms of self-government, were, according to S.'s conclusions, no less Roman than the inhabitants of Pompeii or Rome itself. It is exactly the way they were and the place they, as such, managed to occupy in the Roman world that most clearly expresses the meaning of Romanisation.

University of Durham

Leonardo Gregoratti

- A. Squitieri, *Stone Vessels in the Near East during the Iron Age and the Persian Periods (c. 1200–330 BCE)*, Archaeopress Ancient Near Eastern Archaeology 2, Archaeopress, Oxford 2017, iv+284 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-552-0

The book is composed of nine chapters and two appendices: Appendix A consists of the catalogue (pp. 189–252), and B details the chronological distribution of classes of stone vessels that originated in the Near East (pp. 253–56). The work is richly illustrated with 50 plates in colour.



Andrea Squitieri begins the work with a discussion of the development and evolution of the production of stone vessels in the Near East from the Iron Age to the Persian period (*ca.* 1200–330 BC). The idea is to use these vessels as a window into understanding the socio-economic transformations which the Levant and Assyria experienced in Iron Age I–II periods (*ca.* 1200–732/701 BC) and the foundation of the great empires of Iron Age III and the Persian periods (*ca.* 732/701–330 BC). S. chose to study stone vessels, because they can be used as a source for analysing change and continuity in craft technologies, determining trade patterns, cultural contacts and consumption habits. To date stone vessels have been listed as part of an assemblage of stone implements in excavation reports, and have not been studied in their own right. By examining the production, exchange, and consumption of stone vessels, S.'s intent is to answer the book's central question: how did the formation of regional states and the takeover of super-national empires shape social relationships and cultural contacts in the Near East during the Iron Age and Persian era? (p. 2).

Chapter 2 concerns methodology, and how S. created the database of 1,383 vessels from 138 sites. This was accomplished by means of direct study of tool marks as they appear on catalogued vessels, making comparisons of tool marks on other assemblages of materials, drawing on previous studies, and investigating the contextual data from a variety of workplace sites. A secondary issue involves understanding how stone vessels were used as a medium of exchange, and how these patterns – once classed chronologically and spatially, and the social and cultural values associated with their consumption ascertained – changed over time. Chapter 3 presents a concise chronological and historical context for the study. In separate sections the chronological survey is divided into regional concentrations: the Levant and Assyria, the northern Levant, Jazira and Assyria, and the southern Levant. Since these labels can pose confusion depending on the region studied, S. has used the same period divisions across the entire study summarised in table 3.2 (p. 21) provided with their absolute dates and comparisons with existing frameworks. The historical survey is primarily a political overview of the region. Chapter 4 details the raw materials used in the production of the stone vessels as well as a definition of the 'terminology' according to their correct geological classification. In other cases, a less accurate, broader connotation has been employed when a petrographic analysis was not undertaken for greater precision. The study concentrates on 'three families of rocks' (p. 29): igneous, basalt, diorite, granite, pumice; sedimentary, chalk, dolomite, gypsum, limestone, sandstone, siltstone; and metamorphic, schist, serpentine, slate, steatite. Another category is composed of minerals, consisting of agate, including rock crystals and calcite.

Chapter 5 marks the beginning of the study proper with a discussion of the typology of stone vessels used for classifying the materials based on the morphological criteria discussed previously. The categories of each vessel is arranged hierarchically: area, classes, types and, where applicable, sub-types. Area is divided geographically into seven distinct regions: northern Levantine, Assyrian, southern Levantine, Near Eastern, Egyptian, Cypriot, Arabian and Persian. The criteria for these assignments derive from where the vessel type first appears, style, raw material and distribution. Vessels that do not fall neatly into a category are classed as Near Eastern. Class is based on the morphology of a vessel, while type consists of morphological variations within a class, and a sub-type differentiates minor morphological variations within a type. An eighth category outside the geographical scope consists of Bronze Age types that survived into the Iron Age and even the Persian period.

The manufacture of stone vessels and related technologies that produced them form the subject of Chapter 6. The discussion emphasises such innovations as the materials used as chisels and how iron led to the ability of artisans to carve more elaborate shapes, or how lathes led to the manufacture of receptacles of calcite and gypsum. The attached work-site of Hazor is compared with others that fall outside the examined area. In his discussion of the mechanisms of the exchange of stone vessels, S. emphasises patterns of exchange, comparing them with socio-political and cultural factors of the different regions involved, and the possible historical events that may have affected the movement of stone vessels. Exchange as an explanation for the movement of these objects falls in two categories: vessels that were used as a medium of exchange, and vessels that moved from one locale to the next with their owners. To highlight the differences and the consequences, four case studies of exchange are examined. Chapter 8 focuses on the ideological and socio-economic implications of the consumption of stone vessels by different social classes. Elites acquired stone vessels of elaborate shape and decoration, thereby becoming visible markers of status. Non-elite ownership of stone vessels reveal their use within a household in terms of how food production was organised, while conformist decorative patterns, standardised forms and circulation patterns act as markers for understanding trade networks and population movements. Chapter 9 closes the book with general conclusions and a look toward future lines of inquiry, particularly the need for more cross-comparative contextual studies. The emphasis here lies in relating the production, exchange and consumption of the morphological classification of stone vessels to broader changes detected in the socio-economic composition of the Near East throughout the period examined.

To his credit S. has successfully broken new ground in the field of research on the history and development of stone vessels. The book's historical spectrum is admirably extensive, and because of this, will undoubtedly serve as the primary reference authority for future work on the subject.

Wake Forest University, NC

Jeffrey D. Lerner

S. Strauß, *Von Mommsen zu Gelzer: Die Konzeption römisch-republikanischer Gesellschaft in „Staatsrecht“ und „Nobilität“*, Historia Einzelschriften 248, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2017, 262 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-11851-4

Simon Strauss, in his introductory comments (pp. 11–16), rightly comments that the development of ancient history during the times of Mommsen and Gelzer was too multifaceted and contradictory to reduce the study of Roman statecraft to the simple formula 'from Mommsen to Gelzer'. The next three chapters (pp. 17–23, 25–35, 37–44) deal with methodological problems. Here is important to note that Roman society under the Republic (p. 38) used the Latin equivalent *societas civilis*: free, adult, male, politically active. Distinctions such as senator, equestrian, *et al.* were marked by a lack of legal and political homogeneity. Romans would be familiar with the concepts of *familia* (under the control of a *pater familias* – free adult male citizen) and *civitas*, which reflected the division between citizen and non-citizen. Both had nothing to do with modern perceptions (or, better still, fantasies) about economic classes. The modern dualism of 'Gesellschaft' *vs* 'Staat' is an anachronism (p. 43).

Chapter 5 (pp. 45–142) discusses how much ‘Gesellschaft’ appears in Mommsen’s study. Writing as an historian, not jurist, his focus was on ‘nur die festen Grundpfeiler, gewissenmaßen die strukturelle Infrastruktur’ (p. 48). Early reviews of his work placed it in the midpoint between a scientific study and one accessible to the educated public, one which displayed a recognition of what moderns today label ‘Staatsrecht’ and ‘Gesellschaft’. Others found him blind to questions of ‘Gesellschaft’, a view extant into this century. From a client–patron relationship (not the result of Gesetz) could develop the *plebs*, from ‘rein “patricische” zu “patricische-plebejische Gemeinde”’ (p. 78). The nobility was the extended Patriciate and its privileged position was not based on written documents, but ‘auf Vermittlung durch die Tradition’ (p. 91). Mommsen is careful to consider the display of social rank (pp. 106–20): seating in the public theatre, clothing as outward symbols of status, even seating in the Senate, which was based upon the senators’ commonly accepted hierarchy. His ‘Staatsbegriff’ oscillated between *Staat als Reich* (*imperium*), *Staat als Volk* (*populus*), *Staat als Magistrat* (pp. 120–38, here p. 123). He made a point of avoiding the connotation of a ‘modern state’. ‘Mommsen in seinem “Staatsrecht” auf den Begriff “Gesellschaft” vollständig verzichtete, weil der Terminus ihm möglicherweise als analytische Kategorie noch zu umstritten ...’ (p. 138, cf. p. 216). No *Modemeinungen*.

Chapter 6 (pp. 143–214) considers Gelzer. The first part of his ‘Nobilität’ was the repetition of the ‘schichtungsmodell’ posited by Mommsen, the second tried to find an explanation for the depicted structure of late Republican Rome by means of his ‘Klientelthese’, which S. points to as a dangerous course of action to impose a singular and schematic concept to the problematic character of the Roman social order (p. 144). In 1918 Arthur Rosenberg (p. 149) had warned that Gelzer too often blurred the distinction between ‘Rechtssatz’ and ‘Praxis’. Once republished in the 1960s, the work received far more attention for its second half (pp. 147–54). Gelzer distanced himself from Mommsen’s ‘rechtssystematischen Standpunkt’, instead following a ‘philologisch-antiquarischen Methode’ (pp. 158–66). Higher political offices always went to ‘important’ men because a system of bonds and dependencies created the system for the distribution of political power, an *ad hoc* changeable system based on interpersonal relationships. Thus the second half of his study attempted to rationalise the irrational with the ‘Klientelthese’ (p. 211). Gelzer (p. 213) marked his work with the label ‘Gesellschaftsgeschichte’ as ‘wissenschaftsstrategische Ergänzungen’ to set himself apart from Mommsen. Thus he modified Mommsen without any fundamental ‘Widerspruch zum “Staatsrecht”’ (p. 218). What was new was the ‘Signalbegriff *Gesellschaft*’.

S.’s work is carefully documented and should appeal those studying the two historians. But after this surfeit of *sapientiae novae* all which remains is for me to paraphrase Claudius divus (cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 24. 7): what is constantly presented as new in this field was once established very many years ago. Mommsen’s *Staatsrecht*, reprinted in 2017, remains available to the educated public: <https://www.wbg-wissenverbindet.de/10914/roemisches-staatsrecht>

M. Symonds, *Protecting the Roman Empire: Fortlets, Frontiers, and the Quest for Post-Conquest Security*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2018, xiv+251 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-108-42155-3

In AD 154 the Roman prefect of Egypt issued an edict in which, *inter alia*, he wanted to let outlaws know, that ‘the highest *epistrategoi* and *strategoi* as well as the soldiers sent by me for security and carefreeness of the countryside are ordered to prevent looming assaults by prevising and premediating and to pursue immediately those which occurred though...’.<sup>1</sup> Besides its regional Egyptian background the edict raises a motif, which could be regarded as common throughout the Roman empire, being the detachments of small units of soldiers in order to maintain security against brigandage of any kind. Since studies of the Roman army focus mainly on campaigning and legionary and auxiliary forts, Matthew Symonds addresses the problem of how Roman soldiers are meant to maintain ‘day-to-day security and peace’ (p. 3). Hence, S. considers small installations, their ‘intentions and impact, whether planned or unexpected’ (p. 3). As the title suggests, the book thematises the outposts at the frontiers – focusing (as the title does not make clear) on frontier systems in Roman Britain and the Upper German and Raetian *limites* alike, including installations on the Upper Danube. Since there has been more abundant research on these frontiers than on those in the East and Africa, this appears to be reasonable. Chronologically the book is structured into three parts, ‘Consolidating Conquest’, ‘Border Control’ and ‘Provincial Collapse’, covering the periods from empire to late antiquity.

The Introduction (Chapter 1) is twofold. First, S. outlines problems in defining fortlets and towers against the background of a great variety in the Latin terminology as well as in actual construction and purpose. As common characteristics of these ‘outposts’ he identifies their rotational manning by detachments from larger garrisons. Against this background S. secondly sketches aspects of daily life, of duty, leisure, supply and concerns of ‘the soldiers sent ... for security and carefreeness’, using mainly ostraca from the Eastern Desert of Egypt. It is to be considered a strength that S. is well aware of the problem of adopting testimonies from Egypt to regions in the Far North. Meanwhile, his assumption, that the evidence reflects general features and concerns, is reasonable.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the book is devoted to the interpretation of archaeological evidence. The first part addresses patterns of control of communication lines, namely ‘Waterways’ (Chapter 2) and ‘Highways’ (Chapter 3), in the immediate post-conquest periods. Convincingly, S. regards ‘watercourses as both highways and barriers’ (p. 36), their control being vital for territorial security. He highlights the river stretches of the Lower Rhine (pp. 37–41), the Raetian

<sup>1</sup> *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden* II (Berlin 1898), no. 372, II 5–11.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the editions cited, see R. Bagnall, *The Florida Ostraka* (*O. Florida*) (Durham, NC 1976); further R. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus* (Cleveland 1971). On the topic also R. Davies, *Service in the Roman Army* (Edinburgh 1989), 54–68. On the Ostraca, see now M. Speidel, ‘Soldiers and Documents: Insights from Nubia. The Significance of Written Documents in Roman Soldiers’ Everyday Lives’. In A. Kolb (ed.), *Literacy in Ancient Everyday Life* (Berlin 2018), 179–200. On topography and sites in the Egyptian desert, outlined by Symonds, see M. Reddé, ‘Fortins routiers du désert oriental d’Égypte’. In P. Henrich *et al.* (eds.), *Non solum ... sed etiam. Festschrift für Thomas Fischer zum 65. Geburtstag* (Rahden 2015), 335–44.

Danube (pp. 42–48) as well as the Exmoor coast in south-west England. Introducing his chapter on ‘Highways’, S. clarifies, that Roman contribution to trade routes was not their actual implementation, but ‘to initiate a network that could ... tolerate traffic all year round’ (p. 55). Drawing on Egyptian ostraca, he suggests, that there ‘is no reason to assume that roads within a military zone were open to everyone’ (p. 57). While towers and fortlets along roads in Germany are only touched upon broadly (pp. 57–58), systems and installations in Britain get intensive discussion (pp. 58–90). After canvassing mainly chronological problems with regard to Wales, S. challenges the notion of the Scottish Gask Ridge as ‘a prototype land frontier’ (p. 65). Convincingly he argues that especially its towers and fortlets indicate its function to secure supplies for further conquest as well as control of both the Eastern Highlands and Fife (pp. 68–71). After dealing with smaller installations in the Pennines, S. proceeds to Antonine fortlets in southern Scotland, discussing their dating and their purposes.

The longest section deals with frontier control (Part 2); again, British frontier systems (pp. 95–151) are considered in more depth than the Upper German and Raetian *limites* (pp. 152–76). S. sharply distinguishes two concepts of constructing Hadrian’s Wall: the original concept probably designed by Hadrian himself became adjusted during the building to regional geographical conditions, thus allowing more irregularity than originally intended as well as shifting to the installing of forts. Apart from a rather brief treatment of the mile-castles the chapter covers less the functioning of fortlets and towers than of the system as a whole. Returning to the Antonine occupation of southern Scotland (Chapter 5) S. offers intriguing insights, suggesting that the outlet of the Antonine Wall followed the initial concept of Hadrian’s Wall before the decision about forts. Convincingly arguing against the idea of a peaceful occupation, he advances control of both sides of the Wall as its chief intent. Against this, the interpretation of the outposts along the Upper German and Raetian *limites* in the context of deep defence strategies does not offer new understandings.

Introducing the last part S. detects a general tendency towards regionalisation in Late Antiquity (pp. 191–92). In this context he formulates ‘one of the central ideas of this volume, that the presence or absence of outposts in a region provides an insight into its security situation’ (p. 192). Accordingly, he challenges the idea of considerable trouble on Hadrian’s Wall before mid-4th century, while there was considerable pressure on Germany and Raetia. Here, according to S., small installations, the *burgi*, combining ‘the tower and fortlet archetypes’ (p. 199), became vital for security.

The volume offers both scrutinised case studies as well as hypothetical statements: To name one example: is it really compelling to read Roman coin hoards in Scotland ‘as a consequence of wider Roman diplomatic activity’ (p. 129)?<sup>3</sup> Generally, S. exhibits profound acquaintance with British evidence; his analyses profit from autopsy and an up-to-date state of research. His treatment of the German and Raetian *limites* does not quite reach this level.<sup>4</sup> Regrettably, some of the photographs are of rather poor quality. However,

<sup>3</sup> Symonds here follows F. Hunter, ‘Silver for the Barbarians: Interpreting Denarii Hoards in North Britain and Beyond’. In R. Hingley and S. Willis (eds.), *Roman Finds: Context and Theory* (Oxford 2007), 214–24, at 217–18.

<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, nearly all German titles in the bibliography contain formal mistakes.

there are considerable strengths. Throughout, S. points to local diversities. Finally, it is deserving to examine small military sites and their contexts. In these respects the volume should stimulate research on frontiers in other regions of the Roman empire.

Saarbrücken, Germany

Ulf Scharrer

E. Teleaga, *Die Anfänge der figuralen thrakischen Kunst in dem 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Studien zur Eisenzeitlichen Archäologie Thrakiens 1, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2015, x+190 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-886757-881-3/ISSN 2365-5038

The Late Hallstatt period (*ca.* 625–450/400 BC) in the Carpathian (Pannonian) Basin is little known in detail. Although many important sites were excavated several decades ago, they are published only briefly and mostly without detailed evaluation. In general, mostly selected phenomena were studied, especially those associated with Eastern Europe or with the world of the Eurasian nomads. Emilian Teleaga in his monograph focuses on several of these phenomena with the help of statistical analyses (correlation analysis and seriation), and sets them in wider geographical frame.

At the centre of his research are five Late Hallstatt graves with remains of wagons or chariots, namely three graves from three cemeteries of the Vekerzug culture (also known as the Alföld group) located in eastern Hungary – Gyöngyös, Miskolc-Diósgyőr, Szentes-Vekerzug grave 13 – and two contemporary barrows in Čačak-Atenica on the southernmost fringe of the Carpathian Basin. Although all of these graves are well known and frequently debated, T. is the first to analyse them together and in detail.

From a formal point of view, the sequencing of chapters is rather non-standard, perhaps because the book is based on several studies by T. A short introduction is followed by the analysis of Szentes-Vekerzug cemetery (Chapter 2). The grave with the remains of a wagon in Szentes-Vekerzug is the only vehicle grave excavated within a larger cemetery (others were located in small separated grave groups or were stray finds). This is followed by analysis of Late Hallstatt horse bits of so-called Szentes-Vekerzug type (Chapter 3), of elements of wagons/chariots (Chapter 4), of individual types of artefacts found in graves with a wagon/chariot (Chapter 5), study of the identity of the people buried in these graves (Chapter 6) and, only near the end of the book(!), comes Chapter 7 containing basic information on the studied graves, history of their research, catalogue of grave-goods and also the reconstructions of individual vehicles. The final discussion and results (Chapter 8) is a summary of what has gone before. This experimental sequencing leaves sporadic slight chaos in the text (for example, compare sub-chapters 3.2 and 3.4, or 6.1 and 7.2.4).

The analyses presented in the book are very beneficial for further research. The widely known cemetery in Szentes-Vekerzug, excavated in several campaigns in the 1940s and 1950s, was published as a catalogue with short evaluation in several volumes shortly afterwards, but it has never been evaluated in detail. T.'s intra-site analysis, with the use of correlation and seriation in several steps, has led to a recognition of the spatial structuring and chronology of the cemetery. The chronology of Vekerzug-culture cemeteries is difficult due to the uniqueness of many locally made artefacts and their sporadic occurrence with chronologically significant objects. Nevertheless, several different seriations revealed three chronological phases, starting in the Hallstatt D1 stage and ending in the early



La Tène period. A similar three-phase development was recently recognised in some other local cemeteries.<sup>1</sup>

The classification of horse bits of the Szentes-Vekerzug type is innovative, based on the angle and proportion of bridle, not the usual morphological characteristics and decoration. By this method it was possible to classify their development in three phases as well. The most important chronological factor is the degree of bend in the bridles, not their decoration. Horse graves, a phenomenon of the Late Hallstatt period, are reviewed as well. Important are findings on the dating of these graves to phases 2 and 3 of Vekerzug culture, similar to other recent research.<sup>2</sup> Significant groups of hitherto little-known grave-goods found in graves in Gyöngyös and Miskolc include artefacts associated with feasting, such as spits, firedogs, vessels and instruments used for drinking, as well as tools. They most likely served to underline the status of the deceased. The banquet sets indicate contacts with Adriatic region. Particular attention is also paid to percussion instruments from the Gyöngyös grave, interpreted as shamanic instruments linked to the East.

Wagons and chariots are analysed in two chapters – a typological-chronological and functional analysis of elements of wagons/chariots in one; in the other, basic information on wagon/chariot graves with attractive visual reconstructions of individual wheels included. All the wagons belonged to types common in Central Europe, while the only chariot (Atenica barrow 1) was of Greek type. Further important information was brought out by calculations and information on construction details and loading capacity of the vehicles. Some of them were designed to transport heavy loads, others were aimed at moderate weights.

Among other grave-goods, T. identified some which were previously unrecognised, such as a scoop, bent rods as construction remains of shaman's drum, or corrected some 'research myths'. He also paid attention to the identity of the deceased in cemeteries of the Vekerzug culture (in which he incorrectly included the Szentlőrinc cemetery, connected with local developments in southern Pannonia). However, it is debatable whether it was correct to use the presence of weapons in graves as a main criterion, or how appropriate to speculate on a social group of Amazons in relation to graves with vehicles but with no female elements (except for Atenica, which is, however, outwith the area of Vekerzug culture). Some formulations in the text and some hypotheses are also too simplifying (for example, dating a grave on the basis of the presence of a bear's-tooth pendant, p. 53). Moreover, brief anthropological determinations in early publications may not always be correct, which is supported by recent research. Therefore interpretations based on 'exceptions to the rule' in one or other gender need to be more cautious. It must also be stressed that some lately published studies, essential for research on this period and area,<sup>3</sup> are not included in the book.

<sup>1</sup> For example, A. Kozubová, *Pohrebiská vekerzugskej kultúry v Chotíne na juhozápadnom Slovensku: Vyhodnotenie* (Bratislava 2013), 429.

<sup>2</sup> P. Kmeťová and P. Barta, 'Absolute dating of horse graves at cemeteries of Vekerzug culture: new evidence from Chotín'. In M. Trefný (ed.), *The Early Iron Age in Central Europe* (Hradec Králové 2018), 202–21.

<sup>3</sup> Such as studies of recent Hungarian authors, and the works of A. Kozubová (<https://Sav-sk.academia.edu/AnitaKozubova>) including a new complex publication of Chotín cemetery.

In general, the focus, innovative methods and results of this book are very beneficial to research on the Late Hallstatt period in East-Central Europe.

The Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic

Petra Kmeťová

C. Tiersch (ed.), *Die Athenische Demokratie im 4. Jahrhundert: Zwischen Modernisierung und Tradition*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016, 394 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11069-3

Der von Claudia Tiersch herausgegebene Sammelband zur athenischen Demokratie im 4. Jh. v. Chr. will keine systematische Darstellung der politischen Ordnung Athens in dieser Zeit sein und tritt daher nicht in Konkurrenz zu Mogens Herman Hansens *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes: Structure, Principles, and Ideology* (Oxford 1991). Vielmehr steht der Sammelband unter einer spezifischen Fragestellung, der Suche nach einer Verortung der athenischen Demokratie zwischen Modernisierung und Tradition. In der Einleitung erläutert Tiersch ‚Modernisierung‘ als Sonderform des sozialen Wandels, als eine soziale, politische, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Entwicklungen der verschiedensten Art umfassende Form beschleunigten Wandels, die strukturverändernd auf eine Makroebene einwirkt. Tiersch bietet dem Leser einen sehr guten Überblick über die Entstehung der Modernisierungstheorie am Anfang des 20. Jh. und deren Hauptvertreter, über die in der Folgezeit diskutierten Defizite und kritischen Einwände und die daraufhin vorgenommenen Präzisierungen bis in die jüngste Geschichtswissenschaft hinein. Dem Modernebegriff inhärent ist die Einbeziehung der Selbsterfahrung und der zeitgenössischen Reflexionen auf die Phänomene des sozialen Wandels, aber auch auf verstörende Erfahrungen einer zunehmenden Entfremdung, auf Brüche in der traditionellen Ordnung. Die Modernisierungstheorie soll spezifische Dynamiken, die sich vielfach in Rationalisierungs- und Differenzierungsprozessen niederschlagen, in einer bestimmten Zeitspanne erklären helfen. Zwar war die Theorie an modernen Gesellschaften entwickelt worden, in denen die industrielle Revolution grundlegende Veränderungen im Arbeits- und Alltagsleben ausgelöst hatte, doch ist sie inzwischen auch auf andere Epochen übertragen worden, so dass es nahe lag zu prüfen, welches Erklärungspotenzial die Theorie auch für Veränderungsprozesse in antiken Gesellschaften bietet.

Man hat Tiersch zu danken für die gut recherchierte und klar dargelegte Einführung in die Entstehung, den substanziellen Kern und die methodischen Probleme der Modernisierungstheorie, und ebenso dafür, dass sie die thematisch breit gefächerten insgesamt neunzehn Beiträge in ihrer Relevanz in Hinsicht auf die Theorie diskutiert; sie bietet damit eine enge thematische Verklammerung, die Sammelbänden ansonsten oft fehlt. Solche neuen, durch theoretische Konzepte angestoßenen Wege zu gehen, lohnt der Auseinandersetzung, und Tiersch hat dafür zahlreiche Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler gewonnen, die sich auf dieses Theorieangebot eingelassen haben. Die Tagung hat 2012 in Berlin stattgefunden; die Ergebnisse liegen nun in dem Sammelband vor.

Tagung und Publikation stellten die Frage in den Vordergrund, was das 4. Jahrhundert ausmacht, wie es sich von der Phase der Ausbildung der Demokratie im 5. Jahrhundert und von der Umwandlung zu einem Honoratiorenregime in hellenistischer Zeit unterscheidet. Von einem einheitlichen Prozess war von vornherein nicht ausgegangen worden;

Modernisierung als dynamischer Wandel ist als vielfach kontingent einzuschätzen, nicht als folgerichtige Entwicklung, die zu einer Vollendung der Demokratie geführt hätte. Zugrunde gelegt, so führt Tiersch zu Recht aus, ist eine Wertung des 4. Jh., die inzwischen als Konsens zu gelten hat, dass die athenische Demokratie trotz widriger Umstände erstaunliche Erfolge in der institutionellen Komplexität erreicht hat. In den politischen und sozialen Organisationsformen zeige sich eine hohe Kompetenz zur Lösung anstehender Probleme, wie sie in dem Symmoriensystem und der Neuorganisation des Kassenwesens beispielhaft zum Ausdruck komme.

John Davies erinnert in seinen zusammenfassenden Bemerkungen „Athens after 404: A Battleground of Contradictory Visions“ an die von Walter Eder 20 Jahre zuvor in Bellagio organisierte Tagung, deren Beiträge 1995 (Stuttgart) unter dem Titel *Die athenische Demokratie im 4. Jh. v. Chr. Vollendung oder Vielfalt einer Verfassungsform?* publiziert wurden. Dass dieser Band in der althistorischen Forschung nur geringe Beachtung gefunden habe, mag der englischen Perspektive des Autors geschuldet sein. In der deutschsprachigen Forschung war der Band als grundlegende Neubewertung des 4. Jh. angesehen worden, durch den das Bild eines Jahrhunderts der Krise und des Niedergangs revidiert worden war, wie es unter dem Eindruck von Claude Mossés *La fin de la démocratie athénienne* (Paris 1962) und Jochen Bleickens starker Fokussierung auf das 5. Jh. (in *Die Athenische Demokratie*, Paderborn 1986) lange Zeit erschien. Auf dieser Neubewertung des 4. Jh. baut der von Tiersch herausgegebene Sammelband auf; mithilfe der Modernisierungstheorie sollte es nun neu vermessen werden.

Die Beiträge widmen sich politischen, wirtschaftlichen, sozialen und kulturellen Veränderungen und spüren dabei Rationalisierungen und Differenzierungen nach. Dies geschieht in akribischer Kleinarbeit, denn auf den ersten Blick mögen die in politischen Verfahren vorgenommenen, die Versorgung Athens mit Getreide absichernden oder die Verwaltung öffentlicher Gelder neu regelnden Veränderungen gering erscheinen. Doch zeigen sie, wie genau im 4. Jh. Defizite wahrgenommen wurden und darauf reagiert wurde. Insgesamt liefern die Beiträge damit wichtige Anhaltspunkte für die Frage, warum die athenische Demokratie ein viel höheres Maß an innerer Stabilität erreichte als das an Brüchen so reiche 5. Jh.

Mehrere Beiträge weisen auf, wie robust sich die athenische Wirtschaft im 4. Jh. erwies, gestützt durch Bemühungen zur ausreichenden Versorgung Athens mit Getreide und zur Einhegung von Preisspekulationen. Zur Attraktivität Athens als Import- und Exporthafen trugen die speziellen Seegerichtshöfe bei, die schnelle Entscheidungen in Rechtsstreitigkeiten sicherten und den saisonalen Erfordernissen der Seefahrt entgegenkamen. Raymond Descat, Edward Cohen und Armin Eich weisen in ihren Beiträgen ein Bemühen um Effektivität und ökonomische Rationalität im 4. Jh. nach, zeigen, wie sich Subsistenzwirtschaft, durch Anreize gefördert, auf einen Markt orientierte. Um dem Dilemma zu entgehen, dass ökonomische Rationalität in theoretischen Debatten nicht reflektiert wird, wählt Armin Eich einen praxeologischen Ansatz, indem er auf Interventionen der Polis hinsichtlich einer Preisbildung hinweist, um einer Mehrheit der Bürger erschwingliche Preise zu sichern. Trotz solcher Interventionen gesteht Eich der antiken Polis nur ein pragmatisch verwendetes Wissen, der wirtschaftlichen Steuerung mithin nur einen „präreflexiven Charakter“ (S. 249) zu. In eine ähnliche Richtung argumentiert Kirsty Shipton, die aus den Minenpachtlisten herausarbeitet, dass sich im 4. Jh. größere Kreise im Bergbau engagierten;

die Ursache dafür liege in gezielten Impulsen der Polis, die ein Interesse an der Steigerung der Einkünfte aus den Silberminen hatte. Dem diene z.B. die Verteilung der Risiken, wie es durch Gesetze ermöglicht worden war. Auch wenn die Prozentzahlen, die aus zwei im Abstand von 25 Jahren erstellten Pachtlisten gewonnen wurden, nur graduelle Veränderungen nachvollziehen lassen, kann Shipton plausibel machen, dass die Ausweitung der Liturgiepflicht auf einen größeren Kreis von Athenern eine verstärkte Aktivität im Bergbau zur Folge hatte.

Vorausweisende Tendenzen sehen Peter Liddel und Vincent Gabrielsen darin, dass in spätklassischer Zeit Grundlagen für eine Honoratiorengesellschaft gelegt wurden. Die zunehmende Zahl von Ehrendekreten, mit denen Verdienste um die Polis publik gemacht wurden, und Vereinigungen, die in einem gewissen Gegensatz zum strikten Mehrheitsprinzip stehen und die klare Trennung von politischem Bürgerrecht und sozialer Stellung aufbrechen, lassen den Übergang von der klassischen in die hellenistische Zeit besser nachvollziehen, mit ihrem höheren Stellenwert des Euergetismus und der stärkeren Integration von Personen, die von einer unmittelbaren Partizipation ausgeschlossen waren. In denselben Rahmen kann der Beitrag von Giovanna Daviero Rocchi eingeordnet werden, wenn sie darlegt, dass die lokalen Demei im 4. Jh. zunehmend organisatorische Aufgaben übernahmen und so zu einer stärkeren Ausdifferenzierung politischer Entscheidungen beitrugen. Gerade im lokalen Bereich konnte ein Euergetismus stärker zum Zuge kommen, und die Demei boten eine lokal fundierte Identität, die dem Bürger ein Zugehörigkeitsgefühl gab, vermittelt über periphere Strukturen.

In gewohnt akribischer Vorgehensweise diskutiert P.J. Rhodes Tendenzen einer zunehmenden Professionalisierung bei den Strategen, deren Bindung an die Phylen gelöst wurde, und in der Finanzverwaltung, die allerdings mit einer strikteren Bindung an Rotation und Proportionalität bei anderen Amtsträgern korrespondiert. Rhodes wägt umsichtig diese gegenläufigen Prozesse ab und diskutiert erneut umstrittene Aspekte wie den der Finanzierung der Amtsträger. Einen ganz anderen Blick auf die politischen Strukturen der athenischen Demokratie im 4. Jh. öffnet Jan Timmer. Mit seinem Konzept von Vertrauen als analytischer Kategorie gewinnt er einen überraschend neuen Zugang zu dem Problem, wie eine Gesellschaft der Erosion sozialer Kooperation entgegenwirken kann. Vertrauen schaffe stabile Rahmenbedingungen für Interaktionsprozesse und trage auf diese Weise erheblich zu einer Komplexitätsreduzierung und Stabilisierung sozialer Beziehungen bei. In Gegenüberstellung zur archaischen Zeit zeigt Timmer auf, dass die stärkere Differenzierung der Gesellschaft des 4. Jh. eine größere Differenz in den Interessen der Akteure, also partikulare Tendenzen gefördert habe. Um dem entgegenzuwirken bräuchten politische Systeme zunehmend solidarische Interaktionsorientierungen und Mechanismen, um Vertrauen herzustellen. Dies geschah bereits im 5. Jh. mit einer Stärkung des Bürgerrechts und einer Bürgeridentität als Abstammungsgemeinschaft, aber auch durch institutionalisiertes Misstrauen, wie es in der Wahl bzw. Losung von Amtsträgern auf Zeit oder der Aufspaltung von Kompetenzen zum Ausdruck komme. Das auf diese Weise hergestellte Vertrauen war mit den oligarchischen Umstürzen aber gründlich zerstört worden. Timmer nennt die Maßnahmen der wiederhergestellten Demokratie, um erneut Vertrauen zu schaffen, neben einer Übersteigerung kollektiver Identität Veränderungen im Verfahrensrecht durch die *graphē paranomōn* oder die *apophasis*. Zentral sei aber, dass die athenische Demokratie des 4. Jh. eine „ideologisch erkaltete Gesellschaft“ (S. 46) war. Für die Gesellschaft des 4. Jh. war es

eine existenzielle Frage, wie verstärkt Vertrauen im politischen und rechtlichen Prozedere hergestellt und Partikularinteressen gegenüber einem Gemeinwohl zurückgedrängt werden konnten. Von der Kategorie Vertrauen lassen sich grundlegende Neuorientierungen, die über den rein institutionellen und verfahrensrechtlichen Rahmen hinausgehen, ganz anders beurteilen. Edward Harris bezweifelt in seinem Beitrag grundlegende verfassungspolitische Änderungen, sieht schon im 5. Jh. eine „consistent application of fixed rules in adjus-tication and administration, equality before the law, and the accountability of officials“ (S. 81), kann damit aber nicht die Frage beantworten, warum die griechischen Stadtstaaten in so großem Ausmaß von Bürgerkriegen betroffen waren. Auf solche Fragen eine Antwort zu geben, dafür bietet Timmer einen weiterreichenden Ansatz.

Der Band ist voraussetzungsreich und erschließt dem Leser viele Bereiche politischer, wirtschaftlicher und sozialer Strukturen und Dynamiken des 4. Jh. Vielfach können die Veränderungen als Rationalisierungen und Differenzierungen begriffen werden, mithin als Modernisierung. Zweifel wird man daran hegen, ob sich das 4. Jh. durch eine Modernisierung mit beschleunigtem Wandel und erhöhter Dynamik vom 5. oder 3. Jh. abhebt. Schließlich endet die *Athenaion politeia* in der diachronen Beschreibung der ‚Umwälzungen‘ (*metabolai*) mit der Rückkehr der Athener zur Demokratie 404/3 v. Chr. Mit dem Aufbau einer großen Flotte, der Entstehung der Strategie und Trierarchie, der Zunahme öffentlicher Ämter oder der Übertragung der Rechenschaftspflicht auf das Volk zeigt auch das 5. Jh. ein hohes Maß an Problemlösungskompetenz. Und die Tragödien und Komödien des 5. Jh. können vermutlich weit mehr als Reflexionen auf Veränderungen und Brüche in der Tradition aufgefasst werden als die Schriften des 4. Jh. Ob das Konzept der Modernisierung für das 4. Jh. ein angemessenes und kennzeichnendes ist, beurteilt auch John Davies in seinen Schlussbemerkungen kritisch. Trotzdem war es der Mühe wert, das 4. Jh. einmal mithilfe der Modernisierungstheorie zu untersuchen, um das Spezifikum des 4. Jh. besser fassen zu können.

Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn

Winfried Schmitz

A. Van Oyen and M. Pitts (eds.), *Materialising Roman Histories*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2017, xi+242 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78570-676-9

This volume has its origins in the 2015 Laurence Seminar held by the Cambridge Faculty of Classics, as well as an earlier session of the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference held in 2013 at King's College London. Written in the context of the 'material turn' (focusing on 'what objects *are* and what they *do*' – p. 10), which has seen an increasing number of advocates over the last decade (as well a number of resisters), this book, at its core, seeks to make the study of objects and object-scapes its primary focus, and to give objects agency (though this should not be understood in the reductive sense of bestowing 'life, personhood or intention on objects' – p. 169). More specifically the primary interest lay in 'the creation of interpretive space for mechanisms other than instrumentalism (things as tools) and representation (things as signifiers) in dealing with things' so as to 'improve historical narratives' and offer 'new insights into the Roman world.' (p. 11). While Roman archaeology has not been at the vanguard of the materialities debate (p. 170), this volume goes some way towards rectify this.

The volume contains 15 chapters written by 16 different scholars. Chapter 1 (the introductory chapter), written by the editors Astrid Van Oyen and Martin Pitts, reviews various approaches to the study of Roman material culture and their methodological flaws; the remaining 14 chapters are distributed across four sections or parts. These focus respectively on: 1) problems arising from the use of an unrefined representational approach to material culture (the contributors do not wholesale reject representational considerations, but caution against doing so in isolation); 2) standardisation and the corollary issues of regionalism, variation and improvisation; 3) matter; 4) with the last part consisting of two chapters by Andrew Gardner and Greg Woolf that provide critical overviews of the issues raised in the preceding chapters as well as thoughts about future directions of study.

A whole host of theories are engaged with (and modified) in this volume. Among those utilised are Ingold's textility, Barad's notion of performativity, affordance, and, perhaps to a more limited extent, the concept of globalisation. It is not possible in the following 750 words to do full justice to the complexity and depth of the approaches taken and arguments made in all 15 chapters of this volume. Consequently this reviewer has instead focuses on highlighting some insights that may be of interest to Classicists, Ancient Historians and Archaeologists alike, whether familiar with the concept of materiality or not (the selections and omissions made by this reviewer are not intended to signify any hierarchy of value, all the chapters are of a good quality and are worthy of being fully read in their own right).

Many interesting subjects are explored in Part 1 of this volume, among them Hella Eckardt's (Chapter 2) study of metal inkwells from Roman grave contexts. She notes that writing equipment is proportionally better represented in female graves compared to the picture given by tombstone evidence/funerary reliefs, potentially indicating a dissonance between the more 'ideologically charged public monuments and private practice' (pp. 29–30). Martin Pitts's study of Gallo-Belgic vessels, particularly butt-beakers, in Gallia Belgica and southern Britain (Chapter 4), also challenges conventional interpretations of this material. By taking an object-centred approach, he eschews monocausal 'representational' interpretations of these wares as either merely demonstrating local reactions to colonial domination (in terms of consumption patterns), expressions of local identity, or as products of non-state controlled entrepreneurs. Instead he emphasises the importance of local object-scapes, genealogical origins, and stylistic innovations. He rightly notes economic and cultural issues (supply versus choice) should not be seen as dichotomous, and that mass-produced material 'require both cultural demand and economic imperative to achieve pan-regional distribution' (p. 64).

In Chapter 8 (Part 2), Elizabeth Murphy examines pottery production at Sagalassos. Specifically she considers standardisation and variability in the context of social factors and also in relation to Ingold's concept of textility (materials are not static, but there is an interplay between craftsman and material that results in the finished product). What is conventionally classified by modern scholars as a production centre, she notes, is in fact an archaeological construct, essentially defined by similarly classified wares manufactured in a spatially restricted area. Whereas in reality these 'production centres' are usually communities of individuals whose working practices are reinforced by tradition and training, 'as well as individual experimentation in dialogue with material forces' (p. 105). In the case of tradition and training, this included horizontal transmission (learning from contemporary



artisans) and vertical transmission (building upon the knowledge of earlier generations). While the dialogue with material forces reflects the fact that a potter could not simply impose an ideal form on inert material, but had to compromise between his aims and what the properties of the material would allow (p. 110).

Coming to Part 3 of the volume, the chapters of Ellen Swift (Chapter 11) and Eva Mol (Chapter 12) offering some intriguing observations. In Swift's chapter, after considering the concept of proper function (using objects in the manner for which they were originally intended) and system function (discrepant use of an object) in relation to signet rings, she considers how the material and form taken by dice will have impacted on the experiences of those using them. Examining samples from Roman Britain and Egypt, she notes that elite dice, particularly made of rock crystal and amber, appear to have been designed for 'fair play'. Whereas there appears to be a greater variety of shapes for more 'ordinary' bone dice (as with other low-cost materials), which will have impacted on the gaming experience of those lower down the social scale. The unevenness of the axes (a fairly common feature) seemingly causing the dice to more frequently land on the most and least favoured numbers – potentially causing more excitement in terms of rises and reversals of fortune.

In Chapter 12 Mol highlights how the classification/taxonomic systems employed by modern scholars do not necessarily accord with Roman conceptual frames of reference and classification. She demonstrates this by looking at two case studies, the first Egyptian-style sphinxes that appear as statues, on wall-paintings and as table legs, the second Egyptian themes in wall-paintings. In the first case she notes that the appearance of stone sphinxes or painted representations of them strongly connected to water-features (or depictions of them) in Pompeii, and that their appearance may have more to do with 'ecological' context and networks of association, rather than any kind of Egyptomania which a number of scholars in the past have assumed. In the case of the Egyptian style wall-paintings (for example, depictions of pharaohs making offerings and 'Egyptian' animals), she also notes this has less to do with any Augustan, post-Actium political response, than with longer term stylistic developments.

In summation, all the contributors to this volume provide a range of thought-provoking perspectives and insights into the wider issues raised by the concept of materiality. Those with an interest in theoretical archaeology, and also in Roman social and economic history, will find this book of value. It unfortunately does not include an index. Nevertheless, it does provide a range of good quality (mostly) colour figures, tables and charts, though perhaps some maps could have been included.

University of Wales Trinity Saint David

Matthew Adam Cobb

F. Vermeulen, *From the Mountain to the Sea: The Roman Colonisation and Urbanisation of Central Adriatic Italy*, Babesch Suppl. 30, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2017, viii+224 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-90-429-3470-2

Frank Vermeulen (Ghent University) has been working on Picenum, and the town of Potentia in particular, for almost 20 years, and this monograph is the result of his ongoing research. The volume consists of six chapters and is completed by a gazetteer of sites

containing ample bibliography with a majority of Italian references. Well over 100 figures in general form a useful complement to the narrative. Unfortunately, the volume would have benefited from more careful editing, but this is of course unrelated to the author or the argument. The work discusses the impact of Roman conquest on the processes of urbanisation in Central Adriatic Italy, positioning the Romans as the central agents in upscaling tentative local developments towards more centralised settlement. Much attention goes to the physical aspects of urbanisation, i.e. the presence or absence of city walls, public buildings and actual size, and in this respect the work firmly positions itself in the archaeological field.

The first chapter is short and more of a foreword, while the second is a full introduction including a description of geographical and topographical characteristics, brief outline of the main theoretical concepts, and detailed description of the methodology. V.'s application of landscape survey methodology within an urban context is innovative and insightful. These methodological insights notwithstanding, V. several times explicitly states his unwillingness to engage with ongoing theoretical debates on Romanisation, colonisation and urbanisation, which is disappointing. V.'s focus on methodology and presentation of the material is valid and valuable, but the work could have provided an interesting deconstructive alternative to colonial oppositions such as central and provincial.

The following three chapters present the bulk of the data in chronological order: before the Roman conquest, between conquest and the Social War, and after the Social War. Each chapter exists of a brief description of historical context, followed by a somewhat anecdotal overview of specific sites based on the vast and thorough knowledge of the author. The division in periods definitely suits the argument of urbanisation under Roman influence, but on the other hand leaves little room for divergent pathways or alternative routes. The result is a largely linear process towards full integration into the Roman system. Chapter 3, 'Prelude to the Roman Conquest', discusses the region right before formal Roman expansion, covering the 'Celtic invasions', and the Greek and Etruscan influences that impacted the early developments towards urbanisation. It concludes that proto-urban settlements, mobility and cultural and economic interaction were established but minor. Chapter 4 then moves on to the period of conquest, the first foundations of both Latin and Roman colonies such as Ariminum and Sena Gallica, and development of infrastructure. Descriptions of sites mainly focus on size (though intramural versus suburban settlement is somewhat unclear), and the presence or absence of city walls, fora and monumental public buildings (sanctuaries, theatres, etc.). Most interestingly, he shows how *Castrum Novum* and Sena Gallica can be seen as hybrid, experimental forms of the small military citizen colonies and the more populous Latin colonies. This would have potentially far-reaching consequences for our understanding of Roman colonial foundations, anticipating the development away from the sharp division between maritime Roman colonies and large Latin colonies by almost a century. It may also have consequences for V.'s own arguments, consequences which have not been fully explored in the monograph. Chapter 5, lastly, elaborates on the consolidation of Roman power after the troubles of the Social War. After similar descriptions of sites and aspects of monumentalisation, this chapter includes a section titled 'How urban was Roman central Adriatic Italy?', which compares and contrasts the settlements in the study region with the well-known categories of consumer, producer and service cities. The section is not the most in-depth and lacks integration with the preceding arguments,

in fact they are stronger without it. Other than that, the chapter provides a natural culmination and closing point for V.'s narrative, with Roman presence well settled in and urbanisation processes firmly established.

Stating often that material is scarce and further research is keenly awaited, V. nevertheless sees developments in the region as generally conformist as he focuses on Romanisation of the urban sites. Personally, I would have been interested to see more of the dialogue that was undoubtedly going on, the shades of grey between 'Romans' and 'locals' (a term I prefer to V.'s 'natives'), with more attention for incoherence, friction and even failure of integration. Still, it is worthwhile to see much of the material on this region collected in one volume and connected in a single narrative. The gazetteer of sites emphasises this, with a very brief description and useful bibliography on each. A more nuanced positioning within current theoretical debates, especially on colonisation and urbanisation could have made the argument even stronger. The firm grounding in the impressive amount of data collated by V. would have helped create a much wider appeal. Nonetheless, with the innovative application of survey techniques to urban contexts and as an overview of material on a region outside the well-studied heartland of Latium, Campania and perhaps Sicily, the volume is of considerable importance and a good reflection of the contributions V. himself has made to the field.

University of St Andrews

Anouk Vermeulen<sup>1</sup>

K.-W. Welwei, *Die Griechische Polis: Verfassung und Gesellschaft in archaischer und klassischer Zeit*, 3rd ed., edited by K.-J. Hölkeskamp and M. Meier, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2017, xiii+377 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11561-2

This book, published first in 1983, was the first endeavour after the Second World War to give a comprehensive and explanatory overview about the 'Greek' phenomenon of the *polis*. In opposition to the dominant perspective of constitutional law to be found in the common handbooks, in Karl-Wilhelm Welwei's opinion the *polis* was a remarkable way of (political) self-organisation. To develop his line of thought, he started from the contemporarily discussed premises, as were for example the scale of connections between Mycenae and the Dark Ages, the question of the migration(s) of the Greeks, the significance of groups of related families (*gene*), the existence of social classes (aristocracy, *demos*), the development of offices and institutions, the role of Sparta and Athens, the question of an economic crisis in the Archaic period. As expected, for his circumscription of the term and the essence ('Wesen') of the *polis*, he started from Aristotle. He understood *polis* not as a mere settlement but a 'Gemeinwesen der Politen' (community of *politai*), a self-sufficient and autonomous union of citizens that not always formed a state. Therefore, W. thinks that the relationship between *poleis* needs serious consideration. Moreover, he distances himself from applying the German term 'Gemeindestaat' (community-state) to autonomous *poleis*. Not completely stringent in this line of thought, he recurs to the notion that the autonomous citizenry was not a 'Gemeinde' (community) but a state. According to W. this difference seems to also be the difference between *polis* and *ethnos*. Even though an *ethnos*

<sup>1</sup> The reviewer has no connection with the author beyond a shared surname.

comprised variously organised state communities not being *poleis*, the political organisation of an *ethnos* was supposed to be inferior to that of a *polis*. This changed not before the *ethnos* turned into a *koinon* in the 4th century.

W. shared the *communis opinio* that the *polis* arose in the 8th century and developed its profile in the course of the 7th. The Persian Wars were decisive for the development of democracy in Athens which was fundamentally changed by 404 BC. Part of this picture is the notion of an economic crisis in the Archaic period caused by land shortage and overpopulation. This crisis propelled the development of the *polis*, i.e. the resolution of tensions and conflicts between the social classes by the instalment of offices and institutions (aristocratic council, assembly of the *demos*, law courts). This is explained at length with the focus on Sparta and Athens.

Particularly in the second edition, which appeared in 1998, W. dealt with critical comments on this picture and adapted his presentation in long additions to the respective chapters at the end of the book. He connected his definition of the *polis* with the Copenhagen Polis Project, picked up the notion of ethnogenesis but did not discard the continuity from Mycenaean culture to the 1st millennium. The Dark Ages became a sphere of societies without a state. But he showed distance to applying the term 'tribe' to those and insisted on the validity of the studies of F. Bourriot and D. Roussel, meaning that *phylai*, *phratries* and *gene* only developed in accordance with the development of the *polis*. On the other hand he insisted on the 'Grenzen interkultureller Vergleiche' (limits to intercultural comparisons) and was not willing to hand over the Greek development to the anthropological world of which he implicitly thinks that it is part of the primitive world. He also safeguarded it from too much influence from the East and denied that the *polis* was originally of Phoenician origin. To counter the constitutional interpretation of the *polis*, he took up the term 'civic ideology' and refers to de Polignac's judgment of the importance of non-urban sanctuaries. He discussed the various concepts of the term *tyrannos* and spoke of the necessity to investigate the multitude of phenomena and their *changements* as elements of the history of mentality of Archaic and Classical Hellas. With regards to Sparta he discussed the different interpretations of the Rhetra and the many publications about the development of the central institutions, also from the perspective of how they were used in later texts to legitimise the present political order. As to Athens he considered its origins and its development into a democracy to be especially important. Of course he tackled the various judgments of the reforms of Solon, the reform of the *phylai* by Kleisthenes and the ostracism. Again, it was important to him to put the internal development of Athens as part of the history of mentality to the fore. He dealt with both phenomena in the context of how democracy was developed. Beside other points he underlined the necessity to distinguish between social groups going by the name of *hetairoi* and those of friends as real political groups, even though both could overlap. He discussed the relations between the assembly and the law courts, and between Athens and its alliance partners. At the end of the addenda he gave the middle and small *poleis* more importance than in the main text.

It is these addenda which render the comprehensive overview of the *polis* in the main text to more than mere a witness of the debates of the 1980s and 1990s. Everywhere, in both main text and the addenda, one detects clear hints at where further investigations on Archaic Greece ought to go. Moreover, the addenda make clear where gaps in our knowledge are and weaknesses of the argument are buried. This seems to be enough of a

reason for the third and posthumous edition by W.'s former students. The book serves very well as a starting point for studying the basic problems connected with the topic *polis* and hence for further research.

University of Innsbruck

Christoph Ulf

L. Zabrana, *Das Odeion im Artemision von Ephesos*, Forschungen in Ephesos XII/6, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2018, 254 pp., 105 pp. of plates (many in colour), 24 pp. plans. Cased. ISBN 978-3-7001-7868-2

This volume is concerned with the south-western area of the sanctuary of Artemis and in particular with a structure which had remained visible above the ground level some 180 m from the temple itself. Anton Bammer had identified this as a 'Tribune', that is as an open grandstand from which it would have been possible to view sacred processions from the city to the sanctuary and activities within the sanctuary itself. The new excavations were directed by Sabine Ladstätter in 2009 with the purpose of identifying its function and chronology and the history of its use. It was easily identified as Roman Imperial in date.

Lilli Zabrana begins with an account of earlier research and excavation of the Artemision and its area, starting with the work of J.T. Wood between 1863 and 1874. For this she has studied Wood's archive in the British Museum while the recent excavations have identified Wood's trenches and produced, as proof, the case of a 19th-century pocket watch. She then describes subsequent excavations by the Austrians, followed by D.G. Hogarth for the British Museum and the later Austrian excavations.

The structure which is the focus of the present account is now surrounded, as the excellent aerial photograph, Taf. 7, shows by extensive orcharding, the trees laid out in a strict grid pattern. Presumably as a consequence of this the area immediately to the south-east of the structure was not available for the present excavations. It was the lack of information about this area that had resulted in the original identification of the building's function. Despite not being able to excavate this area the present investigation of the available part of the structure makes clear that it was an Odeion, with its stage section still concealed in the unexcavated area.

What remains is the core of the building, constructed from mortared rubble with facings of selected stonework arranged in courses but only roughly trimmed and with the courses, described as *opus vittatum*. Within the outer walls further substructure supporting the seats of the auditorium was arranged in a series of rectangular chambers, numbered 1 to 9, each one covered with a vault in the technique also employed in the so-called Temple of Serapis in Ephesus itself.

Above this structure the building was finished in marble, all subsequently robbed out. Z. gives excellent reconstructed drawings of its probable appearance. It was illuminated by window openings in the walls which once extended above the seating but no longer survive. In front of this in the non-excavated area she recreates the probable arrangement of the stage area and its roof. The seating area would have had a roof supported by timber beams, the reconstruction shown here being based entirely on evidence from other *odeia*.

This report gives a full account of the surviving elements of the structure and its decoration, the substructure of the floor with an *opus sectile* surface in the orchestra, with an

analysis of the materials employed – white, red and black marble – and a reconstruction of their patterning. There are fragments of marble cladding to the walls.

The report describes and discusses the pottery and other material found in the excavation. A final summary of the results puts the Odeion in the context of other examples, particularly those in Asia Minor, while analysis of the pottery and other finds gives the full sequence of the building's history: constructed in the second half of the 1st century AD, with rebuilding in the mid-2nd to early 3rd century, to which the *opus sectile* floor of the orchestra probably belongs, with the remains of wall-painting indicating several renovations. It was abandoned at some time in the 5th–6th century, when the roof collapsed with the indication of fire. This was followed by the removal of the marble cladding, after which the building was allowed to decay, but with some renovation and reuse in the Late Byzantine period.

It is useful to have this full and sympathetic report of a building clearly associated with the sanctuary of Artemis and which confirms the continuing importance of the Artemision through the Roman period.

Birmingham, UK

Richard Tomlinson

D. Zhuravlev, E. Novikova, S. Kovalenko and M. Shemakhanskaya, *Gold of Tauric Chersonesos (Jewellery from the Collection of the State Historical Museum)*, Russian Foundation for Basic Research, EPA Vneshtorgizdat, Moscow 2017, 358 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-5-902271-27-7 (in Russian)

This book is a beautiful and well-documented catalogue of a large collection of golden jewellery from Tauric Chersonesos, kept in the State Historical Museum in Moscow and written in Russian (only the title page, the contents and the type of object are also in English). It gives a complete description with colour photographs (some also in detail) of this collection, containing more than 500 golden objects and dating from the 4th century BC to the 4th century AD. Leaves of wreaths and funeral diadems, funeral mouth-pieces, earrings, pendants and medallions, amulet boxes, chains, beads, round ornamented plaques, plaques, finger-rings, chases, ornamented plaques, gold threads, coin-shape appliques, unornamented plaques and fragments, foil and fragments, a plaque with the depiction of a 'Scythian' and some other finds are the main contents. Almost all of them were found or excavated at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. In 1941, the collection was transferred to Moscow, probably due to the wartime circumstances. All objects are precisely described with a colour photograph, sometimes a drawing, information about dimensions, where they were found and where they have been published. Four appendices deal with the gold threads from the Chersonesos, grave contexts with gold from the collection of the State Historical Museum and an RFA chemical analysis of the golden objects from the Chersonesos. The book ends with an extensive bibliography.

This publication is without doubt an enrichment to this subject as it is, unlike earlier publications, a complete overview of this beautiful collection in the State Historical Museum in Moscow.

Ghent University

Jan de Boer



## BOOKS RECEIVED

- M.G. Abramzon and N. Bykovskaya, *Ancient Coins. From the Collection of the Eastern Crimean Historical and Cultural Museum-Reserve. The Numismatic Collection*, vol. 3: *The Pre-War Collection Returned by the Federal Republic of Germany. Catalogue*, Eastern Crimean Historical-Cultural Museum-Preserve, Kerch 2019, 160 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-5-6042177-7-1
- M.G. Abramzon and N.A. Frolova (†), with the collaboration of and translated by U. Peter, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Russland, Staatliches Historisches Museum Moskau: Münzen des nördlichen Schwarzmeergebietes*, Griechisches Münzwerk, Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2019, x+262 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-050009-7
- N.J. Andrade, *Zenobia: Shooting Star of Palmyra*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2018, xvii+284 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-063881-8
- J. Andreu and A. Blanco-Pérez (eds.), *Signs of Weakness and Crisis in the Western Cities of the Roman Empire (c. II–III AD)*, Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 68, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2019, 232 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-12406-5
- L. Audley-Miller and B. Dignas (eds.), *Wandering Myths: Transcultural Uses of Myth in the Ancient World*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2018, liv+427 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-041685-5
- A. Avram, L. Buzoianu and V. Lungu (eds.), *Koinè et mobilité artisanale entre la Méditerranée et la Mer Noire dans l'Antiquité: Hommage à Pierre Dupont à son 70e anniversaire*, Pontica LI, Supplementum V, Musée d'Histoire Nationale et d'Archéologie, Constanța 2018, 385 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 973-7951-29-8/ISSN 1013-4247
- P.S. Avetisyan, R. Dan and Y.H. Grekyan (eds.), *Over the Mountains and Far Away: Studies in Near Eastern History and Archaeology presented to Mirjo Salvini on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2019, xviii+570 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-943-6
- M. Baumann and S. Froehlich, with the collaboration of J. Börstinghaus (eds.), *Auf segelbeflügelten Schiffen das Meer befahren: Das Erlebnis der Schiffsreise im späten Hellenismus und in der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, Philippika 119, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2018, xiii+416 pp., illustrations (some in colour), map in end-pocket. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10971-0/ISSN 1613-5628
- C. Baumer and M. Novák (eds.), *Urban Cultures of Central Asia from the Bronze Age to the Karakhanids: Learnings and Conclusions from New Archaeological Investigations and Discoveries*, Schriften zur Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 12, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2019, viii+463 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11169-0/ISSN 0340-6792
- H. Beck, K. Buraselis and A. McAuley (eds.), *Ethnos and Koinon: Studies in Ancient Greek History and Federalism*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2019, 415 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-12217-7

- A.M. Berlin and P.J. Kosmin (eds.), *Spear-Won Land: Sardis from the King's Peace to the Peace of Apamea*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison 2019, xv+289 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-0-299-32130-7
- M. Bettini and W.M. Short (eds.), *The World through Roman Eyes: Anthropological Approaches to Ancient Culture*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2018, xiv+471 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-15761-3
- M. Bietak, P. Matthiae and S. Prell (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern Palaces*, vol. 2, Proceedings of a workshop held at the 10th ICAANE in Vienna, 25–26 April 2016, Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant (CAENL) 8, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2019, 256 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11183-6
- T. Bilgin, *Officials and Administration in the Hittite World*, Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 21, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2019, xvi+507 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-5015-1662-7/ISSN 2161-4415
- J. Boardman, *Alexander the Great: From His Death to the Present Day*, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2019, x+160 pp., illustrations, 8 pp. of colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-18175-2
- C. Brélaz, *Philippes, colonie romaine d'Orient: Recherches d'histoire institutionnelle et sociale*, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Suppl. 59, École française d'Athènes, Athens 2018, xv+399 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-2-86958-299-6/ISSN 0304-2456
- T. Bryce, *Ancient Syria: A Three Thousand Year History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014, paperback edition 2019, xiv+379 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-19-882890-7
- S.D. Bundrick, *Athens, Etruria, and the Many Lives of Greek Figured Pottery*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison 2019, xv+330 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-299-32100-0
- P.J. Burton, *Roman Imperialism*, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2019, 114 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-90-04-40462-5
- H. Cameron, *Making Mesopotamia: Geography and Empire in a Romano-Iranian Borderland*, Impact of Empire 32, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2019, x+375 pp., maps. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-38862-8/ISSN 1572-0500
- A. Cannavò and L. Thély (eds.), *Les royaumes Chypres à l'épreuve de l'histoire: Transitions et ruptures de la fin de l'âge du Bronze au début de l'époque hellénistique*, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Suppl. 60, École française d'Athènes, Athens 2018, 356 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-2-86958-307-8/ISSN 0304-2456
- S.G. Chrissanthos, *The Year of Julius and Caesar: 59 BC and the Transformation of the Roman Republic*, Witness to Ancient History, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 2019, xvii+179 pp., 5 maps. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4214-2970-0
- M. Cifarelli (ed.), *Fashioned Selves: Dress and Identity in Antiquity*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2019, vii+248 pp., illustrations, 16 pp. of colour plates. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78925-254-5
- P. Cimadomo, *The Southern Levant during the First Centuries of Roman Rule (64 BCE–135 CE): Interweaving Local Cultures*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2019, viii+216 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78925-238-5

- M.A. Cobb (ed.), *The Indian Ocean Trade in Antiquity: Political, Cultural and Economic Impacts*, Routledge, London/New York 2019, xiii+237 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-138-73826-3
- N. Cooke (ed.), *Journeys Erased by Time: The Rediscovered Footprints of Travellers in Egypt and the Near East*, Astene/Archaeopress, Oxford 2019, xv+350 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78969-240-2
- A. Coşkun and D. Engels (eds.), *Rome and the Seleukid East: Selected Papers from Seleukid Study Day V, Brussels, 21–23 August 2015*, Collection Latomus 360, Société d'Études Latines de Bruxelles – Latomus, Brussels 2019, 512 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-90-429-3927-1
- C. Coulot, *Citharam iam poscit Apollo victor: Architektur und Bauornamentik der Scaenae Frons des augusteischen Theaters von Arles*, Tübinger Archäologische Forschungen 30, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2019, vii+431 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-89646-861-1/ISSN 1862-3484
- N. Crüsemann, M. van Ess, M. Hilgert and B. Salje (eds.), *Uruk: First City of the Ancient World*, English-language edition ed. T. Potts, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Getty Publications, Los Angeles 2019 [originally published in German, 2013], x+394 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-60606-444-3
- M. Dana and I. Savalli-Lestrade (eds.), *La cité interconnectée dans le monde gréco-romain*, Scripta Antiqua 118, Ausonius, Bordeaux 2019, 340 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-2-35613-242-0/ISSN 1298-1990
- L. de Blois and R.J. van der Spek, *Einführung in die Alte Welt*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2019, 419 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-10190-5
- S. Diakou, *The Upper Geometric Cemetery at Lapithos: University of Pennsylvania Museum Excavations 1931–1932*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 146, Astrom Editions, Uppsala 2018, xxvi+395 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-91-981535-3-8/ISSN 0081-8232
- A.J. Domínguez (ed.), *Politics, Territory and Identity in Ancient Epirus*, Diabaseis, Edizioni ETS, Pisa 2018, xiv+337 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-88-467-5415-8
- S. Döpper (ed.), *Beyond Tombs and Towers: Domestic Architecture of the Umm an-Nar Period in Eastern Arabia*, Arabia Orientalis 4, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2018, vii+120 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11119-5/ISSN 2625-9184
- S. Döpper, *Keramikassemblagen der Späten Bronzezeit aus dem Königspalast von Qatna und eine vergleichende Betrachtung zeitgleicher Keramik Westassyriens und der Levante*, Qatna Studien 7, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2019, xxix+511 pp., 292 pp. of plates and tables, 10 colour plates, 1 fold-out. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10957-4/ISSN 2191-4818
- C.M. Draycott, R. Raja, K. Welch and W.T. Wootton (eds.), *Visual Histories of the Classical World: Essays in Honour of R.R.R. Smith*, Studies in Classical Archaeology 4, Brepols, Turnhout 2018, xlii+548 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-2-503-57632-9
- G. Ducœur, *Les mythes du déluge de l'Inde ancienne: Histoire d'un comparatisme sémitico-indien*, Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 78, Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-le-Neuve/Peeters, Louvain 2019, xlii+384 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-90-429-3727-7/ISSN 0076-1265

- D. Dzierzbicka, *OINOΣ: Production and Import of Wine in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Suppl. 31, University of Warsaw/The Raphael Taubenschlag Foundation, Warsaw 2018, xix+527 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-83-946848-1-5
- S. Ebbinghaus (ed.), *Animal-Shaped Vessels from the Ancient World: Feasting with Gods, Heroes, and Kings*, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, MA 2019, 404 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-0-300-23703-0
- F. Ebeling and C.E. Loeben (eds.), *O Isis und Osiris: Ägyptens Mysterien und die Freimaurerei*, 2nd corrected edition, Museum Kestnerianum 21, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2018, 519 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-86757-088-6/ISSN 1868-9787
- H. Elton, *The Roman Empire in Late Antiquity: A Political and Military History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2018, xxi+378 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-108-45631-9
- J.-Y. Empereur (ed.), with F. Alabe, A. Hadjikoumis, C. Harlaut, B. Lorentzen, S.W. Manning, M. Michael and M. Touma, *The Hellenistic Harbour of Amathus: Underwater Excavations, 1984–1986, vol. 2: Artefacts found during Excavation*, Études Chypriotes XX, École française d'Athènes, Athens 2018, 218 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-2-86958-308-5
- J.-Y. Empereur and T. Koželu, with O. Picard and M. Wurch-Koželu, *The Hellenistic Harbour of Amathus: Underwater Excavations, 1984–1986, vol. 1: Architecture and History*, Études Chypriotes XIX, École française d'Athènes, Athens 2017, 169 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-2-86958-293-4
- K. Erickson (ed.), *The Seleukid Empire, 281–222 BC: War within the Family*, The Classical Press of Wales, Swansea 2018, vii+323 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-910589-71-7
- P.M. Fischer and T. Bürge, with special studies by M. Al-Bataineh, A.A. Burke, B.N. Damiata et al., *Two Late Cypriot City Quarters at Hala Sultan Tekke: The Söderberg Expedition 2010–2017*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 147, Astrom Editions, Uppsala 2018, xvi+648 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-91-981535-4-5/ISSN 0081-8232
- A.P. Fitzpatrick and C. Haselgrove (eds.), *Julius Caesar's Battle for Gaul: New Archaeological Perspectives*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2019, xvi+309 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78925-050-3
- J. Fouquet, *Bauen zwischen Polis und Imperium: Stadtentwicklung und urbane Lebensformen auf der kaiserzeitlichen Peloponnes*, Urban Spaces 7, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2019, x+424 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-056509-6
- K. Freitag and M. Haake (eds.), *Griechische Heiligtümer als Handlungsorte: Zur Multifunktionalität supralokaler Heiligtümer von der frühen Archaik bis in die römische Kaiserzeit*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2019, viii+330 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-12389-1
- B. Furlotti, *Antiquities in Motion: From Excavation Sites to Renaissance Collections*, Getty Research Institute, Getty Publications, Los Angeles 2019, x+282 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-1-60606-591-4

- E. Gailledrat, M. Dietler and R. Plana-Mallart (eds.), *The Emporion in the Ancient Western Mediterranean: Trade and Colonial Encounters from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period*, Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée, Montpellier 2018, 265 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-2-36781-275-5
- E. Geith, T. Abd el-Hay and J. Schmid, with contributions by P. Pfälzner, S. Döpfer *et al.*, *Der Königspalast von Qaṭna Teil 2: Architektur, Stratigraphie, Keramik und Funde des westlichen Zentralbereiches*, Qaṭna Studien 6, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2019, lxxv+499 pp., illustrations, 272 pp. of plates and tables interleaved, 8 colour plates, 9 plans in end-pocket. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11023-5/ISSN 2191-4818
- R.M. Gondek and C.L. Sulosky Weaver (eds.), *The Ancient Art of Transformation: Case Studies from Mediterranean Contexts*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2019, xiii+224 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78295-104-3
- S. Gondet and E. Haerinck (eds.), *L'Orient est son jardin: Hommage à Rémy Boucharlat*, Acta Iranica 58, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2018, xxvi+501 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-3450-4
- H. González Cesteros and P.B. Milet, *Roman Amphorae in Neuss: Augustan to Julian Contexts*, Roman and Late Antique Mediterranean Pottery 12, Archaeopress, Oxford 2018, viii+135 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78969-052-1
- S. Gunther, T. Mattern, R. Rollinger, K. Ruffing and C. Schäfer (eds.), *Marburger Beiträge zur Antiken Handels-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* 36, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2018, vi+264 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-86757-231-6/ISSN 1864-1415
- S. Handberg and A. Gadolou (eds.), *Material Koinai in the Greek Early Iron Age and Archaic Period*, Acts of an International Conference at the Danish Institute at Athens, 30 January–1 February 2015, Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 22, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus 2018, 369 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-87-7184-328-6/ISSN 1397-1433
- C. Harlaut and J.W. Hayes, *Pottery in Hellenistic Alexandria: Aux origines d'Alexandrie et de sa production céramique. Hellenistic Pottery Deposits from Alexandria*, Études Alexandrines 45, Centre d'Études Alexandrines, Alexandria 2018, 361 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-2-490128-01-3
- K. Harter-Uibopou (ed.), *Epigraphische Notizen zur Erinnerung an Peter Herrmann*, Ham-burger Studien zu Gesellschaften und Kulturen der Vormoderne 6, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2019, 280 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-12456-0
- M. Peterková Hlouchová, D. Bělohoubková, J. Honzl and V. Nováková (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2018*, Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Symposium, Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 25–28 June 2018, Access Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2019, x+252 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78969-214-3
- K.-J. Hölkeskamp, S. Karataş and R. Roth (eds.), *Empire, Hegemony or Anarchy?: Rome and Italy, 201–31 BCE*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2019, 259 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11524-7
- B. Holtzmann, *La sculpture de Thasos, Corpus des reliefs II: Reliefs à thème héroïque*, Études Thasiennes 25, vol. 1: texte, vol. 2: planches, École française d'Athènes, Athens 2018, 221 pp.; xii pp.+84 plates. Paperback. ISBN 978-2-86958-311-5



- P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Boundless Sea: Writing Mediterranean History*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, Routledge, London/New York 2019, xi+228 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-367-22126-3
- L. Hulin, L. Crewe and J.M. Webb (eds.), *Structures of Inequality in Bronze Age Cyprus. Studies in Honour of Alison K. South*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature PB 187, Astrom Editions, Uppsala/Nicosia 2018, xviii+276 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-9925-7455-0-0/ISSN 0283-8494
- I. Jacobs and H. Elton (eds.), *Asia Minor in the Long Sixth Century: Current Research and Future Directions*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2019, viii+245 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78925-007-7
- E. Jensen, *Barbarians in the Greek and Roman World*, Hackett Publishing, Indianapolis/Cambridge 2018, xiv+296 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-624-66712-1
- M. Kalaitzi, P. Paschidis, C. Antonetti and A.-M. Guimier-Sorbets (eds.), *Boreioelladikav: Tales from the Lands of the Ethne. Essays in Honour of Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos / Histoires du monde des ethnés. Études en l'honneur de Miltiade B. Hatzopoulos*, MEΛETHMATA 78, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute of Historical Research, Athens 2018, 522 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-960-9538-71-8
- C. Kearns and S.W. Manning (eds.), *New Directions in Cypriot Archaeology*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca/London 2019, vii+302 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-5017-3269-0
- A.B. Knapp, *Seafaring and Seafarers in the Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean*, Sidestone Press, Leiden 2018, 296 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-90-8890-554-4
- P.J. Kosmin, *Time and Its Adversaries in the Seleucid Empire*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA/London 2018, x+379 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-674-97693-1
- S.A. Kovalenko, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum II, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts: Greek Coins of Italy and Sicily*, 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, Rome 2017, 133 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-88-913-0874-0
- F. Krinzing and P. Ruggendorfer (eds.), with contributions by D. Akab-Tanriver, M. Aurenhammer, V. Böhm *et al.*, *Das Theater von Ephesos: Archäologischer Befund, Funde und Chronologie*, 2 vols., Forschungen in Ephesos II/1, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2018, xlii+541 pp.; x pp.+473 plates, 17 plans and one plan in end-pocket. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-7001-7590-2
- K. Lapatin (ed.), *Buried by Venus: The Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Getty Publications, Los Angeles 2019, x+265 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-1-60606-592-1
- J. Leidwanger and C. Knappett (eds.), *Maritime Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2018, xiii+261 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-108-42994-8
- D.M. Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems in their Eastern Mediterranean Context, c. 800–146 BC*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2018, xii+372 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-876994-1
- J. Lhuillier and N. Boroffka (eds.), *The Iron Age in Southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC)*, Proceedings of the Conference held in Berlin (June 23–25, 2014) Dedicated to the Memory of Viktor Ivanovich Sarianidi, Archäologie in Iran und Turan



- 17, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan 35, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien-Abteilung/Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin 2019, ix+351 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-496-01594-9
- G. Lipovac Vrkljan and A. Konestra (eds.), *Pottery Production, Landscape and Economy of Roman Dacia: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 47, Archaeopress, Oxford 2018, viii+128 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78969-072-9
- P. Lohmann (ed.), *Historische Graffiti als Quellen: Methoden und Perspektiven eines jungen Forschungsbereichs*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2018, 330 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-12204-7
- P. Lulof, I. Manzini and C. Rescigno (eds.), *Deliciae Fictiles V: Networks and Workshops. Architectural Terracottas and Decorative Roof Systems in Italy and Beyond*, Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference held at the University of Campania 'Luigi Vanvitelli' and the National Archaeological Museum in Naples, March 15–17, 2018, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2019, xix+650 pp., illustrations, 16 colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78925-310-8
- E. Mamakidou and A. Avramidou (eds.), *H KERAMIKH THS KLASIKHS EPOCHS STO BOREIO AIGAIO KAI THN PERIFEREIA TOU (480–323/300 p.C.) / Classical Pottery of the Northern Aegean and its Periphery (480–323/300 BC)*, Proceedings of the International Conference, Thessaloniki, May 17–20, 2017, University Studio Press, Thessaloniki 2019, 649 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-960-12-2442-8
- M. Mauersberg, *Die »griechische Kolonisation«: Ihr Bild in der Antike und der modernen altertumswissenschaftlichen Forschung*, Histoire 152, Transcript Verlag, Bielefeld 2019, 382 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-8376-4689-4
- C.M. Mauro, *Archaic and Classical Harbours of the Greek World: The Aegean and Eastern Ionian Contexts*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2019, viiii+115 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78969-128-3
- L. Meier, *Kibyra in Hellenistischer Zeit: Neue Staatsverträge und Ehreninschriften*, Denkschriften der phil.-hist. Klasse 516, Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 29, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2019, 115 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-7001-8346-4
- A. Möller (ed.), *Historiographie und Vergangenheitsvorstellungen in der Antike, Beiträge zur Tagung aus Anlass des 70. Geburtstages von Hans-Joachim Gehrke*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2019, xiv+183 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-12269-6
- R. Morais, D. Leão and D. Rodríguez Pérez with D. Ferreira (eds.), *Greek Art in Motion: Studies in Honour of Sir John Boardman on the Occasion of His 90th Birthday*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2018, iv+509 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78969-023-1
- B. Muhle, *Steinerne Keulenköpfe aus Assur*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 150, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Assur F: Fundgruppen 9, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2018, ix+29 pp., 20 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-06538-2/ISSN 0342-4464
- S. Müller, *Alexander der Große: Eroberung – Politik – Rezeption*, Verlag W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart 2019, 396 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-17-031346-0

- O. Murray, *The Symposium: Drinking Greek Style. Essays on Greek Pleasure 1983–2017*, ed. V. Cazzato, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2018, xii+459 pp., illustrations, 24 pp. of plates (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-881462-7
- S. Nagel, *Isis im Römischen Reich*, Teil 1: *Die Göttin im griechisch-römischen Ägypten*; Teil 2: *Adaption(en) des Kultes im Westen*, Philippika 109, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2019, xix+viii+1453 pp., 5 pp. of plates (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10801-0/ ISSN 1613-5628
- K. Nawotka, R. Rollinger, J. Wiesehöfer and A. Wojciechowska (eds.), *The Historiography of Alexander the Great*, Classica et Orientalia 20, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2018, vi+258 pp., 1 illustration. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11164-5/ISSN 2190-3638
- M.-D. Nenna, S. Huber and W. Van Andringa (eds.), *Constituer la tombe, honorer les défunts en Méditerranée antique*, Études Alexandrines 46, Centre d'Études Alexandrines, Alexandria 2018, 581 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-2-490128-02-0
- P. Neve, with contributions by İ. Bayburtluoğlu, J.D. Hawkins and J. Seeher, *Die Oberstadt von Hattuša: Die Bauwerke III. Die Bebauung im südlichen Vorfeld von Büyükkale. Nişantepe – Südburg – Ostplateau (Grabungen 1988–1993)*, Boğazköy Hattuša Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 20, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2018, xiii+174 pp., 127 pp. of plates, 10 plans in separate wallet. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-059831-5
- R. Parker (ed.), *Changing Names: Tradition and Innovations in Ancient Greek Onomastics*, Proceedings of the British Academy 222, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2019, xv+289 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-726654-0/ISSN 0068-1202
- E.C. Partida and B. Schmidt-Dounas (eds.), *Listening to the Stones: Essays on Architecture and Function in Ancient Greek Sanctuaries in Honour of Richard Alan Tomlinson*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2019, ix+264 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78969-087-3
- P. Pavúk, V. Klontza-Jaklová and A. Harding (eds.), *EUDAIMWN: Studies in Honour of Jan Bouzek*, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague/Masaryk University, Brno, Prague 2018, 574 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-80-7308-767-8 (Charles); 978-80-210-9025-5 (Masaryk)
- E. Perego, R. Scopacasa and S. Amicone (eds.), *Collapse or Survival: Micro-Dynamics of Crisis and Endurance in the Ancient Central Mediterranean*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2019, xxix+175 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78925-100-5
- P. Pfälzner and J. Schmid, with contributions by E. Geith, T. Abd el-Hay et al., *Der Königspalast von Qaṭna Teil 1: Chronologie, Grundriss, Baugeschichte und Bautechniken*, Qaṭna Studien 5, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2019, xlvii+347 pp., illustrations (several in colour), 72 pp. of plates interleaved, 9 colour plates, 6 plans in separate folder. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11022-8/ISSN 2191-4818
- L. Pfunter, *Urbanism and Empire in Roman Sicily*, University of Texas Press, Austin 2019, viii+306 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-4773-1722-8
- M. Popsecu, I. Achim and F. Matei-Popescu (eds.), *La Dacie et l'Empire romain: mélanges d'épigraphie et d'archéologie offerts à Constantin C. Petolescu*, Académie Roumaine, Institut d'Archéologie «Vasile Pârvan», Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest 2018, 354 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-973-27-3035-5

- I. Popović, M. Kazanski and V. Ivanišević (eds.), *Sirmium à l'époque des grandes migrations*, Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisations de Byzance, Monographies 53, Institut Archéologique de Belgrade, Monographies 60, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2017, iv+273 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-90-429-3603-4/ISSN 0751-0594
- A.G. Poulter, with contributions by M. Boyd, A. Cholakova, V. Dinchev *et al.*, *The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Lower Danube: Excavations and Survey at Dichin, a Late Roman to Early Byzantine Fort and a Roman Aqueduct*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2019, viii+896 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-1-78570-958-6
- J.F. Quack, *Eine magische Stele aus dem Badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe (Inv. H 1049)*, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Universitätsverlag Winter, Heidelberg 2018, 120 pp., illustrations, 16 pp. of plates. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-8253-6929-3
- U. Quatember, with contributions by R. Kalasek, M. Pliessnig, W. Prochaska *et al.*, *Der sogenannte Hadrianstempel an der Kuretenstraße*, 2 vols., Forschungen in Ephesos XI/3, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2017, 402 pp.; 9 pp.+320 plates (most in colour); 10 plans in wallet. Cased. ISBN 978-3-7001-7994-8
- C. Reinhardt, *Akroter und Architektur: Figürliche Skulptur auf Dächern griechischer Bauten vom 6. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Image and Context 18, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2018, x+598 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-053880-9/ISSN 1868-4777
- W. Rienjang and P. Stewart (eds.), *The Geography of Gandhāran Art*, Proceedings of the Second International Workshop of the Gandhāra Connections Project, University of Oxford, 22nd–23rd March, 2018, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2019, xii+185 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78969-186-3
- E. Rizos (ed.), *New Cities in Late Antiquity: Documents and Archaeology*, Bibliothèque de l'Antiquité Tardive 35, Brepols, Turnhout 2017, 297 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-2-503-55551-5
- P.N.J. Roncoroni, *Zur Rekonstruktion der Struktur der frühen römischen Gesellschaft im Spiegel lazialer Grabsitten und antiker Schriftquellen*, Internationale Archäologie 130, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2018, 530 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-89646-544-3/ISSN 0939-0561X
- J. Rop, *Greek Military Service in the Ancient Near East, 401–330 BCE*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2019, xxviii+265 pp., 7 maps. Cased. ISBN 978-1-108-49950-7
- K. Ruffing and K. Droß-Krüpe (eds.), *Emas non quod opus est, sed quod necesse est: Beiträge zur Wirtschafts-, Sozial-, Rezeptions- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Antike. Festschrift für Hans-Joachim Drexhage zum 70. Geburtstag*, Phlippika 125, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2018, viii+708 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11087-7/ISSN 1613-5628
- G. Schattner, D. Vieweger and D. Wigg-Wolf (eds.), *Kontinuität und Diskontinuität, Prozesse der Romanisierungsmus: Fallstudien zwischen Iberischer Halbinsel und Vorederem Orient*, Ergebnisse der gemeinsamen Treffen der Arbeitsgruppen „Kontinuität und

- Diskontinuität: Lokale Traditionen und römische Herrschaft im Wandel“ und „Geld eint, Geld trennt“ [2013–2017], ForschungsCluster 6: „Connecting Cultures“. Formen, Wege und Räume, kultureller Interaktion, Menschen–Kulturen–Traditionen. Studien aus den Forschungsclustern des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 15 [MKT 15,1], Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2019, xiii+206 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-86757-397-9/ISSN 2193-5300
- T.J. Scheer (ed.), *Natur – Mythos – Religion im antiken Griechenland / Nature – Myth – Religion in Ancient Greece*, Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 67, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2019, 297 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-12208-5
- W. Scheidel, *Escape from Rome: The Failure of Empire and the Road to Prosperity*, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2019, xviii+670 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-17218-7
- S. Schierup (ed.), with the assistance of S. Hoffmann, *Documenting Ancient Rhodes; Archaeological Expeditions and Rhodian Antiquities*, Acts of the International Colloquium held at the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen, February 16–17, 2017, Gösta Enbom Monographs 6, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus 2019, 332 pp., colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-87-7124-987-3/ISSN 1904-6219
- G.-P. Schietinger (ed.), *Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus. Ausnahmekarrierist, Netzwerker und Machtstrategie*, Beiträge der Heidelberger Pompeius-Tagung am 24. September 2014, Pharos – Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike 43, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2019, xix+229 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86757-271-2/ISSN 1435-6457
- F. Schleicher, T. Stickler and U. Hartman (eds.), *Iberien zwischen Rom und Iran: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur Transkaukasiens in der Antike*, Oriens et Occidens 29, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2019, 343 pp., 12 pp. of plates. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-12276-4
- C. Schliephake, *On Alexander's Tracks: Exploring Geographies, Memories, and Cultural Identities along the North-West Frontier of British India in the Nineteenth Century*, Oriens et Occidens 30, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2019, 311 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-12400-3
- H. Schunk, *Arians Indiké: Eine Untersuchung der Darstellungstechnik*, Philippika 135, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2019, viii+316 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11282-6/ISSN 1613-5628
- A.K. Şenol, *Commercial Amphorae in the Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria*, Études Alexandrines 44, AmphorAlex 7, Centre d'Études Alexandrines, Alexandria 2018, 619 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-2-490128-00-6
- V. Sossau, *Angemessene Anteile: Konsum und Distribution von Fleisch im geometrischen und archaischen Griechenland*, Tübinger Archäologische Forschungen 28, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2019, x+244 pp., 42 pp. of plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-89646-919-9/ISSN 1862-3484
- S.R. Steadman and G. McMahon (eds.), *The Archaeology of Anatolia*, vol. II: *Recent Discoveries (2015–2016)*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle-upon-Tyne 2017, xiv+449 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-4438-7953-8
- R. Stoneman, *The Greek Experience of India from Alexander to the Indo-Greeks*, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2019, xviii+525 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-15403-9

- C. Szabó, *Sanctuaries in Roman Dacia: Materiality and Religious Experience*, Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 49, Archaeopress, Oxford 2018, viii+241 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78969-081-1
- J. Tabolli (ed.), *From Invisible to Visible: New Methods and Data for the Archaeology of Infant and Child Burials in Pre-Roman Italy and Beyond*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 149, Astrom Editions, Uppsala/Nicosia 2018, x+271 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-9925-7455-2-4/ISSN 0081-8232
- O. Tal and Z. Weiss (eds.), *Expressions of Cult in the Southern Levant in the Greco-Roman Period: Manifestations in Text and Material Culture*, Contextualizing the Sacred 6, Brepols, Turnhout 2017, xxiii+288 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-2-503-55335-1
- T. Terpstra, *Trade in the Ancient Mediterranean: Private Order and Public Institutions*, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2019, viii+274 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-17208-8
- S. Thijs, *Obsidibus imperatis: Formen der Geiselstellung und ihre Anwendung in der Römischen Republik*, Philippika 129, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2019, xii+261 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11162-1
- A. Trakadas, *In Mauretaniae maritimis: Marine Resource Exploration in a Roman North African Province*, Geographica Historica 40, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2018, 667 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-10417-3
- L. Troiani and C. Balzaretto, *1–2 Maccabei, nuova versione, introduzione e comment*, I Libri Biblici Primo Testamento 33, Paoline, Milan 2018, 439 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-88-315-5075-8
- C.W. Tyson and V.R. Herrmann (eds.), *Imperial Peripheries in the Neo-Assyrian Period*, University Press of Colorado, Louisville 2018, xxii+297 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-60732-822-3
- J.Z. van Rookhuijzen, *Herodotus and the Topography of Xerxes' Invasion: Place and Memory in Greece and Anatolia*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2019, xvi+373 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-061020-8
- E. Varro (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Classics and Early Anthropology*, Brill's Companions to Classical Reception 16, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2018, xiii+406 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-24936-3
- G. Vavouranakis, K. Kopanias and C. Kanellopoulos (eds.), *Popular Religion and Ritual in Prehistoric and Ancient Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2018, xiv+168 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78969-045-3
- J.A. Verduci, *Metal Jewellery of the Southern Levant and Its Western Neighbours: Cross-Cultural Influences in the Early Iron Age Eastern Mediterranean*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Suppl. 53, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2018, xviii+435 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-3536-5
- J.M. Webb (ed.), with contributions by A. Charalambous, S. Diakou, M. Dikomitou-Eliadou, M. Martínón-Torres and D. Pilides, *Lapithus VRUSI TOU BARBA, Cyprus Early and Middle Bronze Age Tombs Excavated by Menelaos Markides*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 148, Astrom Editions, Uppsala/Nicosia 2018, xx+294 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-9925-7455-1-7/ISSN 0081-8232

- L. Zabrana, *Das Odeion im Artemision von Ephesos*, Forschungen in Ephesos XII/6, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2018, 254 pp., 105 pp. of plates (many in colour), 24 pp. plans. Cased. ISBN 978-3-7001-7868-2
- N. Zenzen, *Das edle Ungeheuer: Die Semantik des Löwen in Bildwerken des antiken Vorderen Orients und Griechenlands*, Tübinger Archäologische Forschungen 26, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2018, 426 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-89646-917-5/ISSN 1862-3484
- C.S. Zerefos and M.Y. Vardinoyannis (eds.), *Hellenistic Alexandria: Celebrating 24 Centuries*, Papers presented at the Conference held on December 13–15 2017 at Acropolis Museum, Athens, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2018, xx+296 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-1-78969-066-8